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BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA.

EDITED BY

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DEMOSTHENES,

WITH AN ENGLISH COMMENTARY

BY THE

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REV. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A. *ae*

VOL. I.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;

GEORGE BELL, FLEET STREET.

1859.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

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REV. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A.

HEAD MASTER OF THE KING'S SCHOOL, ROCHESTER,
AND LATE SENIOR FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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P R E F A C E.

IN this edition of the *Speeches of the Athenian Orator*, I have endeavoured to produce a work which may prove generally useful, and to contribute by a good text and judicious comments to the pleasure and facility with which his *Orations* may be read. I have endeavoured in fact to adapt the work to the wants of university students, and of the upper classes in our public schools, in the hope, that, if at all successful, it may also be of service to more advanced scholars, and not without benefit to the teacher as well as the pupil. The familiarity which an editor of ordinary diligence and ability must gain with his author, ought to secure these results, and suggests, if it does not realize, corresponding expectations.

But with such a subject as Demosthenes, an editor may not unreasonably expect another class of readers, besides the student, the teacher, and the scholar by profession. For if the Orator is not unworthy of the praise which has been bestowed upon him, his style and diction must be a valuable study for all who wish to arrive at excellence, or even proficiency in the art of which he was so great a master. Accordingly we find that even in his own age he had imitators such as his calumniator Deinarchus (*Dion. Hal.* v. 607), and in after times such as the Christian orator "John of the Golden Mouth".¹ Indeed it has even been conjectured that we owe the preservation of so many

¹ Dobree in his *Adversaria* (i. part ii.) quotes from St. Chrysostom many passages which are evidently imitations of Demosthenes. The curious reader may compare Gibbon's (c. xxxii.) account of the return of the Christian Orator to Constantinople (A.D. 404) after exile, with the description of the corresponding events in the lives of Cicero and Demosthenes. See page xxxi.

of his speeches to the estimation in which he was held by the most eloquent of the Eastern Church. (A. G. Becker, *Literatur der Demosthenes*, 52.) In our own times and country, lawyers and statesmen have translated or illustrated his speeches, and recommended them as models for the bar and the senate. Nay, it has been said (Lord Brougham, *Eloquence of the Ancients*, p. iv) that "the Orator of old was the parliamentary debater, the speaker at public meetings, the preacher, the newspaper, the published sermon, the pamphlet, the volume, all in one." If this be true of any one, especially is it true of Demosthenes, whose eloquence expresses facts clearly, develops reasoning logically, and combines all those qualities which impel men to action. Such indeed was his chief object in his deliberative speeches; and to those who, amid the struggles of active life, sometimes wish to refresh themselves with the studies of their earlier years, or to prepare themselves for the higher contests of oratory, this Edition of a Master in the art will, I trust, prove both attractive and useful. For I have faithfully endeavoured to explain whatever difficulties occurred to myself, or appeared likely to perplex others, and I have spared neither time nor labour in illustrating those allusions which Demosthenes so frequently makes to the history of his times, and the institutions of his countrymen. In doing this, I have also kept in mind the educational purposes which the "*Bibliotheca Classica*" is intended to serve, and to which the works of Demosthenes are so well calculated to minister, whether as regards the training of the intellect, the inculcation of principles, or the acquisition of the Greek language. For as no one can follow the arguments of a logical speaker without exercising the reasoning powers, so even the Christian moralist may adopt the sentiments which the Stoics admired in Demosthenes, while his language, naturally simple and unaffected, never becomes obscure from mysticism in his ideas, or indistinctness in his conceptions, or irresolution in his purpose. Indeed, throughout the whole of this volume, I do not remember more than one sentiment to which objection can fairly

be made, nor more than one passage of undisputed authorship, the argument and meaning of which are unsatisfactory or obscure.

The reader then will not expect elaborate dissertations where certainty is unattainable, and I have avoided discussing what I conceive to be the erroneous opinions of others. Indeed with an author like Demosthenes, the true explanation of his meaning will, if clearly expressed, at once commend itself to ordinary minds, and moreover, as in the lapse of time Commentaries and Editions multiply, each succeeding editor, though bound to avail himself of their assistance, is less and less able to notice their errors. If he did, his author would disappear in the midst of his commentary.

On the other hand, there are some disputed points, as the order of the Olynthiac Orations, and the genuineness of certain speeches attributed to Demosthenes, and the questions raised about the documents in the "De Corona," which I could not evade, and upon which I have therefore stated my opinion, with the reasons for it, as well as the views of others, and the works in which they are given.

In the Introductions to the several Orations will be found a brief account of the circumstances under which each was delivered, of the events by which they were occasioned, and of the results by which they were followed. In preparing them, I have made ample use of the Histories of Grote and Thirlwall; but I have always consulted the original authorities, and satisfied myself of the truth or the probability of the facts I had to tell. Nevertheless, before reading any of the State Speeches, the student will do well to consult the narrative of one of these Historians, or the more concise but comprehensive summary in chapters 42, 43, and 45 of Smith's History of Greece.

Again, the personal conduct of Demosthenes is so mixed up with the history of his times, that in writing his biography I was compelled to enter into more details than would have been otherwise desirable, and still I am conscious of having omitted some particulars of interest. But further information may

readily be found in Dr. Donaldson's "Literature of Ancient Greece" (i. 150—187), and in the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography." The latter of these s. v. Demosthenes, in addition to some account of the various editions of his whole works, gives a classified list of the Orations, with the separate editions of each, and what is called the 'Literature' upon it. A much more elaborate description of the same kind is given by A. G. Becker in his "Literatur der Demosthenes," who further describes the various English, French, German, and Italian translations of the different speeches. We also learn from him, that the first Philippic was published in Russian at St. Petersburg in 1776—8, and the "De Corona" at Moscow in 1784—8. In the last twenty-five years, the list has been further enlarged by the complete editions of W. Dindorf (Oxford, 1849, and Leipzig, 1850), of the Zürich editors Baizer and Sauppe, and of Vömel (Paris, 1843, 1845); by editions of single speeches, as of the "De Corona" by Dissen and Drake, and of the "Falsa Legatio" by Mr. Shilleto. Within the same time have appeared Lord Brougham's and Mr. Norris's translations of the "De Corona," and quite recently a translation of that and other speeches (in Bohn's Classical Series) by Mr. C. R. Kennedy.

Among the works of illustration and criticism published during the same period, or a little before, are the "Quaestiones Demosthenicae" of Westermann (Leipzig, 1834), the Treatises of Droysen (Berlin, 1849) and Newman (Clas. Mus. i. 141), and the very valuable work of A. Schäfer, "Demosthenes und seine Zeit" (Leipzig, 1856). Nor should I omit Mr. C. Babington's recent publication of the Speech of Hypereides against Demosthenes and the Funeral Oration over Leosthenes. They furnish very valuable materials for the history of the last years of the Orator's life.

As regards the text of this Edition a few words will suffice. It is not a mere repetition of any former one, though based upon the Oxford Edition of Bekker, and the Oxford and Leipzig Editions of W. Dindorf. In the former part of the

volume it generally corresponds with Dindorf's: but the experience which I gained as I went on, led me when in doubt to defer to Bekker's judgment in preference to Dindorf's, believing that the latter follows too implicitly the readings of the Codex S., a new collation of which he gives in the preface to his Third Edition. As Mr. Shilleto has observed, "this MS. was undoubtedly transcribed by a learned, acute, and careful copyist," but this very learning and acuteness seem to have led him occasionally to meddle with the text. In fact, the various readings of this Codex have the appearance of the corrections of a good scholar rather than of the natural language of the Orator.

In the divisions of the text I have adopted the sections of Bekker's Oxford Edition rather than Dindorf's, as being more generally used, and given them on the left hand side of each page. The figures on the right corresponding with the pages and lines of Reiske's Edition, (1779,) I have added in common with other editors, because they are frequently used by Böckh, Grote, and others, and occasionally I have myself found it convenient to quote them.

The MSS. of Demosthenes are generally divided into three classes, of which Dindorf says: "*Ac primae quidem classis unus superest Parisinus S.; secundae principes sunt Parisinus 2935 et Marcianus Venetus 416, uterque membranaceus seculi undecimi, Venetique vel simillimi ei codicis apographum B, in bibliotheca regia Monacensi servatum (85), bombycinum seculi decimi tertii; tertiae denique classis nullus dum innotuit aut antiquior aut melior quam Monacensis 485. membranaceus seculi undecimi.*" The individuals comprehended in these classes are described as follows:

The Codex S. (Ed. Turic. Σ.) is No. 2934, in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, and originally belonged to a monastery on Mount Athos. Its date is of the eleventh century, and it contains sixty speeches, the Prooemia and five first letters, but wants the "Letter of Philip," and the last part of Oration XVII. The number of lines appended to the Orations, Prooemia, and

Epistles, seems to have been taken from an older copy, for it does not correspond with the MS. itself. Only twenty-two of the Orations have arguments prefixed.

F. 'secundae codicum classis princeps,' is No. 416 of St. Mark's, at Venice. It is of the eleventh century, and contains sixty-one speeches, the Prooemia and Epistles, with the arguments of Libanius (fol. 1—11,) prefixed to the whole. The Orations are arranged as in the printed editions, except that the order of the "De Libertate Rhodiorum," and the "Pro Megalopolitanis" is inverted, and that the "De Corona" precedes the speech against Androtion. It contains copious Scholia to the Olynthiacs, the Philippics, the De Corona, and the De Fal. Leg., but few for the other speeches.

B. is No. 85 in the Royal Library at Munich, the Codex Bavaricus of Reiske, and corresponds with F., as if it were almost a copy.

Y., "Parisiensis regius 2935," is of the eleventh century, by two copyists of the same age. It contains as Prolegomena (1—8,) a life of Demosthenes with the arguments of Libanius, besides twenty-nine orations, and the Prooemia.

A., 'tertia classis princeps,' is No. 485 in the Royal Library, at Munich ('olim Augustanus'). Its date is of the eleventh century. It contains only fifty-four orations, the Prooemia, and the letters. It differs from S. and F. in the collocation of words, in the simplification of sentences, and as Dindorf says, "vocalibus verborumque constructionibus exquisitioribus interdum in vulgaria mutatis." Reiske made great use of it.

O. and P. (as also Y.) are described by Dindorf, (Praef. Ox. Ed. xiv,) as intermediate between the first and second class of MSS. Seven others (Q. t. p. v. u. q. o.) have the same origin as "Venetus F., et Monacensis B." Of these Q. stands highest, and three (k. r. s.) belong to the third class, though s. has some special peculiarities.

Of these,

O. is No. 43 of the Jesuits' College at Antwerp, and agrees closely with Y.

P. is Codex 9, case 59, of the Bibliotheca Laurentiana (Lorenzo,) at Florence. It is of the eleventh century and contains eight orations.

Q. is 418 of St. Mark's Library at Venice. It is of the eleventh century, and contains thirty-two orations in this order, 18, 19. 32—61, with the Prooemia and Letters.

The remainder may be described in Dindorf's words, thus :

“o. Parisiensis regius 2043, seculi decimi sexti.

p. ————— 2508 seculi XIV.

q. ————— 2844, Florentiae, A.D. 1498.

t. ————— 2994, seculi XII.

u. Parisiensis Coislinianus, 324. A.D. 1462.

v. —————, 339, foliis 366 in duo volumina divisus. Scriptus est anno 1450.

Tertiae classis.

k. Parisiensis regius 2298, seculi XIV.

r. ————— 2936 (olim 380 et 2188), inter Colbertinos 3769, seculi XIII. Orationes insunt LVII. et Prooemia.”

s. ————— 2940, bombycinus seculi XIII. Insunt orationes XVI.

Eight other Parisian MSS. are enumerated by the Zürich Editors, and by Mr. Shilleto (Pref. p. xi), but they are not important (see Becker, p. 78).

None of the MSS. that have been compared, agree in the sequence of the speeches. But they all group together the State Orations, and put the Olynthiacs first. The order which I have followed has been generally adopted, otherwise I should have preferred a chronological arrangement. The MSS. vary still more in the number of Orations, which according to Photius (Bibliotheca cod. 265), Patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 858, was in his time sixty-five. There are now only sixty-one, including the “Letter of Philip,” and some speeches which few scholars believe to be authentic. To these are appended fifty-six Prooemia, apparently prepared for use beforehand, as occasion might require, and six letters bearing the name of Demosthenes,

though of very questionable authorship. Long, however, before the time of Photius, there were extant different copies of the works of Demosthenes with various readings. (Dindorf, Praef. v.)

It remains for me to acknowledge the obligations which I owe to other authors, English as well as foreign, and the reader will see from my references how great they are. Especially should I mention Mr. Grote, whose researches and very correct references have materially assisted me in questions of history: and Mr. C. R. Kennedy, whose admirable, if not unrivalled translations have often been my guide and resource in interpretation. My thanks are also due to Lord Brougham for his kindness and courtesy in the communications with which he has honoured me, and to Mr. Penrose, the Architect, for his permission to copy his plan of the Acropolis (see p. 302). To Mr. Long above all am I indebted for his careful revision of every sheet, for his corrections of error, and his suggestions of improvement. Without the benefit which I have derived from his ability, judgment, and experience, this volume would have lost much of any value which it may possess, and have been less free from errors and imperfections than it is now. Some of them are the result of inexperience, and for these I bespeak such consideration as may fairly be shown to an editor on his first attempt. I may further plead that I have been compelled to write at such intervals only as I could snatch from laborious occupations, and without the advantage of University or Metropolitan Libraries. The same causes have operated to delay the completion of this volume, and have occasioned repetitions which, though not always necessary, may perhaps prove not altogether useless. The remaining volumes will I trust, if life be spared, be completed in less time and with fewer imperfections than the first, and I only hope they may prove as useful to others as I have found the previous portions of the series to myself.

LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

DEMOSTHENES the great Statesman and Orator of Athens was born when her glory was on the wane, and the spirit of the past no longer that of his age. Much as we know about him, the year of his birth is still a question¹, and the dates for its determination are so conflicting, that we cannot accept with confidence any of the accounts which ancient authors have left us on the subject, nor any of the conclusions which modern writers have deduced from them. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus², he was born B.C. 381 (Olym. 99. 4), seventeen years old when he prosecuted his guardians, twenty-six when he appeared in his first public cause, and thirty-two at the time of the Olynthian war. Another account in Aulus Gellius³ places his birth in B.C. 382, and this is to some extent confirmed by the Biographies of Plutarch and Libanius. A third is found in the lives of the Ten Orators (p. 844 a), improperly ascribed to Plutarch, and this assigns B.C. 384 for the birth-year, three or four years earlier than the date of Dionysius.

Unfortunately the internal evidence of the Orations does not remove the difficulty. For if, according to the received opinion, an Athenian citizen did not enter upon man's estate till eighteen, then it would seem from two of his speeches⁴ that Demosthenes was born before B.C. 382. But the oration against Meidias (§ 196) apparently

¹ Discussed by Bp. Thirlwall in the Phil. Museum, ii. 390, and by Mr. Clinton, Fast. Hell. Appen. c. 20; also by A. Schäfer in Appendix ii. to 'Demosthenes und seine Zeit.'

² Ad Amm. i. c. 4, vi. 724, Reiske.

³ Noct. Att. xv. 28.

⁴ c. Aphob. §§ 4. 7, and adv. Onet. i. § 15. Phil. Mus. ii. 392.

connects the thirty-third year of his life with historical events in such a manner as to confirm the date of Dionysius. Another historical fact of an Athenian expedition against Coreyra, mentioned in the speech against Aphobus (§ 119) as having taken place soon after his father's death, cannot well be reconciled with the earliest date, and on the whole the balance of evidence seems in favour of the year (B. C. 382) adopted by Mr. Clinton. It certainly agrees best with the received chronology of other events¹.

The Orator bore the same name as his father, of the township of Paeania, who appears to have been a man of wealth and high character. He is described by one historian² as καλὸς καγαθός, and admitted by Aeschines³ to have been ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος, statements which prove him to have been in every respect a gentleman. He was also a large manufacturer of swords (μαχαιοποιός) and a master cabinet-maker (κλινοποιός)⁴, employing several workmen. His wife was Cleobule, a daughter of Gylon, an Athenian who had established himself and obtained great influence at Κῆποι, a town in the Island of Taman, near to Phanagoria and almost opposite to Kertch, the ancient Panticapaeum in the Crimea⁵. The surrounding district, on both sides the strait, forming the kingdom of Bosphorus, was largely colonized by Asiatic Greeks, but nevertheless Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 172) may be right in asserting that Gylon's wife was a wealthy Scythian. If so, this admixture of foreign blood, instead of being a disparagement, perhaps helped (as in other cases of mixed descent) to make Demosthenes what he was, and produced a nobler specimen of humanity than would have sprung from the purest Athenian blood.

Thus born and descended, he lost his father (B.C. 375) when only seven years of age, a misfortune which contributed to his future greatness, teaching him by stern lessons the necessity of self-reliance, and showing him the latent powers of his mind. The father, whose property was estimated at fourteen talents, left as

¹ Bp. Thirlwall and A. Schäfer, i. 241, adopt B.C. 384. Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, xi. 369) and Dr. Donaldson (Liter. of Ancient Greece, i. 152) prefer B.C. 382.

² Theopompus in Plutarch's Life, c. 4.

³ c. Ctes. § 171. Comp. de Cor. § 12.

⁴ Libanius in vita, c. 2, p. 2. Dem. c. Aphob. 1, p. 817.

⁵ Libanius in vit. c. 2. Plin. N. H. vi. 6. Strabo, p. 495. Grote xii. 648. See note p. 3.

guardians of the young son and a younger daughter, his two nephews Aphobus and Demophon, and a friend Therippides. They proved fraudulent trustees, wasting or embezzling the funds entrusted to them, neglecting their wards and damaging their property¹. For this there was no remedy till at the expiration of ten years Demosthenes ceased (*ἀνὴρ δοκιμασθείς*) to be a minor, and their trusteeship ended. They then wished, as Demosthenes (c. Aph. i. § 7) asserted, to close their accounts by handing over "the house, fourteen slaves, and thirty minae of silver." Perhaps they imagined they were dealing with a boy, but Demosthenes at eighteen proved himself a man and thus early won his spurs in the field of oratory. He demanded an account, but without success, and then being robbed of every thing he brought an action against each of his guardians (B.C. 364), laying the damages at ten talents in each case². In that against Aphobus he was successful, damages being given him to the full amount³. Those against the other guardians were probably compromised, but nevertheless he did not recover his inheritance. A collusive mortgage was set up against his claims on the property of Aphobus by a third party named Onetor, and Demosthenes was involved in further litigation. The precise result is not recorded, though his biographers relate that he did not eventually recover more than a small portion after a struggle of five years⁴. This was carried on with so much bitterness on one side and sharpness on the other that his opponents gave him the name of *Ἀργᾶς* or the "Viper," an epithet which suggests that his charges were at any rate pointed with ability, and had the sting of truth.

Five of his 'private orations' known as the *λόγοι ἐπιτροπικοί*, and delivered before he was twenty-one⁵, relate to the questions at issue, and are so excellent as forensic speeches that some grammarians supposed them to have been composed by his teacher Isaëus. They

¹ c. Aph. i. 15. Plutarch, c. 4.

² Adv. Onet. i. § 15. Aesch. F. L. § 105.

³ Adv. Aph. iii. § 12. There are however doubts as to the genuineness of this speech. Schäfer i. 266. But compare c. Onet. i. § 33.

⁴ c. Meid. § 103. Plut. c. G. Vitae X. Orat. 844. Schäfer, p. 270.

⁵ Quintilian (xii. 6) calls them 'Actiones Pupillares,' and quotes several cases of youthful ability in speaking. Cicero was only twenty-six when he pleaded for Sextus Roscius, and Erskine's celebrated speech for Captain Baillie was the 'first he ever made, and pronounced by him immediately after he was called to the bar.' Lord Brougham on English Orators, Works vii. 236.

exhibit none of the faults of a young speaker—no meretricious ornament or extravagant declamation—no extraneous topics or irrelevant arguments. But they display all the merits of a practised advocate, clearness of exposition, simplicity of narrative, a logical arrangement and comprehensive survey of facts, forcible arguments for the understanding, and a touching appeal to the feelings of his judges.

That he was assisted in the struggle by the learned Isaeus there can be no doubt, and the speeches in question were probably revised by that able lawyer. Indeed, the results of his training are shown not only in a general similarity of style, but in the transfer and adaptation of phrases and whole sentences from the master to the scholar¹. For Isaeus was distinguished as an advising counsel, and a writer of speeches (*λογογράφος*) in cases of disputed wills and successions, and Demosthenes was for several years his pupil. According to Plutarch he was so even during his minority, and another account represents him as having engaged Isaeus to live with him in his own house, partly no doubt as a sort of private tutor in Oratory, and partly for the purpose of helping him in his case. The payment for four years is said to have been 10,000 drachmae, but his instructor, if the story is true, gave up his School of Rhetoric to devote himself to Demosthenes alone². It does not appear that Isaeus ever appeared as an advocate before an Athenian Court. Again, some ancient writers originated the belief that Demosthenes was also indebted to Isocrates as a teacher of Rhetoric, and that he attended the school in which Plato taught Philosophy³. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 31) adopts this opinion and says, “lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur, idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum: dicit etiam in quadam epistola hoc ipse de sese.” In another passage (*Orator*. c. 4) he observes, “ex Demosthenis epistolis intelligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.” These letters however are not considered genuine, and the evidence on the other side is too strong to be counterbalanced by such testimony.

¹ Compare the passage on the value of evidence obtained from slaves by torture in Isaeus (*Orat.* viii. p. 70) with one almost identical in Demos. c. Onet. § 40. Sir W. Jones translated several of the speeches of Isaeus.

² Plutarch, c. 5. Liban. 3, p. 5. Vit. X. *Orat.* 839 f. 844 b.

³ Vit. X. *Orat.* 844. Plut. c. 5. Aul. Gell. N. A. iii. 13. Schäfer i. 281.

Another story that he was taught rhetoric by Aristotle, Dionysius (vi. 723) discredits by the fact that Demosthenes wrote his best speeches (τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀγῶνας) before Aristotle published his *ῥητορικὰ τέχνη*. We should rather believe that the Orator of real life suggested rules and furnished examples to the writer on rhetoric. How far he was influenced by such contemporaries is another question. Isaeus himself is said to have been a scholar of Isocrates¹, and therefore the precepts of the latter,—the best and most valuable at any rate,—might have been impressed upon the pupils of the former. Apparent imitations too of sentiment and expression may be detected in Demosthenes, as in the opening of his speech against Timocrates compared with that on the peace, published only two years before by Isocrates. But on the other hand, nothing can be more unlike his full, flowing, elaborate periods, than the terse, energetic, common-sense eloquence of Demosthenes. In the comparison of the ancients, the style of one is represented by the condition of the soldier ready for, and inured to service, “in aciem dimicationemque paratus;” that of the other, by the full development and perfect symmetry of the athlete trained for the display of the arena, or the parade of the procession, “pompae quam pugnae aptius, gymnasiis et palaestrae dicatum², spretum et pulsum foro.” Nor were the two less opposed as statesmen. The hope and object of the veteran rhetorician was to see Philip of Macedon recognized as the head of Greece, and leading the troops of confederated Hellenism against the king of Persia. The youthful orator, with more foresight, beheld in the same Philip, an enemy of the liberties of his country, whose aggrandizement it was suicidal to promote, and whose friendship it was treasonable for the citizens of a free state to cultivate.

Again, as regards Aristotle³, it is true that he settled at Athens at the age of eighteen, not long before Demosthenes came of age, and that Plato died there (B.C. 347) when the Orator was in the midst of his career. It would be absurd then to suppose that such men did not

¹ Harpocration s. v. Schäfer i. 255.

² Vit. X. Orat. 845 d. Quintilian (x. 1) describes Isocrates as “nitidus et comptus et palaestrae quam pugnae magis accommodatus.” Cicero (Orat. 13) considers his style as of the ‘epideicticum genus,’ i. e. of the ‘show kind.’

³ Dionys. Halic. p. 728.

act on, nor were ever hearers of, one another, though there is no probability that they were connected as a teacher with his scholars.

But instruction, example, and social intercourse, even with minds of the highest order, did not make Demosthenes what he was. "Great men rise by their own character and genius, not by casual advantages and instruction, as mediocrity finds a comfort in believing¹." They make their fortune, rather than are made by it. So it was with Demosthenes. The well-known story of Plutarch (c. 5) shows how the ambition to become an orator was first raised in his young mind, and proves that the child was really the father of the man. A celebrated cause was about to be tried at Athens, and great was the expectation both on account of the importance of the issue and the ability of the accused, Callistratus the orator². The young boy heard his tutors talking of their arrangements to be present, and entreated his *παιδαγωγός* to take himself. The good man was intimate with the officers of the court, and so amongst them they found the anxious boy a sly corner where he could sit and hear unobserved. Callistratus was successful, rapturously applauded in court, and honoured with an ovation to his home. The generous youth was filled with admiration at the sight; but what he admired most was the power of that gift of speech which captivated all who heard it. His mind was made up. He determined at once to abandon all other studies and pursuits, and to make himself an orator.

But if the love of fame first "raised his clear spirit to spurn delights and live laborious days," the prospect of poverty and the sense of wrong soon spurred him on, as we have already seen, to active exertions in his own cause. The charm of success, the acquisition of experience, and the consciousness of power encouraged him to persevere. He gained his cause against his guardians in a court of justice³, and he then ventured to address the popular assembly. But Plutarch (c. 6) tells us, and it is confirmed by other authorities, that his early attempts before the people were decided failures. His periods were confused, his arguments intricate, his voice feeble, his pronunciation indistinct⁴, his lungs too weak to go on without interruptions, which

¹ Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 467. *Phil. Mus.* i. 497.

² See note p. 4. *Aul. Gell. N. A.* iii. 13.

³ His mother was alive at the time. *c. Aph.* ii. § 25.

⁴ Especially of the letter Rho. Cicero (*de Orat.* i. 61) says, "*cumque ita balbus*

broke the continuity of his sentences. The Athenian orators often taunted their sharp and clever audience with being admirable judges of speeches, and with listening as critics instead of as a deliberative assembly. No wonder that they would not listen to a young man, without rank, reputation, or wealth, with no graces of manner or charms of person¹. He fell into despair, as many a distinguished man has done in his early career and narrowly escaped an after-life of insignificance and obscurity. With dejected looks he was one day walking along the shores of the Peiræus, when the aged Eunomus of Thria told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for his despondency. "You can speak like Pericles," said the old man, "and yet you are throwing yourself away from want of heart: you have not courage to face the crowd: you don't train your body for the trial, but let it rust away in idleness" (*τρύφῃ περιόχῃ μαραινόμενον*). The rebuke rekindled the flame which had well-nigh ceased to glow, and the young man tried once more. Again he failed, and went home "with face covered and a heavy heart." A kind and generous spirit followed him,—the actor Satyrus,—not with rebuke or taunt, but with friendly counsel and good advice. To him Demosthenes complained bitterly, that although the most industrious orator of his day, still other men really his inferiors were supreme in the Assembly, while he was disregarded. "Read me a speech of Euripides or Sophocles," was the answer, and he did so. Satyrus read the same speech after him as an actor would, and Demosthenes felt it was quite a different thing². The lesson taught him that composition was nothing without impressive delivery and suitable action, and it was not taught in vain. With characteristic determination he set about correcting his faults, and with such success, that his action and delivery became as attractive and ef-

esset, ut ejus ipsius artis cui studeret primam literam non posset dicere, perfectit meditando ut nemo planius eo locutus putaretur."

¹ Compare a recent (Jan. 1859) address of an English M.P. to his constituents at Sheffield: "You want a representative; you look about and find a well-to-do man more than fifty years of age, and you send him headlong into an assembly of critics, the most acute that the world ever saw, with feelings alive to every thing ludicrous. The man gets up; he makes an attempt at a speech, and is laughed at. He perhaps leaves out an 'h,' and a shout of derision runs through the House directly. Down he sits, and his mouth is closed for ever." But all would depend on the stuff the man was made of, and what he had in him.

² Plutarch, c. 7.

ficient as his diction. Various tales are told of the means which he used to arrive at this eminence, and the very exaggeration of some of them shows the popular belief of his energy and perseverance. Thus we are told of the underground chamber which he had built to practise in, and where he remained for two or three months shut out from the world, with one side of his head shorn, that he might by very shame be prevented from showing himself abroad; how he corrected his ungainly action before a large mirror, and improved his imperfect articulation by reciting speeches with pebbles in his mouth, and strengthened his lungs by repeating lines as he went up hill without taking breath, and trained his voice to rise above the clamours of the Assembly, by declaiming on the beach of Phalerum against the roar of the loud-sounding sea¹. All this cannot well be true, nor would three months' confinement² underground improve a weakly constitution which had suffered from the want of proper exercise in youth³. And from the silence of Aeschines on the subject, it has even been a question⁴ whether his rival's failures were so complete and ridiculous as has been represented. Be this as it may, no one can doubt that Demosthenes laboured under great defects, which nothing but resolute perseverance would have overcome. The conclusion is that he did not become a master in his art by natural qualification or inherited advantages, so much as by self-command and self-denial in the pursuit of his high object, and by industrious habits continued till they became a second nature. Nay, these merits were even made matter of reproach. His enemies snuffed in his speeches the smell of the midnight oil, and thought it only natural for a water-drinker to be churlish and ill-tempered⁵. But admirers and friends related how his lamp was not extinguished till he was fifty years of age; how his bed was poor and wretched that he might get up at dawn; how vexed he was if the common labourer was at work ere daybreak

¹ Plutarch, c. 11. Cicero, de Fin. v. 2. Quintilian x. 3. Photius, Bib. cod. 265. 803 H.

² Compare the following story in the 'Times' of Feb. 1, 1859: "The government wished to amend the Customs' Law of England, and the late Mr. Deacon Hume was employed in the task. He began by taking a lodging in Parliament Street, exiled himself from his family, and disappeared from the world for a couple of months. He re-appeared with an Abridgment of the Customs' Law." But he injured his health by such work, and died before his time.

³ Plut. c. 4. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 256.

⁴ Comp. A. Schäfer i. 301.

⁵ c. Phil. ii. § 32. Plut. c. 8. Liban. in vit. c. 4, p. 6.

before him¹. All this is utterly inconsistent with the charges of effeminacy and unmanliness which Aeschines made against him, and it confirms the tradition that he never spoke without preparation. Friends and enemies both alleged this of him²; he himself (c. Meid. § 243) admitted and justified it, and Quintilian (x. 1) contrasts him with Cicero by saying, "*curae plus in illo, in hoc naturae*," "the Roman had more ability, the Greek took more pains³."

Another tradition of his industry tells how he copied out no less than eight times the history of Thucydides, and Dionysius observes, that no other orator so much resembled that Historian⁴.

His entrance into public life was, as he himself (de Cor. § 21) tells us, at the beginning of the Phocian war (B.C. 356), and his first speech before the public Assembly on a matter of state, was the De Symmoriis (B.C. 354), in which, with the same spirit as animated his whole life, he warned his countrymen of, and urged them to prepare against, the designs of Philip. The most celebrated of his other political speeches were directed to the same purpose; their special subjects, occasions, and characteristics are discussed in the Introductions to each.

But besides these orations called *συμβουλευτικοί*, Demosthenes delivered and composed a much greater number of judicial speeches, some, as the De Corona and the De Falsa Legatione, relating to public, the rest entirely to private matters; some, as we have seen, on his own account, and others as an advocate for suitors. These, it must be remembered, were all delivered before the law courts, and hereafter we may speak of their peculiar merits. In one respect they are very valuable, for they furnish authentic information on the private life of his contemporaries, and bring them before us, not as members of a great state, but in their relations and dealings one

¹ Vit. X. Orat. 844 d, e. 848 c. Cicero, Tuscul. iv. 19. Comp. Milton's Apology, &c. (i. 266, Pickering): "My morning haunts are where they should be, at home, not sleeping or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour or to devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors or cause them to be read, till the attention bee weary, or memory have his full fraught."

² Plut. c. 8. Quintilian (xii. 9) testifies to the same fact in his remark, that an orator "*Dicet scripta quum res patietur: et ut Demosthenes ait, si continget et sculpta.*"

³ Comp. Lord Brougham's Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients, ii. 3, 4.

⁴ Lucian. adv. Indoct. c. 4, and Dion. Halic. de Thucyd. p. 944.

with another. The social progress of England, it has been truly said, may be traced in the Statute Book, and so the daily life of Athens may be seen in the private orations of Demosthenes.

Most of these were composed before he entered upon his public career, for which they must have furnished an admirable training, as an Athenian jury constituted a much larger and more impressive audience than a modern court of justice. On commencing his political life, he tells us (*adv. Zenoth.* § 36) that he ceased to act as a private advocate,—a statement which cannot mean that he no longer composed speeches for others, but only that he did not appear for them. His remaining compositions of this class prove that he was thus employed to some extent, and probably he was thereby enabled to repair his shattered fortunes, and maintain his position as a political leader at home, and the occasional representative of his country abroad. But to his adversaries even an honourable industry suggested terms of reproach. They called him a σοφιστής, as if he taught the young to maintain any thesis, and make ‘the worse appear the better’ cause; a συκοφάντης, as if, like the “common barretor” of former times, he lived upon malignant prosecutions, and grew rich by promoting litigation¹. Nay, Aeschines (*c. Ctes.* § 173) even alleged that he was base enough to communicate² to the other side the secrets of his own client, and consequently compelled to give up his practice as an advocate, and devote himself to statesmanship. But on the contrary, we find that in the same year in which he first spoke as a statesman, he was also employed as an advocate in a state trial against Androtion, while several of his speeches on private matters were written afterwards, and some much later. We need not dwell on the absurdity of supposing that public favour—constant and long continued—was based upon private infamy, and that dishonour in his profession was the introduction to an honourable career as a statesman.

For we must remember that the patriotism of Demosthenes was not confined to the ‘ecclesia,’ nor only exhibited in making speeches: it was active, self-denying, and consistent throughout. Even

¹ Aesch. *c. Timar.* §§ 125. 175. *F. L.* § 105. Libanius (§ 3) says σοφιστεύειν ἐπεχέλησεν, apparently meaning that he was a ‘Teacher of Eloquence.’ See note p. 54.

² In Roman law this would have been an act of ‘praevaricatio.’

during his law-suit with his guardians, he paid a substitute twenty minae to serve as trierarch¹. A few years afterwards (B.C. 359) he served in person off the coast of Thrace², in a ship carrying the admiral's flag. In B.C. 357 he served as a volunteer with two co-trierarchs in the successful expedition of Timotheus to Euboea³. Nor was he less spirited at home in undertaking offices however costly. In one place he tells us that immediately after coming of age he had been thoragus, trierarch, and a contributor of property taxes; in another, that he had entertained his tribe; in a third, that he had received nothing from the state, but spent almost all he had upon it⁴. While acting thus liberally, he also distinguished himself by his political orations, and by his exertions to improve the navy and augment the resources of Athens.

No wonder then, that when named as a senator (B.C. 349—348), he passed with credit the ordeal of an opposition scrutiny⁵, or that he was selected by his countrymen to negotiate with Philip the terms of a peace in B.C. 346. His conduct on that occasion is matter of controversy: we have no independent history to tell us the real truth, and he and Aeschines contradict each other flatly in their assertions about it. An account of the whole affair is given in the Introduction to the *De Pace*.

With this peace closed the first ten years of the Orator's public life, but it brought him no repose. Philip soon commenced a series of intrigues in Peloponnesus, Acarnania, and Ambracia, and Demosthenes was despatched to Messene and Argos as an envoy to counteract them⁶. His second and third Philippics were delivered in connexion with these proceedings, and his speech on the Thracian Chersonesus was occasioned by aggressions in that quarter. They were followed up by Philip's attacks on Perinthus and Byzantium, which if successful would have given him the command of the corn supply of Athens, and so have placed her at his mercy. But here again he was foiled by the energy of Demosthenes, and the skill of

¹ c. Meid. § 103. c. Aphob. ii. § 21.

² Aeschin. c. Ctes. § 52.

³ c. Meid. § 204.

⁴ de Coron. § 320. c. Meid. §§ 199. 241. de Cherson. § 75. A. Schäfer i. 409.

⁵ Grote xi. 481. c. Meid. § 143.

⁶ Grote xi. 612. Demos. de Cor. § 99. c. Phil. ii. § 22. c. Phil. iii. §§ 36. 85. See also the Introduction to the second Philippic, p. 130.

Phocion, the Orator having now at last carried his bill for the improvement of the Athenian navy¹.

Still Philip was only foiled, not beaten, and his agents soon found a pretext for his interference in Southern Greece. A war was got up by the Amphictyons² against the Locrians of Amphissa, on the charge of tilling some consecrated ground, and Philip was appointed commander of the Amphictyonic forces. He immediately moved southwards, and appeared at Elateia, on the road to Thebes, within seventy miles of Athens. The consternation there is graphically told in the *De Corona* (§ 218). The assembly met: the officers asked again and again, "Who will speak?" Generals, Orators, and Senators were present, and their country called upon them to rise. But all were mute: they had nothing to say: no advice to offer. They could not, or they dared not; and Athens in her hour of need and fear had no counsellor till Demosthenes arose. He alone did not despair, and his eloquence roused the same spirit in his countrymen. By his advice they decided on an alliance with their old enemy Thebes, and he himself went as an ambassador to recommend it. He was confronted at Thebes by envoys from Philip and the Thessalians, who urged the Thebans to grant Philip a passage and join him against Athens. Expediency dictated compliance: neutrality was dangerous, opposition might be fatal, and Athens had no claim on their help. "But," says an unfriendly writer³, "the powers of the Orator, rousing their spirit and inflaming their ambition, prevailed over every consideration: danger, expediency, and gratitude were dismissed from their thoughts in the enthusiasm for honour which his speech kindled in them." The alliance was accepted, and old animosities were forgotten in a generous rivalry against the invader. The effect indeed was so great that, as Plutarch (c. 18) tells us, Philip offered terms of peace, which, however, were not accepted, for Demosthenes was supreme with the allies, and directed all their counsels. In two minor engagements they were successful: despair "passed away like a cloud," and the services of Demosthenes were gratefully recognized by his countrymen⁴.

¹ See the Introduction to the *De Symmoriis*, p. 312, and the *Excursus* on the 'Trierarchy,' p. 334. Also pp. 260, 261 of the *De Corona*, and *Grote* xi. 641.

² *De Cor.* p. 277, and *Aesch. c.* Ctes. pp. 70, 71.

³ Theopompus in Plutarch, c. 18. *Demos. de Cor.* pp. 298—300. *Aesch. c.* Ctes. pp. 73, 74. *Grote* xi. 678. *A. Schäfer* ii. 528.

⁴ *Demos. de Cor.* §§ 240. 274. 281.

But the Thebans had then no Epaminondas or Pelopidas; and though the Athenians had a Phocion, he was not with them¹, for his heart was not in the cause. Philip, on the other hand, was a consummate general, and the young Alexander commanded a division of his army. He summoned his allies from Peloponnesus: drew off the Thebans from a favourable position to the plains of Boeotia, and defeated his opponents at Chaeroneia, B.C. 338². Had Demosthenes then fallen for his country as 1000³ of his fellow-citizens fell, his fame would have been without stain or reproach, but ever afterwards he was taunted with being courageous in words and a coward in action. Before then, says Plutarch (c. 20), 'he was a brave man, but in the battle he did no noble deed, nor any thing worthy of his speeches. He abandoned his post ignominiously, threw away his shield, and ran away without thinking of the motto, "To Good Fortune," which it bore.' In his defence it is urged that his countrymen did the same, and it is only just to remember that in modern times the men of the pen are not the men of the sword, though of old the orator often served as the soldier.

Had the allies been well commanded the case might have been different: as it was, Philip is said to have shuddered at the reflection that his life and empire had been endangered through the energy of one man. Further effects of it were afterwards traced by Alexander at Sardis, where he found letters of Demosthenes to the Persian satraps, and proofs that they had supplied him with money to be used against Philip⁴. His own countrymen showed their appreciation of his conduct by appointing him to pronounce the funeral oration over those who had fallen in battle, and their relatives celebrated the funeral feast at his house as if he were their nearest of kin⁵. Nor was this all. A victorious enemy was within four days' march, but the Athenians showed their usual energy under defeat, and vigorously prepared for defence. Their first step was to repair their walls, and Demosthenes subscribed so liberally to the cost that the Senate, on the motion of Ctesiphon, passed a resolution to honour him with the public presentation of a

¹ Plutarch, c. 16. Comp. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 146.

² De Cor. §§ 201. 281. Polyæn. iv. 14.

³ De Cor. § 328. Diod. Sic. xvi. 88. A. Schäfer ii. 534.

⁴ Plutarch, c. 20.

⁵ De Cor. §§ 354, 355.

crown. If we may trust his own words, he was the directing spirit of his countrymen, and it was on his motions and upon his suggestions that the necessary measures were taken for resistance¹. But Philip not wishing to treat Athens as he had done Thebes², offered conditions of peace, which on the motion of Demades were accepted. They were decidedly liberal, though coupled with the demand of Philip's recognition as the head of Greece³.

Meanwhile, and for some time afterwards Demosthenes was assailed by charges of every kind but acquitted on all, and in his speech on the Crown, he (§ 310) appealed to the fact as a proof, that though unfortunate in his policy, his countrymen yet believed him honest and patriotic. The motion of Ctesiphon however suggested a means of wounding him through his friends, and accordingly in B.C. 337 it was impeached by Aeschines as illegal and unconstitutional, though the trial was delayed till B.C. 330. The results were the great speech of the De Corona, the triumphant acquittal of Ctesiphon, and the retirement of Aeschines from Athens⁴.

Six years before this event Philip had perished by an assassin, and great throughout Greece was the rejoicing⁵. Demosthenes, though he had lost a daughter only a week previous, displayed an extravagant if not indecent exultation, insultingly disparaging Alexander, calling him 'Margites,' as if he were a silly, ridiculous character, and declaring that he would not dare to leave Macedonia⁶. Doubtless the Athenians manifested their sympathy with these sentiments, and exhibited satisfaction at the prospect of regaining their independence. Similar feelings were general throughout Greece, and some states even committed overt acts of hostility, presuming upon the youth and embarrassments of Alexander. But the young hero soon undeceived them. After securing his position at home, he marched at the head of an irresistible army into Southern Greece, about two months after the death of Philip, and advanced without opposition as far as Thebes⁷. The Athenians took the alarm, and on the motion of

¹ De Cor. §§ 144. 309.

² Deinarchus c. Demos. § 20. Paus. ix. 1. 3. Justin ix. 4. Grote xi. 698.

³ Polyb. v. 10. Ed. Casaubon. Demades, Fragm. Orat. p. 179, quoted by Mr. Grote xi. 699.

⁴ See Introduction to the De Corona, p. 396.

⁵ Diod. Sic. xvi. 94.

⁶ Aeschin. c. Ctes. §§ 77. 160. Cicero, Tusc. ii. 26

⁷ Diod. xvii. 3. Grote xii. 14.

Demades passed a resolution of apology and submission, yielding more to Alexander than they had done to Philip, and sent a deputation begging forgiveness¹. For some reason or other, and possibly as Mr. Grote (xii. 17, note) suggests², through the intrigues of his enemies, Demosthenes was chosen as one of the envoys. He did not however go further than Cithæron, fearing perhaps that he might be detained as a victim, or that he would be more of a hindrance than a help in the negotiations. However, Alexander was pacified, and the Greeks, Sparta only excepted, assembled in congress at Corinth, recognized him as their chief, and entered into a convention for defining their relations with Macedonia and one another³.

This was not fairly observed⁴. Discontent arose, and Alexander was far away in the North-West on the Danube, fighting against the Triballi in the modern Servia and Bulgaria. He also crossed the Danube into Wallachia against the Getae⁵. From those distant countries no tidings of his success reached Greece, and in his absence there were rumours of his death. Demosthenes was only too willing to act upon them, unhappily for himself, and disastrously for others⁶. In this instance at least, however much we may admire his character, it seems impossible to acquit him of rash precipitation. Love for his country and hatred of Macedon overpowered all other considerations, and he at once commenced operations. He furnished money and arms to some Theban exiles at Athens, who thereupon returned home and persuaded their countrymen to declare against Macedon and attack the garrison quartered in the Cadmeia⁷. They failed in the attempt. Nor were they actively supported by the rest of Greece, though Demosthenes personally solicited the Peloponnesians to help them, and distributed Persian gold as an inducement⁸. Even at Athens the citizens refused to commit themselves, thinking it prudent to wait for more certain tidings of Alexander's death, and

¹ Arrian i. 1.

² Bp. Thirlwall (vi. 104) made the same suggestion.

³ Aesch. c. Ctes. § 161. Diod. xvii. 4. Arrian i. 1. Oratio de Foed. Alex. p. 213.

⁴ Or. de Foed. Alex. p. 215, and the Introduction, p. 380. Grote xii. 22.

⁵ Arrian i. 4.

⁶ Arrian i. 4. 7. Demades *περὶ τῆς δωδεκαετίας*, ad fin. quoted by Mr. G. xii. 41. Justin xi. 2.

⁷ Arrian i. 7. Grote xii. 42.

⁸ Vit. X. Orat. p. 850.

to be guided by the turn of events. His enemies¹ indeed alleged that Demosthenes was in some measure the cause of this apathy, and of the ruin of Thebes. They said that he had 300 talents of Persian gold in his possession, to be used against Alexander, and that the foreign mercenaries in the Cadmeia would have betrayed it for five talents, while the Arcadians would have marched to aid Thebes instead of turning back at the isthmus, if Demosthenes had given them ten.

We cannot believe that Demosthenes was guilty of the baseness and the folly thus imputed to him. But so it was, that Thebes stood alone, and instead of Grecian succours, the troops of Alexander, flushed with victory, and commanded by himself, appeared without notice or warning in Boeotia. From the Triballi he had turned southwards against the Illyrians, defeated their prince, and on hearing of the revolt of Thebes, marched right across the country against it². In a few days the whirlwind of destruction had swept over the city, and Thebes, except one dwelling, disappeared from the earth.

“The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
Went to the ground.”

The captives, men, women, and children, were sold as slaves, but some few fugitives escaped to Athens to tell the fearful news. The Athenians were struck with terror, and soon afterwards Alexander demanded the surrender of eight or ten of his opponents, and Demosthenes amongst them³. “Even then,” says Livy (ix. 18), “though the ruins of Thebes were yet smouldering before their eyes, the Athenians dared to speak freely.” Demosthenes⁴ reminded them of the fable of the wolf calling upon the sheep to give up their watch-dogs, and though Phocion counselled compliance, the Athenians determined on “no surrender.” An embassy was however sent to deprecate Alexander’s wrath, headed by Demades, who was said to have received a bribe of five talents from Demosthenes⁵. But Alexander refused to listen, and it was not till Phocion (Plut. c. 16) was sent on a second mission, that he modified his demands.

¹ Deinarchus, § 22. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 241. Diod. xvii. 8.

² Arrian i. 6, and i. 7.

³ Plutarch, c. 24.

⁴ Arrian i. 9. Diod. xvii. 14.

⁵ Arrian i. 10. Diod. xvii. 15.

This was in B.C. 335. The next year Alexander was in Asia; Greece had become virtually an appendage of Macedonia, and there was no public or political life in her cities. Phocion and Demades were the leading citizens of Athens: Demosthenes was powerless¹, though his friend Lycurgus was entrusted with the finances of the city², but the prosecution against Ctesiphon was suspended, till the failure of Agis in his movement against Macedon. Then, after the hopes of Hellenic independence had been crushed by Antipater, the prosecution was revived, and closed by that triumphant masterpiece of oratory, *The Speech on the Crown*.

Demosthenes was now fifty years of age, and we might have wished that his public career had closed with this successful vindication of his character, and the solemn approval of his political life by his countrymen. At such an age, and after such labours as his, perhaps he too wished for himself what he had prayed heaven to grant his country,—an undisturbed repose³. But this was not to be, at least not for long. Only five years afterwards he was again in trouble, nay in disgrace if not in prison, on a charge of personal corruption and embezzlement. The event happened thus:—

Alexander, while prosecuting his conquests in the N.W. of India, had left Harpalus as governor at Babylon. During his master's absence, this officer's conduct had been so extravagant and indecent, that he did not dare to wait Alexander's return, but fled from Asia with 5000 talents of silver and 6000 mercenaries. Even before this, and perhaps with a view of securing protection in case of need, he had established relations with Athens, and sent large quantities of wheat for the use of the citizens⁴. Thither accordingly he proceeded, but the Athenians would not receive his troops, which were sent away without landing⁵. He then begged as a suppliant for personal protection, and this appears to have been granted, or it may be that after dismissing his troops, he entered the city as a private individual⁶. That Demosthenes opposed the first application is admitted⁷: afterwards it is said that he was prevailed upon by

¹ De Cor. § 394. Grote xii. 374.

² Vit. X. Orat. 841 b. 852 a. Grote xii. 376.

³ De Cor. § 398.

⁴ Diod. xvii. 108. Athenæus xiii. 67, 68.

⁵ Deinarchus c. Aristogeit. § 4. Grote xii. 400.

⁶ Curtius x. 2. Grote xii. 398. Diod. xvii. 108.

⁷ Vit. X. Orat. p. 846. Photius, Life of Demos. cod. 265, p. 494.

bribes to support Harpalus, and Plutarch (c. 25) tells us how a beautiful gold cup did it all. But the painful story does not stop here. A demand was made for the extradition of Harpalus by the Macedonian regency, and it was supported by a Macedonian admiral with a small fleet¹. The requisition was opposed by Demosthenes, and also, it is to be observed, by the incorruptible Phocion. (Plut. in vit. c. 21.) Nevertheless, and perhaps as a sort of compromise in the hope of propitiating Alexander, the Orator moved and carried a resolution for putting Harpalus under arrest, and impounding his treasures in the Acropolis². At the same time Harpalus was publicly asked at the instance of Demosthenes, how much treasure he had, when he replied 720 talents, but afterwards it was discovered that the amount deposited was only 350³. Meanwhile he suddenly made his escape, of course through connivance or negligence, and there was a general suspicion that the missing money had been spent in bribing Demosthenes and others. Thereupon the orator himself moved⁴ that the Areiopagus should investigate and report upon the affair, and he declared that the offenders ought to suffer death. After a delay of six months the report was made, specifying the recipients of the money, and the amount each had, but without furnishing any evidence⁵. Demosthenes himself was charged with the receipt of twenty talents, and on the prosecution of Hypereides he was tried before a court of 1500 persons, and condemned in a fine of fifty talents. Not being able to pay this, he was thrown into prison, but escaped, and became a fugitive, sometimes lingering at Troezen, sometimes in Aegina, to gaze with tearful eyes on his country, a spirit-broken exile without prospect or hope of return⁶.

Suddenly (July, B.C. 323) the news ran through Greece that its lord and master was no more. Alexander was dead, and he had left no heir old enough to mount his throne, or strong enough to wield his power. Then again the old spirit was rekindled at Athens, and instigated by Leosthenes the general and Hypereides the orator, the

¹ Plutarch, de Vitioso Pudore, p. 531. Diod. l. c.

² Hypereides c. Demos. Fragm. 14. Babington.

³ Hyper. Fragm. 16, pp. 5. 7.

⁴ Deinarchus c. Demos. § 5. Hyper. Frag. 21, p. 59.

⁵ Deinarch. c. Dem. § 46. Hyper. Frag. 1, p. 18.

⁶ Id. § 108. Plutarch, c. 26. Thirlwall vii. 174. Plutarch says ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Τροιζῆνι καθεζόμενος τὰ πολλὰ. Comp. Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 226.

people resolved upon another effort for the liberty of Greece, raised a large force of their own, and sent envoys to solicit aid from the other states of Greece¹. North of the Isthmus almost every state readily entered into alliance with them. In the Peloponnesus the envoys were vigorously assisted by Demosthenes, who went about with them and materially contributed to their success. His fellow-citizens appreciated his exertions, and were so pleased with them that they immediately passed a resolution for his recall, despatched a trireme to convey him from Aegina, and escorted him from the Peiræus amid the joyous exultation of the whole people, not even a magistrate or a priest being left within the city². Meanwhile the gold of Harpalus and his own military service in Asia had enabled Leosthenes to collect a large number of mercenaries, with which he landed in Aetolia, and marched towards Thermopylae. On his route he received a reinforcement of 7000 men from the Aetolians, with promises of assistance from other states, and in Boeotia he was joined by a large force from Athens. Antipater met him with inferior numbers, was completely defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in the town of Lamia in Thessaly (B.C. 322). Leosthenes blockaded it, but was slain in repelling a sortie on his trenches, and with him fell the hopes of Grecian independence³. A brilliant testimony to his patriotism, courage, and ability is given in the funeral oration which Hypereides⁴ was commissioned to pronounce over him; but the most eloquent witness in his favour is the fact that there was no one to replace him. On his death the blockade of Lamia, was so far relaxed that Antipater was able to maintain himself till reinforcements arrived, when he escaped into Macedonia, waited for additional troops from Asia Minor, and then with a superior force defeated the confederate Greeks at Cranon in Thessaly. After this battle they all dispersed to their homes, and Antipater following the Athenians as far as Boeotia, took up his quarters in the Cadmeia, only two days' march from Athens, where there was no force able to oppose him⁵.

¹ Plutarch, Phocion, c. 23. Diodorus xviii. 10, 11.

² Plutarch, c. 27. Grote xii. 427. Thirlwall vii. 176.

³ Diod. xviii. c. 11. 13.

⁴ The remaining fragments of it have been recently (1858) published from a papyrus in the British Museum by Mr. Churchill Babington.

⁵ Diod. xviii. c. 17. Plutarch, Phocion, 26.

Demosthenes and Hypereides expecting no mercy fled at once, and on the motion of Demades the Athenian assembly passed sentence of death upon them. Hypereides was thereupon dragged from his sanctuary in the temple of Aeacus in Aegina, and executed by the orders of Antipater. His satellite Archias the 'exile-hunter' pursued Demosthenes to his sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, and endeavoured to persuade him to leave it, by assuring him that he would not be ill-treated. But the orator determined not to fall into the hands of his enemy, swallowed poison within the walls of the temple, crossed its threshold when he felt the hand of death upon him, staggered to the altar outside, and fell at its foot a corpse¹.

Thus died in his sixty-second year the great antagonist of Macedon, and unrivalled orator of Athens, suffering in his own person a worse fate than he had endeavoured to ward off from his country, and perishing in the attempt to secure for all his fellow-Greeks the liberty of making their own laws, and living as free men under their own constitutions. Affectionate friends were not wanting to say that he had not died by poison from his own hand, but was taken away by a quick and painless death, and thus saved by the special care and providence of the gods from the cruelty of the Macedonian². Happy at any rate was it for him that he was spared from seeing the free government of his country overthrown, her citizens carried away by thousands into strange lands, an enemy's garrison in her strongholds, and the extinction of every thing which he had done and suffered so much to uphold³. Through life he had striven in evil report and good report, at first for his country's pre-eminence, at last for her freedom: she lost both irrecoverably, and he could only have outlived them at most for a few short years, and at the best to brood over their loss in exile, and weep over the fruitless efforts of his youth, unhonoured and deserted in his old age. All this he was spared, and if his countrymen, rightly or wrongly, from honest conviction or through servile fear ever dishonoured his character in life, ample atonement was made to his memory after death. Then indeed, when the fear of Macedon was removed (B.C. 280), they

¹ Plutarch, Demos. c. 28, 29.

² Plutarch, Demos. c. 30.

³ Diod. xviii. 18. Plutarch, Phocion, c. 27, 28.

voted that the eldest of his family should be maintained at the public cost in the Prytaneum or town hall of Athens, and erected a statue in honour of himself with this inscription :—

Εἴπερ ἴσῃν ῥώμῃν γνῶμῃ Δημόσθενες εἶχες
Οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν ἄρης Μακεδών¹.

Such honours bestowed in their sober judgment, and of their own free will, by his fellow-countrymen are surely strong evidence² in favour of his integrity and patriotism, and stand in marked contrast with the popular opinion of his opponent, the orator Demades. Him too the Athenians had once honoured with statues when the power of Macedon was in the ascendant: these, however, when it seemed broken by Alexander's death, they melted down and applied to the vilest purposes³. One the free and uncontrolled voice of his country condemned; the other was banished when her enemies triumphed, and welcomed home with universal exultation when the fear of the oppressor was gone. In estimating the character of a man whose public and repeated boast it was that he had devoted himself honestly and unselfishly⁴, 'unstained with gold or fee,' to his country's good, such evidence is not to be lightly weighed, especially as it is the best within our reach, and the only testimony about which there is no dispute. So doubtless thought Quintilian (xii. 1) when he said, "*Mihi enim non Demosthenes tam gravi morum dignus videtur invidia, ut omnia quae in eum ab inimicis congesta sunt credam, cum et pulcherrima ejus in republica consilia et finem vitae clarum legam.*" It is consistent too with the generous and elevated sentiments which pervade his speeches, and which we cannot believe to be the expression of a systematic hypocrisy, but are almost forced to receive as the outpourings of a sincere and honest heart, "*optima sentientis, optimeque dicentis.*" Without calling him, as Niebuhr did, a "saint⁵," we may

¹ Plutarch, Demos. c. 30. Vit. X. Orat. 847. 850.

² Comp. Polybius, xii. 13, *βεβαιοτέραν τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἡγούμενος μαρτυρίαν ἢ τὴν Τιμαίου πικρίαν*. This was said of Demochares the nephew of Demosthenes, and is applicable to the orator himself.

³ Plutarch, Reipub. ger. Praec. 27. Thirlwall, c. 56, vii. p. 173.

⁴ For example in that noble passage De Cor. § 368: *ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλοanthropία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγας οὔτ' ἑλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δίκαιον καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδούναί*.

⁵ Niebuhr, Kleine Schriften, p. 467. Phil. Mus. i. 487. Quintilian xii. 1, who says, "*an perditorem, transfugam, praevaricatorem donabimus oratoris illo sacro nomine?*"

yet give him "that sacred name of Orator," for we cannot deny that he was a martyr for his country when venality was prosperous, and loyally devoted to her cause when patriotism was almost extinct; when indeed the upright Phocion¹ saw "no hope for Athens till the rich should be willing to contribute their money, and the orators to keep their hands from the public treasures." But whatever were the means of Demosthenes they were liberally bestowed upon the State, and many and bitter as were his enemies, no specific charge of bribery was ever brought home to him while yet in the prime of life, and so long as Macedon was only a rival of Athens.

How far he was really compromised in the affair of Harpalus—whether the disgrace and misery which it brought upon him were but an instance of that ill-fortune which sometimes dogs old age², or caused by his own misconduct, we have not evidence to determine. On one side are the admitted facts, that he was suspected of embezzlement; that the Areiopagus made a report against him; that thereupon he was prosecuted by Hypereides, found guilty, and obliged to retire into exile. On the other hand it is forcibly alleged that he himself moved the resolution for depositing the treasures of Harpalus in the Acropolis, and originated the public declaration of its amount; that the court of the Areiopagus took six months for its report, which was not supported by evidence; that Deinarchus and Hypereides did not in their accusation cite any evidence, but simply relied upon this report, while Demosthenes asked in vain for proof of the manner how, and the person from whom he got the money³; and lastly, that on the death of Alexander only nine months afterwards, Demosthenes was triumphantly welcomed home, and the fine really paid by the State⁴. The suggestion "that he was the victim of political necessity rather than of impartial justice⁵," would explain this sudden revulsion of feeling, and the presumption raised by the hostility of Hypereides is neutralized by the fact that the prosecutor and

¹ Plutarch, Phocion, 22.

² So after his failure in the siege of Metz (A.D. 1552) Charles V. said of Fortune, "*Je vois bien qu'elle est femme; mieux aime-t-elle un jeune roi qu'un vieil empereur.*" But his opponents taunted Demosthenes with his general bad fortune. See p. 121 b.

³ See above, p. xxx. Hypereidis Fragm. 19, p. 1. Dein. c. Dem. § 6.

⁴ Plutarch, Demos. c. 27.

⁵ Grote xii. 413. Thirlwall vii. 161, c. 56. Compare the condemnation of the two generals who had aided Thebes in the recovery of the Cadmeia, one of whom was executed, the other outlawed. Thirlwall v. 38. Xen. Hell. v. 4. 19.

the defendant were afterwards connected in the same struggle, and perished in the same cause. Again, the story that Demosthenes changed his mind on the offer of the golden goblet is weakened by the fact that Phocion adopted the same policy as the orator, and contradicted by a statement in Pausanias that the steward of Harpalus, when compelled to disclose the names of those who had received his bribes, did not include that of Demosthenes, though personally unfriendly to him¹.

From such a conflict of evidence a skilful advocate might make persuasive speeches 'in utramque partem,' but an impartial jury would, I think, lean to the presumption from character, and giving the accused the benefit of their doubts, say 'not guilty,' or, at any rate, 'not proven.' But even if we admit that Demosthenes really did share the missing money, there is not an insinuation that it was for apostasy or treason, or any desertion of principle, and our consequent judgment upon his moral character must in fairness be tempered by a consideration of the circumstances in which he lived. Even in English History "there is a name associated with the most stern and elevated virtue," that of Algernon Sydney, and yet there is the strongest evidence to show that in troublous times he accepted a "gratification from Louis XIV., which implied no dereliction of his duty as an Englishman, or any sacrifice of political integrity²." If further we remember that no human eloquence or virtue is perfect, our estimate of Demosthenes will be more just and true than if we credited the calumnies of his opponents, or deferred to modern critics whose judgment has been more or less influenced by their opinions whether liberal or conservative.

Enough then to show that the affair of Harpalus need not lower our estimate of the patriotism and integrity of Demosthenes. The style and character of his oratory remain to be described, a task, however, from which the scholar and the critic may well shrink, with the feeling that they cannot do justice to an eloquence which must have been heard to be appreciated, even were it not alike superfluous and unbecoming for a mere student to eulogize one on whom the greatest critics and most distinguished orators of

¹ Pausan. ii. 33. 5, οὐδὲ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀρχὴν Δημοσθένους αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ προσκρούσας.

² Hallam, Hist of England, ii. 550. Bp. Thirlwall, vii. 159, quotes to the same purpose Mackintosh, View of the Reign of James II. p. 339.

ancient and modern times have heaped their accumulated praise. 'Has he not,' says Quintilian¹, 'surpassed all those meagre and circumspect orators, in power, in sublimity, in enthusiasm, in polish and composition?' "Non insurgit locis? non figuris gaudet? non translationibus nitet? non oratione ficta dat carentibus vocem? non illud jusjurandum per caesos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reipublicae satis manifeste docet praeceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse?"

Rather should we say that his teacher was his own heart; that he spoke because he believed, and was eloquent because he was in earnest, for when such men speak, "their words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about them at command, and in well-ordered files as they would wish fall aptly into their own places²." This was his inspiration controlled by a sound common sense, which made his language not only intelligible but impressive to the lowest intellect, while it was refined by a good taste which charms the most cultivated minds. Its chief characteristic was a vigorous and unaffected simplicity, sometimes captivating and persuading by the flow of a consistent narrative, at others "wreathing an enthymeme with masterly dexterity," or carrying the mind along with it overpowered by the rapidity of its movement and the energy of its expression. To this was added a marvellous animation combined with consummate skill in the use of those artifices which awaken the attention and sustain the interest of an audience. Of course we are only speaking of the general character of his oratory, for the best men may err, and the most perfect orators are not always equal to themselves³. Nevertheless, and though, as Cicero said⁴, "Demosthenes does not always satisfy nor fill our ears," still it is wonderful how few and how trivial are the faults which at all impair his great and many excellences. He was not facetious or humorous, though he could be bitterly ironical; and the coarse abuse of his personal invective, though startling in our days, is fairly matched by the outspoken English of the sixteenth

¹ Instit. Orat. xii. 10.

² Milton, Apology for Smectymnuus. Pickering's Edition of Prose Works, i. 322. Compare Quintilian xii. 1: "Bonos nunquam honestus sermo deficiet, nunquam rerum optimarum inventio, et orator est vir bonus dicendi peritus."

³ "Summi enim sunt (Oratores) homines tamen." So it is said of Bossuet: "I ne fut grand orateur que parcequ'il était plein de la doctrine qu'il devait enseigner." Demogeot, Histoire de la Littérature Française, p. 444.

⁴ Orator, c. 29.

and seventeenth centuries¹. But his merits never ran into defects: "et humilia subtiliter, et magna graviter, et mediocria temperate dicit²." Though his periods are harmonious, and his sentences never offend the ear, still they never weary it by sameness or iteration, and if he repeats himself, it is only to be more forcible in argument or more impressive in his statements. Though terse and concise, his meaning is seldom obscure: his very simplicity is never below his subject, but always on a level with and appropriate to it. Even when most impassioned he does not lose his self-command, in his loftiest flights he is not extravagant, and however high he soars he carries reason and common sense along with him.

Perhaps this may seem excessive panegyric, and the student must judge for himself how far it is true. But it only expresses what has been said in other languages and by great authorities in other times. Thus Dionysius of Halicarnassus³ maintained that Demosthenes combined all the excellences without any of the faults of the great masters of Grecian Oratory, whether Historians, Orators, or Philosophers, till he formed a style of his own⁴, fitted in its infinite and 'Protean' variety for all classes of men, and adapted for all the occasions and emergencies of life. 'The style of Plato,' said he, 'one might compare to a flowery scene (χωρίῳ) full of pleasures and short-lived delights, while that of Demosthenes was a fertile and abundant field (γῆ), wanting neither in the necessaries of life, nor in the luxuries of enjoyment⁵.' In simpler terms we should say that his best speeches would serve even now as models for the Senate or a popular assembly, for the court of a dispassionate Judge or the tribunal of a sympathetic Jury. Nor was the great Roman critic less eulogistic though more compendious in his praise, when referring to the ten contemporary Orators at Athens, he said: "quorum longe princeps Demosthenes⁶ ac paene lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt,

¹ A remarkable example is furnished by Milton's 'Colasterion.' Prose Works, ii. 343. 378. Pickering. Longinus (xxxiv.) says of Demosthenes, ἐνθα γελοῖος εἶναι βιάζεται καὶ ἀστεῖος οὐ γέλωτα κινεῖ μάλλον, ἢ καταγελάται. Quintilian (x. 1) observes: "Salibus certe et commiseratione vincimus."

² Cicero, Orator, c. 29.

³ De admir. vi dicendi in Demosthene, p. 975.

⁴ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦτον ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῷ τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης μίκτον ιδέας.

⁵ Dion. Hal. p. 1056.

⁶ Quintilian, Inst. Orat. x. 1.

tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quod desit in eo, nec quod redundet invenias."

But greater praise than even this was given, and by a higher authority—Cicero. Himself the Prince of Roman orators, he 'freely magnified' the great Athenian, and without flattery said': "Plane quidem perfectum, et cui nihil admodum desit, Demosthenem facile dixeris. Nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis causis, quas scripsit, nihil (ut ita dicam) subdole, nihil versute, quod ille non viderit; nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri possit aliquid limatius: nihil contra grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate, vel sententiarum, quo quidquam esset elatius."

Perhaps indeed all this was not said without some hope of emulating the excellence and rivalling the fame of one whose misfortunes only too much resembled his own², and whose death like his proved how true were his own words³,—"Pacis est comes, otiique socia, et jam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam, eloquentia." In the same strain our glorious Milton⁴ testified in his noble prose that "Liberty is the nurse of all great wits," while he sang in verse of

' That ancient whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arsenal and fulmined over Greece
To Macedon.'

And now "the old man eloquent"⁵ of this generation, closes the panegyrics of twenty-four centuries on the first of Orators with

¹ De Clar. Orat. ix.

² See the parallel which Plutarch, at the end of his Biography of Cicero, draws between the last years of the two Orators' lives.

³ De Clar. Orat. xii.

⁴ Areopagitica, ii. 441, in Pickering's Edition.

⁵ This phrase was first used by Milton in his Sonnet to the Lady Margaret Ley, where he says:—

' that dishonest Victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent.'

Lord Brougham (Inaugural Discourse at Glasgow) remarks, that "Milton applied the phrase to Plato." But the Philosopher died in B.C. 347, nine years before the battle, and Milton was too learned to have made a mistake on the subject. The allusion is to Isocrates, who died in his ninety-ninth year, ἀπαγγελλέντων τῶν περὶ Χαϊρώνειαν πυθόμενος. Vitae X. Orat. 837 e. Lucian (Macrob. c. 23) states that Isocrates, on hearing the report, ἐπειπὼν ὡς δουλεύσει ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον. Comp. Cic. de Senect. c. 5.

these glowing words of praise¹. "At the head of all the mighty masters of speech, the adoration of ages has consecrated his place; and the loss of the noble instrument with which he forged and launched his thunders, is sure to maintain it unapproachable for ever."

Those to whom that 'noble instrument' is familiar, may judge for themselves in this volume, how far such commendation is deserved; while those to whom it is as yet strange may be told that Longinus² also describes the power and impressiveness of Demosthenes as altogether unapproachable; not to mention the anecdote which represents even Philip of Macedon as saying, that if he himself³ had heard the Philippics, he should have appointed the speaker to the command of the war against him. No higher compliment than this could have been paid to the powers of the Orator, and even if the story is of doubtful authority, at any rate it shows what was the opinion entertained of them.

We may add in connexion with his life and death, that as he and Philip were born about the same time, if not in the same year, so Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander the son of Philip, is generally believed to have died in the same year as Demosthenes, and at about the same age, namely sixty-three. His friend Lycurgus died the year before⁴.

¹ Lord Brougham, "Eloquence of the Ancients," Works, vii. 59.

² τὴν ἅπασιν ἀπρόσιτον δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν, de Sub. c. xxxiv., where he also speaks of the Orator's θεόπεμπτα δωρήματα, οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπινον. In c. xii. he compares the style of Demosthenes to a whirlwind or a thunderbolt—σκηπτῷ τινι ἢ κεραυνῷ—that of Cicero he observes is like a wide-spreading conflagration, ὡς ἀμφιλαφὴς τις ἐμπρησμός.

³ The story is told in the lives of the Ten Orators (845 c) thus: Φίλιππον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναφέροντας αὐτῷ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ δημηγορίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἀκούων λέγοντος ἐχειροτόνησα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμον. Photius (cod. 265. 804 H) repeats it.

⁴ The authorities are given in Clinton's Fast. Hell. under B.C. 321 and B.C. 322.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Olymp.	B. C.	
99. 1	384	Birth of Aristotle.
	383	Birth of Philip II. king of Macedon. (Clinton, Fasti Hell. ii. 228., See p. xiv.
99. 3	382	Probable birth year of Demosthenes. Seizure of the Cadmeia at Thebes by the Lacedaemonians, in the first campaign of their war against Olynthus.
	381	Siege of Phlius by Agesilaus.
100. 1	380	Isocrates publishes his <i>Πανηγυρικός</i> .
	379	The Cadmeia recovered by the Theban exiles.
	378	Death of Lysias and Archonship of Nausinicus. New valuation at Athens for taxation.
101. 1	376	Chabrias gains the battle of Naxos. Phocion, then a young man, present at it.
	375	Demosthenes an orphan at seven years of age. Some assign B.C. 382, others B.C. 377 for the date. See p. xiv.
	374	Plataeae destroyed by the Thebans, the inhabitants taking refuge at Athens. Timotheus restores some Zacynthian exiles, and occasions <i>τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον</i> , as it was called. Isocratis <i>Πλαταικός</i> .
	373	Timotheus superseded in his appointment for Corcyra by Iphicrates. Trial of Timotheus.
102. 2	371	Congress at Sparta excluding Thebes. Battle of Leuctra. Foundation of Megalopolis.
	369	First invasion of Laconia by Thebans. Restoration of the Messenians. Alliance of Athens with Lacedaemon.
103. 1	368	Second invasion of Laconia by the Thebans. Attempt of the king of Persia to negotiate peace.
	367	Archidamus III. gains the 'Tearless Battle.' Pelopidas goes on an embassy to Persia. Aristotle visits Athens at seventeen years of age.
	366	Epaminondas enters Achaia. Oropus lost by the Athenians. Alliance between Athens and Arcadia. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes. Demosthenes of age, and commences proceedings against his guardians. Isocratis <i>Ἀρχίδαμος</i> .
104. 1	364	Battle at Olympia between the Arcadians and Eleans during the games. Timotheus conquers Potidaea. Speech of Demosthenes against Aphobus.
	362	Fourth expedition of Epaminondas into Peloponnesus. Battle of Mantinea, and his death. Artaxerxes Ochus succeeds to the Persian throne. Revolt of some of his Satraps.
	361	General peace, but excluding the Lacedaemonians. Recognition of the independence of Messene. Banishment of Callistratus the orator.

Olymp	B. C.	
105. 1	360	Failure of Timotheus in his attempt on Amphipolis then held by the Olynthians. Theopompus commences his history from this year. Embassy of Athenians to Thrace.
	359	Accession of Philip. Cotys king of Thrace assassinated, and Thrace divided amongst three kings. Assassination of Alexander of Pherae.
	358	Amphipolis taken by Philip. Expedition of the Athenians to Euboea against the Thebans. Cersobleptes gives up the Chersonese to the Athenians except Cardia.
	357	Commencement of the Social War. Death of Chabrias. The Phocians seize Delphi and its treasures. Philip conquers Pydna and Potidaea (see p. 25).
106. 1	356	Birth of Alexander. Isocratis <i>περὶ Εἰρήνης</i> . Alliance of Philip with Olynthus.
	355	Athens makes peace with her allies. Demosthenes is twenty-seven years of age. His speeches against Androtion and against Leptines.
	354	Speech <i>περὶ Συμμοριῶν</i> . Trial and condemnation of Timotheus. (Battle of Tamynae according to Jacobs and others.)
	353	Philip seizes Pagasae, and besieges Methone, p. 26. The speech for the Megalopolitans late in this year or early in the next. The speech against Timocrates.
107. 1	352	Lycophron of Pherae calls in Onomarchus. Philip's attempt to pass Thermopylae foiled by the Athenians. The speech against Aristocrates. Philip besieges <i>Ἡραίων τεῖχος</i> in Thrace, and falls sick.
	351	The First Philippic and the speech for the Rhodians.
	350	The speech <i>πρὸς Βοιωτῶν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος</i> , and the <i>παραγραφικὸς ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος</i> .
	349	Battle of Tamynae in Euboea. Demosthenes thirty-two years of age and Choragus. (Mr. Clinton gives B.C. 350 as the date for these events.) The Olynthiac Orations.
108. 1	348	Capture of Olynthus by Philip. Probable date of the speech against Meidias.
	347	Philip celebrates the Olympia at Dium. Death of Plato. First embassy to Philip for peace on the motion of Philocrates (November). The speeches <i>πρὸς Βοιωτῶν ὑπὲρ προικῶς</i> , and <i>πρὸς Πανταίνετον παραγραφικὸς</i> .
	346	Return of the first embassy (March), and acceptance of peace by Athens. Philip prosecutes his conquests in Thrace till the second embassy, <i>ἥ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους</i> , receives his ratification. Philip then crushes the Phocians, concludes the Sacred War, is made one of the Amphictyons, and celebrates as president the Pythian games. The speeches <i>περὶ Εἰρήνης</i> , and <i>πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἔφεσις</i> . Isocratis <i>Φιλίππος</i> .
	345	Aeschines <i>κατὰ Τιμάρχου</i> . Philip intrigues in the Peloponnesus, and supports the Messenians against Sparta.
109. 1	344	Demosthenes as Ambassador of Athens warns the Messenians and Argives of Philip's intentions. Thessaly divided and regulated by Philip after a victorious campaign in Thrace. The Second Philippic. Amendments proposed in the Peace.
	343	Philip fails in his attempts on Ambracia and Leucas, through the intervention of Athens. Demosthenes goes as an Ambassador to Acarnania. Philip supports the Cardians against Diopieithes. The speech on Halonnesus. The speeches <i>περὶ Παραπρεσβείας</i> .
	342	Macedonian troops occupy Oreus in Euboea. Philip in Thrace for eleven months, and threatens the Propontis and the Hellespont. Aristotle visits the court of Philip. The speech on the Chersonese, also that <i>κατ' Ὀλυμπιοδάρου</i> . (Clinton dates the 'De Chersoneso' in B.C. 341.)
	341	Expedition of Athens to Euboea on the motion of Demosthenes.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Olymp. 109. 4	B. C. 341	The tyrants of Oreus and Eretria expelled from the island. Demosthenes has a public vote of thanks for his services. Persuades the Byzantines to join in alliance with Athens. The Third Philippic.
110. 1	340	Philip besieges Perinthus. Declares war against Athens, and publishes his letter or manifesto. Obligated to raise the siege of Perinthus. Attacks Byzantium, which is succoured by the Athenians under Phocion. Philip thereby compelled to withdraw and make peace with the Byzantines. A second vote of thanks to Demosthenes, who reforms the Athenian navy. The Fourth Philippic.
	339	Philip invades the Scythians of Bulgaria, and is defeated on his return by the Thracian Triballi. Aeschines goes as the Pylagoras or representative of Athens, to the Amphictyonic meeting, and instigates the Amphictyons against Amphissa. Philip appointed their commander-in-chief. Seizes upon Elateia. Demosthenes proposes and negotiates an alliance with Thebes. The answer <i>πρὸς τὴν Φιλίππου ἐπιστολήν</i> .
	338	Demosthenes honoured with a third vote of thanks (March). Battle of Chaeroneia. Death of Isocrates, "the old man eloquent." Demosthenes delivers the Funeral Oration over those slain at Chaeroneia. The speeches against Aristogeiton.
	337	Ctesiphon proposes the public presentation of a crown to Demosthenes. Philip marches into the Peloponnesus, and convenes a congress of States at Corinth. Appointed chief of the Greeks against Persia. Aeschines commences proceedings against Ctesiphon.
111. 1	336	Assassination of Philip, and accession of Alexander. Deinarchus began to compose Orations.
	335	Alexander invades Thrace, and attacks the Triballi. Revolt and destruction of Thebes. Demand of Athenian Orators by Alexander.
	334	Alexander crosses the Hellespont, and is victorious at the Granicus. Aristotle visits Athens.
	333	Battle of Issus. The speech <i>κατὰ Θεοκρίνου ἐνδείξις</i> .
112. 1	332	Siege of Tyre. The speech <i>πρὸς Φορμίωνα ὑπὲρ δαλείου</i> .
	331	Battle of Arbela. Defeat of Agis by Antipater.
	330	Death of Darius. The speech 'De Corona.'
	329	The speech <i>κατὰ Διονυσόδωρου βλάβης</i> .
113. 1	328	Alexander advances to the Oxus and into Sogdiana.
	327	The <i>Ἀγὴν, δῶμα σατυρικόν</i> , exhibited in the camp of Alexander on the Hydaspes.
	326	Alexander reaches the mouth of the Indus. Demades <i>ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας</i> , i. e. in defence of his administration for twelve years.
	325	Harpalus flies to Athens.
114. 1	324	Demosthenes is condemned in the matter of Harpalus, and retires into exile.
	323	Death of Alexander, and the Lamian war. Return of Demosthenes. Hypereidis <i>ἐπιτάφιος</i> .
	322	Battle of Cranon. Death of Demosthenes. His nephew Demochares already engaged in public affairs. Antipater disfranchises 12,000 of the poorer citizens of Athens and settles them in Thrace. Death of Aristotle.
115. 4	317	Death of Phocion.
116. 3	314	Death of Aeschines.
125. 1	280	Honours paid to Demosthenes.

N.B. This table is composed from that of Jacobs in his translation of the De Corona, with additions and modifications from Clinton and Grote.

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ

ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

Ἐπειδὴ, κράτιστε ἀνθυπάτων Μόντιε, κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρικὸν 1
Ἀστεροπαῖον περιδέξιος τὰ εἰς λόγους ὦν πρωτεύεις μὲν ἐν τῇ
Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνοις παιδείας ὁμολογουμένως 5
τὸ πρεσβεῖον ἀνήρῃσαι, ἀμελείς δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, ἅτε καὶ

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ] This Libanius was a distinguished rhetorician, born at Antioch on the Orontes about A.D. 315, and contemporary with the emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Julian. He was the teacher of St. Basil and John Chrysostom, with whom he kept up a friendship, though a pagan and a great favourite of Julian, in whose honour he wrote a funeral oration (*Ἐπιτάφιος ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῷ*, Vol. i. pp. 521—626). At the request of the proconsul Montius, as stated by himself, he wrote the arguments to the speeches of Demosthenes, which he prefaced with an account of his life. He also composed original orations, sixty-seven of which are still extant, and left a collection of letters, of which 1605 were published in the edition of J. C. Wolf (1738, fol.), many of them addressed to such personages as Julian, Athanasius, and Gregory of Nyssa. One is dated A.D. 391, and Libanius probably died soon after. He wrote an autobiography prefixed to Reiske's edition of his works. This he inscribed *βίος ἢ λόγος περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ τύχης*, and it is the chief authority for our knowledge of his life and fortunes. Another is Suidas, s. v. (Dict. Biogr. s. v.)

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ] On the fuller title which is given in older editions, and by Bekker, Dindorf observes, "Legebatur, Λιβανίου σοφιστοῦ πρὸς ἀνθύπατον Μόντιον, ἀξιώσαντα αὐτὸν γράψαι οἱ τὸν τε Δημοσθένους βίον καὶ τὰς ἀπάντων τῶν

λόγων αὐτοῦ ὑποθέσεις, lemmate non ex Codicibus ducto, sed ab Editore Aldino, Scipione Carteromacho, loquaciter interpolato."

Μόντιε] This Montius, the proconsul, was slain at Antioch, A.D. 353, a date which partly fixes the time of this letter to him. Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 7. 12), himself a native of Antioch, and the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in the Latin language, calls him Quæstor not Proconsul. The name appears to be still preserved in Italy, as e. g. in the family of the distinguished sculptor Raffaele Monti of Milan.

κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρικόν] 'like the As-teropaëus of Homer.' The reference is to *Iliad* xxi. 163:

— 'Ὁ δ' ἀμαρτῇ δούρασιν ἀμφὶς
ἦρως Ἀστεροπαῖος, ἐπεὶ περιδέξιος ἦεν,

where περιδέξιος is explained by ἀμφιδέξιος, and 'ambidexter.' It is an allusion somewhat characteristic of a pedantic critic.

περιδέξιος τὰ εἰς λόγους] 'double-handed in literature,' i. e. acquainted with both Latin and Greek learning. Compare the "Docte sermones utriusque linguae" of Horace (*Od.* iii. 8) and the simplicity of the poet with the pedantry of the rhetorician. Cicero's (*De Off.* i. c. 1) prose is "par in utriusque orationis facultate."

τὸ πρεσβεῖον ἀνήρῃσαι] 'you have carried off the prize, or gained the high-

ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως μέγεθος ὑπερέχειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τε τοὺς ἄλλους διατρίβεις καὶ περὶ τὸν τελεώτατον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ῥητόρων, τὸν Δημοσθένην, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἡβουλήθης τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν τούτου λόγων ἀναγράψασθαί σοι, δεχόμεθα μὲν 10 ἄσμενοι τὸ πρόσταγμα, ἴσμεν γὰρ ὅτι πλείω τὴν τιμὴν ἢ πόνον ἔχει, ἀρξόμεθα δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὐχ ὅλον αὐτὸν διεξιόντες, περιττὸν γὰρ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτων 2 μνημονεύοντες, ὅσα δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς κατάληψιν ἀκριβεστέραν τῶν λόγων συντελεῖν.

Δημοσθένει τοίνυν τῷ ῥήτορι πατὴρ ἦν Δημοσθένης, ἀνέπι-
ληπτος τῷ γένει δοκῶν, ὥς καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐχθρὸς ὢν μαρτυρεῖ 5
εἴρηται γοῦν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι, “τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δη-
μοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι”
ἐργαστήριον δὲ οἰκετῶν μαχαιοποιῶν κεκτημένος ἐντεύθεν τὴν
τοῦ μαχαιοποιοῦ κλήσιν ἔλαβε. τὸ μέντοι μητρῶον γένος τοῦ 10
ῥήτορος οὐκ ἦν, ὥς φασι, καθαρῶς Ἀττικὸν, Γύλωνος τοῦ πάππου
τοῦ Δημοσθένους φυγόντος μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ προδοσίας ἐγκλή-

est rank in learning with them.’ With τὸ πρεσβεῖον compare Thucyd. (iv. 61) τοῦτό τις πρεσβύτατον ἔχει κρίνας, and the Latin phrase ‘nihil antiquius habere.’ Also Aeschyl. Choeph. v. 479, πάντων δὲ πρῶτον τόνδε πρεσβεύσω τάφον.

διατρίβεις] ‘as you employ yourself upon,’ i. e. study. The full expression would be διατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον περὶ τι.

ἡβουλήθης] According to Vömel (Praefat. ad Dem. p. v.) Libanius generally prefixes the temporal augment to βούλομαι, and therefore I prefer this reading to ἐβουλήθη. It may be observed also that throughout this Introduction ἡδυνήθη is the MSS. reading, not ἐδυνήθη.

τὰς ὑποθέσεις] These Arguments form a consecutive series in the MSS., and are not, as in the printed editions, immediately prefixed to the several orations.

ἴσμεν γὰρ ὅτι] ‘we know that the honour of it is more than the labour.’ But we should certainly have expected τὸν πόνον, with the article.

Δημοσθένει] Libanius does not, it will be seen, state the year in which Demosthenes was born, nor is it known for certain what year it was. Some suppose it was B.C. 385, some B.C. 380, and others an intermediate year. There is a learned article upon the question in the Phil. Mus. ii. p. 389, written by Bp. Thirlwall.

ἀνέπιληπτος] ‘unexceptionable.’ Aristotle, Polit. iv. c. 5 (ed. Göttling), uses the word ἀνυπεύθυνος in the same sense. Thus speaking of persons whose citizenship was pure paternally and maternally, he calls them ἀνυπεύθυνοι κατὰ τὸ γένος. Aeschines, c. Ctes. § 17, uses ἀνυπεύθυνος of the responsibility of public men as follows: οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθῶν.

εἴρηται γοῦν] In the speech c. Ctes. § 171.

ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος] Plutarch, vita Demos. c. 4, says of him, Δημοσθένης δὲ πατὴρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιοποῖς, ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλων τεχνίτας τοῦτο πράττοντας. Lucian (Encom. Dem. c. 11) states that he served as Trierarch.

ὁ Παιανιεύς] There were two townships (δῆμοι) of the same name in the same tribe, the Pandionid, but distinguished as the upper and lower. Παιανιὰ ἡ ὑπὲρθεον καὶ ἡ καθύπερθεον.

ψεύδεσθαι] So Dindorf reads with the MSS. B and F, as in Aesch. c. Ctes. § 171. Bekker has ψεύσασθαι.

ἐργαστήριον] ‘a manufactory.’ ἐπὶ . . . ἐγκλήματι.] Libanius here follows Aeschines (l. c.) in his assertion that Gylon, the maternal grandfather of

ματι, οἰκήσαντος δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόντον, καὶ ἐν γυναικὶ ἀγαγομένου Σκύθιν τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἧς ἦν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἡ μήτηρ Κλεοβούλη. εἰς τοῦτο γοῦν ἄλλοι τε λελοιδορήκασιν καὶ Αἰσχίνης, εἰπὼν ὡς 15 ἄρα εἴη Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω ὀρφανὸς δὲ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κομιδῇ νέος ἦν μὲν, ὥς φασιν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι κατὰ νοσώδης, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς παλαιστράν φοιτῆσαι, καθάπερ πάντες οἱ 20 τῶν Ἀθηναίων παῖδες εἰώθεσαν ὅθεν καὶ ἀνδρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς μαλακίαν ἐσκώπτετο καὶ Βάτταλον ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχευ. ἰστορήται γάρ τινα Βάτταλον Ἐφέσιον αὐλητὴν γενέσθαι, ὃς πρῶτος ὑποδήμασι γυναικείοις ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐχρήσατο καὶ μέλεσι κατεαγόσι, καὶ ὅλως τὴν τέχνην ἐμάλλαξεν ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοὺς 25 ἐκλύτους καὶ ἀνάνδρους Βαττάλους ἐκάλουν.

Λέγεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν πολλὴν καὶ σφοδρὰν ἐπὶ λόγους ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν σχεῖν. Καλλίστρατος ἦν Ἀθηναῖος ῥήτωρ

Demosthenes, betrayed to an enemy the city Nymphæum, in the eastern part of the Tauric Chersonesus or Crimæa, and that having consequently been condemned to death in his absence, he settled on the Cimærian Bosphorus, or Straits of Yenikale. According to the same authority this Gylon there married a woman of property, a Scythian or Tatar by birth, though possibly the daughter of some Greek resident (ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, καὶ ἐν λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὀνομασμένους κήπους, καὶ γαμῇ γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νῆ Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γένος). By Bosphorus Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, xi. 369) seems to think Aeschines meant the modern Kertch, and ancient Panticapæum of Strabo and others, the metropolis of the kingdom of Bosphorus, which appears to have been co-extensive with the peninsula of Kertch. But it is more simple and natural to understand by it the kingdom itself rather than its chief city, although Panticapæum was sometimes called Bosphorus. As for the term Pontus, Libanius uses it (περὶ τὸν Πόντον) in a limited sense, and not agreeably to the usage of more ancient writers. The Pontus of Ovid was near the mouths of the Danube. For a collection of authorities on the kingdom and kings of Bosphorus, see Clinton, Fasti Hellen. i. Append. Suppl. c. 13. Strabo viii. pp. 308—310.

Σκύθης . . . τῇ φωνῇ] These are the actual words of Aeschines (c. Ctes. §

172), on which Plutarch (vit. Demos. c. 4) observes, ἃ δ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρὸς—οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἰτ' ἀληθῶς εἶρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος. Doubtless his mother's origin is truly represented, but it was no disgrace to Demosthenes.

κομιδῇ νέος] He was then seven years old. Κατέλιπεν ἐμὲ, ἔπ' ἐτῶν ὄντα, c. Aprob. i. § 4.

ἀνδρωθεὶς] 'when arrived at manhood.' This use of ἀνδρωθεὶς belongs to the later writers in the Greek language.

Βάτταλον] The MSS. B, F, O, have Βάταλον, which Bekker adopts. But the double τ is used in a line of the poet Hedyllus in Athenæus .iv. c. 78, καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀκρήτοις Βάτταλον ἠδυνότην.

μέλεσι κατεαγόσι] 'effeminate airs.' Suidas s. v. explains μέλας κατεαγόντα by κεκλασμένα, or 'carmina fracta,' i. e. 'enervata.' So τρυφερός from θρύπτω, of a delicate person. From Pollux (ii. 83) we learn that the phrase τὰ ὄτα κατεαγόντες was applied to the professional members of the Palaestra, whose ears were bruised by frequent boxing. Suidas accompanies his explanation by the following note: Ἀθῆναι προθυμία ἐνίοις τῶν τὰ ὄτα κατεαγόντων καὶ ἅμα διεφθαρμένων τὰς διανοίας ἐπὶ κωμῶδιαν ἐτράπη καὶ γέλωτα πολὺν. Comp. Cic. de Fin. v. 12: "Etiam sessiones quaedam, et flexi fractique motus, quales protervorum hominum aut mollium esse solent, contra naturam sunt." See also Mr. Maclean's note on Hor. C. iii. 6. 20.

ἐνδοξος· οὗτος ἔμελλε δημοσίαν τινὰ δίκην ἀγωνίζεσθαι, φασίν, οἶμαι, τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ. ὁ τοίνυν Δημοσθένης παῖς ὧν ἐδεῖτο 3 τοῦ ἐφεστῶτος οἰκέτου συγχωρῆσαι παραβαλεῖν αὐτῷ τῇ δίκῃ

τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ] As Mr. Grote (xi. 372) observes, "We can make out nothing positive about this trial, which Plutarch (Demos. c. v.) calls *περιβόητος*, neither the date, nor the exact point in question, nor the manner in which Callistratus was concerned in it, nor who were his opponents. What we know for certain is, that Oropus was on the frontiers of Attica and Boeotia, near to Tanagra, and frequently a subject of dispute between Athens and Thebes, till Philip, after capturing the latter city, gave it (Oropus) to the Athenians." (Pausan. i. 34. 1.) From an intimation in Isocrates (Platonic. § 22) it would seem that the Oropians had, contrary to the wishes of the Thebans (τῇ μὲν ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπ' Ὠρωπίων δεδομένης φρονούσιν), surrendered their territory to the Athenians. Afterwards (b. c. 366), as we learn from Diodorus Siculus (xv. 76), and Xenophon (Hell. vii. 4. 1), it was seized by some exiles and Themison of Eretria in Euboea, who, however, being unable to retain it against the superior forces of the Athenians, called in the aid of the Thebans. Unassisted by any of their own allies, the Athenians then retired, delivering up Oropus to the Thebans to hold it in trust till the disputed proprietorship was decided by a judicial inquiry, though it is not stated before what judges (τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδὲς τῶν συμμαχῶν ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν Θηβαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης). Such is the statement of Xenophon, and hence it would naturally be inferred that the δημοσία δίκη, ἡ περὶ Ὠρωποῦ, at which, according to Libanius, Callistratus was heard by Demosthenes, related to this very question; and Suidas, indeed, states (s. v. Ὠρωπία) that Callistratus spoke ὑπὲρ Ὠρωπίων, identifying them with the Athenians. But if so, we must also conclude that there was a second trial at Athens (ἐν δικαστηρίῳ) in connexion with the same subject (ἡ περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσις, not δίκη) at which Demosthenes was certainly present, and in which Callistratus was a speaker, not however for his countrymen, but in his own defence (ἀγωνιζόμενος τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν, Plutarch, Demos. c. 5). For it appears that the Thebans after all refused to give up Oropus, so that, as Diodorus (l. c.) tells us, Themison

lost it unexpectedly (παράδοξως ἀπέβαλε), an expression from which it may be supposed that the result of the trial (δίκη) of right was adverse to the Athenians, in which case they might naturally be angry with their advocate. Be this as it may, and it is very doubtful, Plutarch (l. c.) states that Callistratus was brought to trial before the Athenians themselves in the matter of Oropus, on which occasion Demosthenes heard him; and again, we read in the Oratio c. Meid. (§ 84) that the general Chabrias was also accused on a capital charge in connexion with the same affair (τὸν Φιλόστρατον πάντες ἴσμεν τὸν Κολωνῆθεν Χαβρίου κατηγοροῦντα δτ' ἐκρίνετο τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν θανάτου). We learn moreover from the same sources that Chabrias escaped and that Callistratus was successful (εὐμερῆσαντος τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θανμασθέντος ὑπερφυνῶς), and they are mentioned by Aristotle (Rhetor. i. 7, § 13) as having been associated in one and the same trial. An explanation of this is suggested by the statement of Ulpian (c. Meid. § 84) that Chabrias persuaded the Athenians to help the Thebans when in difficulties, who, when their own danger was over, robbed their benefactors of Oropus, in consequence of which he was suspected of collusion with them and brought to trial for treachery (ὁ Χαβρίας ἔπειθε Θηβαίους βοηθῆσαι Ἀθηναίους ὅτε ἐκινδύνουν· εἴτα σωθέντες ἀπέσπασαν τὸν Ὠρωπὸν· ὑπωπτεύθη γοῦν ὁ στρατηγὸς ὡς συνειδώς, καὶ προδοσίας ἐκρίθη).

It has also been supposed that both Chabrias and Callistratus were advisers of the compromise by which Oropus was surrendered to the Thebans, and indeed we can hardly conceive any other charge on which either could have been brought to trial in connexion with it. As already remarked they were both acquitted, but either for this or some other cause Callistratus had given so much offence to his fellow-citizens that he was exiled, and on his return put to death. Demosth. adv. Polyclet. § 60. Lycur. c. Leocr. § 95. Clinton, Fasf. Hell. ii. append. c. 22, p. 396. Dict. Biogr. s. v. Callistratus. Butmann, Meid. p. 47.

συγχωρῆσαι παραβαλεῖν αὐτῷ] 'to allow him to be present at the trial.' The phrase is strange (in full it would be παρα-

καὶ ὃς ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω διετέθη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας πάντα παρέργα πρὸς τοὺς λόγους θέσθαι. διδασκάλῳ δὲ χρησάμενος Ἰσαίῳ, μάλα δεινῷ ῥήτορι, εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφεῖς⁵ εὐθύς ἀγῶνα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐνεστήσατο, κακῶς διωκηκότων τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶλε μὲν αὐτοὺς, οὐ μὴν ἡδυνήθη πάντα ἀπολαβεῖν, ὅσα ἀπολωλέκει. τοὺς δὲ λόγους τοὺς ἐπιτροπικούς εἰσὶν οἳ φασιν Ἰσαίου καὶ οὐ Δημοσθένους εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν¹⁰ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀπιστοῦντες (ὀκτωκαίδεκα γὰρ ἑτῶν ἦν, ὅτε πρὸς τούτους ἡγωνίζετο) καὶ ὅτι δοκοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τὸ τοῦ Ἰσαίου πως ἐπιφαίνειν εἶδος. ἕτεροι δὲ νομίζουσι συντετάχθαι μὲν ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, διωρθῶσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσαίου. οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν,¹⁵ εἰ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἡδύνατο μὲν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡλικίας συγγράφειν τοιούτους λόγους (ἡ γὰρ ὕστερον ὑπεροχὴ καὶ τοῦτο πιστοῦται), ἀπὸ δὲ νεαρᾶς ἔτι τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τὸν ἐκείνου χαρακτήρα πολλαχῇ μεμίμηται. μετὰ μέντοι τούτους τοὺς ἀγῶνας βραχὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ προελθὼν σοφιστεύειν ἐνεχείρησεν,²⁰ εἵτα ἀπαλλαγείς τούτου συνηγόρησεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ. τούτοις δὲ ὥσπερ γυμνασίοις χρησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττειν ἦλθεν.

βαλεῖν αὐτόν) as well as the position of αὐτῷ, though dependent on συγχωρῆσαι, nor is τοῦ ἐφεστῶτος οἰκέτου a phrase of classic Greek.

καὶ ὃς ἐπέτρεψεν] 'and he (the domestic) permitted it.' Libanius here uses ὃς, the old form of the demonstrative pronoun. It is used in the same way by Plato. Thus *De Repub.* § 1, καὶ ὁ Ἀδείμαντος, Ἄρα γε, ἦδ' ὃς, for ἔφη οὗτος. Also Herod. vii. c. 18, καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα. It is remarkable, that as in Greek ὃς, the old demonstrative, afterwards became ὁ, as in ὁ μὲν and ὁ δέ, so in Sanscrit *sas*, 'he,' and *eshas*, 'this,' the nominatives of *tad* and *etad*, drop the final *s* before any consonant, hard or soft (Monier Williams, *Gram.* p. 36).

ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας] This too is a phrase which a writer of pure Attic Greek would hardly have used in the sense which it here bears, though in the New Testament we find (*Matt.* viii. 13) ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, and (*John* iv. 49) ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ. So also, repeatedly, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.

Ἰσαίῳ] Isaeus flourished from B.C. 420 to B.C. 356. Dionysius Halicar. (*de* Isaeo, c. 3) says of him, πηγὴ τις ὧντως

ἔστι τῆς Δημοσθένους δυνάμεως.

εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφεῖς] At the age of eighteen an Athenian citizen of unexceptionable parentage and birth was enrolled in the registry of his township, the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, so called because any person whose name was inscribed in it might enter upon an inheritance and enjoy a patrimony, τῆς λήξεως ἔρχειν being equivalent to the Latin *'adire hereditatem.'* See *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. *Δῆμος*.

ἀπὸ δὲ νεαρᾶς] 'and from his then still recent practice under his Master,' Rüdiger remarks also, that Isaeus was much employed in cases of inheritance.

σοφιστεύειν] 'to act as a *Σοφιστής*, or Teacher of Eloquence.' Cineas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, was his very distinguished pupil, *Δημοσθένους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκηκοώς*, and was said to have resembled him in style and manner. *Plutarch*, *Pyrr.* c. 14.

συνηγόρησεν] 'he acted as an Advocate.'

γυμνασίοις] 'as means of training.' So *Xen. Oec.* 10. 11, ἀγαθὸν γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ δεῦσαι καὶ τὸ μάξει.

Ἔτι κακείνων μνημονευτέον, ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν τὴν γλώτταν ἐκ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀπονώτερος· ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων συνέβαινε 25 φαυλοτάτην αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν παρεχόμενον οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα "τί ἐστι ῥητορική" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ὑπόκρισις, δυσχεραίνων ὅτι διὰ ταύτην τῶν χειρόνων ἡττων ἐφαίνετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μελέτῃ κατῴρθωσε 4 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτῷ πρὸς δημαγωγίαν ὑπὴν ἐλαττώματα. καὶ γὰρ δειλὸς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δήμου θορύβους καὶ εὐκατάπληκτος, ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐξίστασθαι. διὰ δὲ τοῦτό φασιν αὐτὸν ἄνεμον ῥαγδαῖον τηροῦντα καὶ κινουμένην σφοδρῶς τὴν θάλατταν, 5 παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς βαδίζοντα λέγειν, καὶ τῷ τῆς θαλάττης ἥχῳ συνεθίζεσθαι φέρειν τὰς τοῦ δήμου καταβοάς. μνημονεύονται δὲ

φαυλοτάτην ... παρεχόμενον] 'having his action very poor.'

ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ὑπόκρισις] Cicero, Orat. i. c. 17, wrote, "ut jam non sine causa Demosthenes tribuerit et primas et secundas et tertias actioni." But in 'actio' was included 'pronuntiatio,' so that any deficiency or infirmity of voice was incompatible with a good ὑπόκρισις, and Cicero indeed defines 'actio' as 'quasi corporis quaedam eloquentia cum constet è voce atque motu.' So also Quintilian, xi. c. 3, says: "Pronuntiatio a plerisque actio dicitur . . . Utraque appellatione indifferenter uti licet. Equidem vel mediocrem orationem, commendatam viribus actionis, affirmaverim plus habituram momenti quam optimam eandem illa destitutam. Siquidem et Demosthenes, quid esset in toto dicendi opere primum, interrogatus, pronuntiationi palmam dedit eidemque secundum ac tertium locum, donec ab eo quaeri desineret: ut eam videri posset non praecipuam, sed solam judicasse." To the same purport Cicero observes "Et infantes actionis dignitate, eloquentiae saepe fructum tulerunt: et disertis deformitate agendi multi, infantes putati sunt." The lesson thus conveyed to speakers and preachers is confirmed by Quintilian's reasoning: "Neque enim tam refert qualia sint quae intra nosmetipsos composuimus, quam quo modo efferantur, nam ita quisque ut audit, movetur." And referring to the effects produced by 'Scenici auctores' on the stage, he adds: "Quod si in rebus, quas fictas esse scimus et inanes, tantum pronuntiatio potest, ut iram, lacrimas, sollicitudinem afferat; quanto plus

valeat necesse est ubi et credimus?" Comp. Cicero (De Amic. c. vii.): "Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitramur in re vera fuisse facturos?"

ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐξίστασθαι] 'so that he was immediately disconcerted.' This must, I think, be the meaning, not that he immediately withdrew or shrank from the crowd. Compare τέλος δ' ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου (Plut. Demos. c. 4), where a different verb is used with a different meaning. Hesyclus defines a person in φρενὸς ἔκστασις as ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὢν. Wycliffe translates ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις, Act. Apost. x. 10, by 'a ravishing of spirit fell upon him.' Compare Mark iii. 21, ὅτι ἐξέστη.

ῥαγδαῖον] Suidas (s. v.) says, κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ὕμβρων οἱ κεκνημένοι καὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ βίαιοι.

τῷ τῆς θαλάττης] Quintilian (x. 3) says "Demosthenes, in litore in quod se maximo cum sono fluctus illideret, meditans, consuescebat concionum fremitus non evapescere."

καταβοάς] I do not remember any other use of this word in the plural. The singular occurs in Thucydides, i. 73, Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν. Also viii. 85, Εἰδὼς τοὺς Μιλησίους πορευομένους ἐπὶ καταβοῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ. Dionysius, Halic. (Epist. ii. ad Amm. § 3) classes it not as Schäfer says, with words γλωσσηματικά et ἀπρηχαιωμένα, but among ποιητικά, and himself uses the phrase πολλῇ καταβοῇ ἐχρῶντο (Antiq. Rom. lib. vi. c. 43). Plato uses καταδραμεῖν in the English sense of running a man down, i. e. by vituperation.

αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκήσεις κατὰγειοι καὶ ξυρήσεις ἀπρεπεῖς, ἵνα δι' αἰσχύνῃ μὴ·προῖοι τοῦ τῆς οἰκίας δωματίου, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ τὰς 10 νύκτας ἐκάθευδεν, ἀλλὰ διεπονεῖτο πρὸς φῶς περὶ λόγους. ὅθεν καὶ Πυθέας σκώπτων ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Δημοσθένους λύχνων ἀπόζειν. πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀστείως ἅμα καὶ πικρῶς “οἶδα” εἶπεν, “ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίω” διεβέβλητο γὰρ ὡς λωπο- 15 δυτῶν νύκτωρ ὁ Πυθέας. καὶ μὴν ὅτι τε ὕδωρ ἐπετῆδενε πίνων, ἵνα ἐργηγορυῖαν μᾶλλον παρέχεται τὴν διάνοιαν, ἅπασιν ὡμολόγηται, παρειλήφμεν δὲ καὶ κέλευσιν, ὡς καὶ ξίφος ποτὲ ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀπήρτησε καὶ ἰστάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. ἐν τῇ λέγειν ἀπρεπῶς τὸν ὦμον εἰώθει κινεῖν 20 ὑπερεκρέμασεν οὖν τοῦ ὦμου τὸ ξίφος ἐν χρῶ, καὶ οὕτω τῷ δέει τῆς πληγῆς ἡδυνήθη κατασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διηγῆσασθαι καὶ ὅπως εἶχε τά τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πράγματα, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν ἦλθε Δη- 25 μοσθένης. Θηβαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Βοιωτίας μάχῃ νικῆσαντες αὐτοὶ παρήλθον εἰς ἰσχύν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πρὸς Φωκέας πό-

Πυθέας... λύχνον καίω] Here two stories are clumsily turned into one. Pytheas was a blustering demagogue, who accused Demosthenes (Epis. iii. Dion. Halic. de Isaeo, c. 4) of receiving bribes from Harpalus, described by Plutarch (Phoc. c. 21) as ἀλῶς καὶ θρασύς, and the burglar was one Chalcus (Χαλκοῦς). To the sneer of Pytheas, that his arguments smelt of the lamp, Demosthenes answered, Οὐ ταῦτά γάρ, ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, ὦ Πυθέα, ὁ λύχνος σύνοιδε, intimating that his enemy spent his nights in dissipation. To the remark of the burglar on the same subject (εἰς τὰς ἀγρυπνίας αὐτοῦ καὶ νυκτογραφίας πειρώμενόν τι λέγειν), he replied, οἶδα ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίω. Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θαυμάζετε τὰς γενομένας κλοπὰς, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν κλέπτας χαλκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους πηλίνους ἔχωμεν. (Plut. in Vita, c. 8 and c. 11). Gas-lamps and police-officers must have been much wanted in the city of Athens according to this story. It may be compared with the state of Paris in 1609, as described in Duruy, Histoire de France, ii. 192: “Une ordonnance de 1609 prescrivit aux comédiens des deux théâtres qui existaient alors de jouer leurs pièces,

de deux heures à quatre heures et demie, les rues de Paris n'étant pas sûres le soir. En effet, ‘Il n’y avait point de lanternes, il y avait beaucoup de boue, très peu de carrosses et quantité de voleurs.’”

ἐν χρῶ] ‘grazing his skin.’ Quintilian (xi. 3) tells the fact thus: “Jactantur et humeri: quod vitium Demosthenes ita dicitur emendasse, ut quum in angusto quodam pulpito stans diceret, hasta humero dependens immineret: ut si calore dicendi vitare id excidisset, offensatione illa commoneretur.”

ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν] In B.C. 355, the year of his public or political orations against Androtion and Leptines. In this year also the social or confederate war concluded, after lasting three years (Diod. Sic. xvi. 22).

Λεύκτροις] B.C. 371. As for the μετ' ὀλίγον, it was not till fifteen years afterwards (B.C. 356) that the Phocian war began, and lasted ten years.

παρήλθον] This is the reading of the MSS., which Bekker retains, but Dindorf and Rüdiger adopt προῆλθον from the ‘margo ed. Paris. a. 1570.’ I think the MSS. are correct; for Libanius wishes to

λεμον ἐξήνεγκαν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔθνος ὁμορον τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, πόλεις ἔχον δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν. οὗτοι καταλαβόντες τὸν τοῦ Πυθίου ναόν, 5 πλησίον ὄντα, ἐσύλησαν· ἀνθ' ὅτου καὶ οἱ Θήβαίιοι πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπολέμουν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν συμμαχικὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον· Χῖοι γὰρ καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζάν- 5 τιοι πάλαι ποτὲ ὄντες ὑπήκοοι Ἀθηναίων, τότε μετ' ἀλλήλων συστάντες καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπολέμουν. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς εἰς πολλὰ μέρη διήρητο, Ἀθηναίων πολεμούντων πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ Θηβαίων πρὸς Φωκέας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς Πελοποννησίους. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν 10 Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου παῖς εἰς τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν παρήλθεν. Ἀμύντα γὰρ τῷ Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖ τρεῖς ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Περδίκκας, Φίλιππος. τούτων ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἀλέξανδρος δολοφονηθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, 15 ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς μαχόμενος· Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ νεώτατος ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἐν Θήβαις ὁμηρεῦων, ὥς δὲ ἐπύθετο τὸν Περδίκκου θάνατον, ὑπεξελθὼν λάθρα καὶ ὀξέως εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀφικόμενος κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἄρ' ἑτερόν τινα, 20 γένους μὲν ὄντα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, φυγάδα δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἐπὶ βασιλείαν κατήγον μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν. τούτοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπιθέμενος ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ ὅσους συνέλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφήκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, οὐ κατ' εὐνοίαν τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δι' ἐπείκειαν τρόπου.

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imply that the Thebans stepped into the place of the Lacedaemonians, rather than that they advanced to great power.

εἰς τὴν . . . παρήλθεν] 'succeeded to the throne.' This was in B.C. 359, and at the age of twenty-three. For a like use of παρελθεῖν see Philip. iii. § 31, Λακεδαιμονίοις παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν.

Ἀλέξανδρος δολοφονηθεὶς] Diodorus Sic. (xv. 71) records that he was killed by one Ptolemy of Alorus: Πτολεμαῖος δ' Ἀλωρίτης ὁ Ἀμύντου υἱὸς ἐδολοφόνησεν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔτη τρία. But Diodorus

is wrong in describing them as brothers.

ἑτερόν τινα] His name was Argaeus. Diod. (xvi. 3) says θεωρῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν πᾶσαν φιλοτιμίαν εἰσφερομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰγοντας τὸν Ἀργαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐκουσίως ἐξεχώρησε τῆς πόλεως ἀφελὲς αὐτὴν αὐτόνομον.

κατήγον] 'were trying to bring him back from exile for the crown.'

τρόπου] "Post τρόπου videtur deesse alterum phraseos membrum, in hunc ferme sensum: sed quia hoc expedire suis rebus existimabat, et ut clementiae laudem assequeretur" (Auger).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ.

Τῆς ῥητορικῆς μέρη τρία, ἐπιδεικτικόν, δικανικόν, συμβουλευ- 6
 τικόν. τοῖν μὲν οὖν δυοῖν ἄκρος ἀγωνιστῆς γέγονε, τοῦ τε δικανικοῦ
 καὶ τοῦ συμβουλευτικοῦ ἐπιδεικτικούς δὲ οὐκ ἔχομεν αὐτοῦ λόγους.
 τοὺς γὰρ φερομένους οὐ πιστευτέον εἶναι Δημοσθένους, τὸν ἐπι-
 τάφιον καὶ τὸν ἐρωτικόν· πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἀπο- 5
 λείπονται. καὶ οὐχ ἡμετέραν γνώμην λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Διονυσίῳ
 τῷ Ἀλικαρνασσεῖ τοῦτο συνδοκεῖ. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἐπιτάφιον

τῆς ῥητορικῆς μέρη τρία] This division is the same as that of Aristotle, Rhetor. i. 3, who says, "Ἔστι δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἶδη τρία τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοσοῦτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄκροαται τῶν λόγων ὑπάρχουσιν ὄντες. Ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἢ θεωρὸν εἶναι ἢ κριτὴν, κριτὴν δὲ ἢ τῶν γεγενημένων ἢ τῶν μελλόντων. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρίνων ὡς ἔκκλησιαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ὡς δικαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὁ θεωρός. ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τρία γένη, τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν. Συμβουλευτὴς δὲ τὸ μὲν προτροπή, τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή. Δίκης δὲ τὸ μὲν κατηγορία, τὸ δὲ ἀπολογία. Ἐπιδεικτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπαινος, τὸ δὲ ψόγος. Χρόνοι δὲ ἐκάστου τούτων εἰσὶ τῷ μὲν συμβουλευόντι, ὁ μέλλων, τῷ δὲ δικαζομένῳ ὁ γενόμενος, τῷ δὲ ἐπιδεικτικῷ κυριώτατος μὲν ὁ παρών κατὰ γὰρ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπαινοῦσιν ἢ ψέγουσι πάντες, προσχρῶνται δὲ πολλὰκις καὶ τὰ γενόμενα ἀναμνησκόντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προεικάζοντες. This division was adopted by the great majority of ancient writers on this subject. "Nec dubie," says Quintilian (iii. c. 4), "prope omnes utique summae apud antiquos auctoritatis scriptores, Aristotelem secuti, hac partitione contenti fuerunt," viz. under the three heads, demonstrativum, suasorium or deliberativum, and judiciaire. The two latter correspond respectively to the oratory of the statesman and the advocate. Indeed Aristotle sometimes uses ἡ δημη-

γορικὴ as synonymous with ἡ συμβουλευτική (nomine tantum alio *contionaltem* pro deliberativa appellat). The demonstrativum, as Quintilian says, "constat laude et vituperatione," including funeral orations, panegyrics, scientific or literary lectures (ἐπιδείξεις), and according to Libanius even λόγοι ἐρωτικοί. "Quod genus," viz. the ἐπιδεικτικόν or demonstrativum (says Quintilian), "videtur Aristoteles atque eum secutus Theophrastus, a parte negotiali hoc est πραγματικῆς removisse, totumque ad auditores relegasse; et id ejus nominis, quod ab ostentatione dicitur, proprium est" (Quint. lib. iii. c. 7). In the same chapter (ad fin.) he adds, "Totum autem (sc. τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν) habet aliquod simile suasoriis, quia plerumque eadem illic suaderi, hic laudari solent." Westermann (Quaest. Demos. Part ii. c. 1) has a long article, 'De demonstrativo genere orationis ante Demosthenem,' in which he remarks, "Rectius puto quam demonstrativum, appellaverit quispiam illud dicendi genus *ostensionale*." But the word is of very doubtful Latinity. Lampridius applies it to the soldiers, "qui ad ostentationem et pompam Principem comitabantur." Faciol. s. v.

τοὺς γὰρ φερομένους] 'those that are reported to be.'

τοῦτο συνδοκεῖ] Dionysius (de Adm. vi dicen. in Demos. c. 44) says, Πανηγυρικοὺς μὲν οὖν λόγους οὐκ ἔχομεν αὐτοῦ (Demosthenis) παρασχέσθαι πάντας

λόγον Δημοσθένης, ὡμολόγηται οὐ μὴν τοῦτον εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν ὑπ' 10
ἐκείνου ρηθέντα, πᾶν φαύλως καὶ ἀσθενῶς ἔχοντα. τῶν δὲ συμ-
βουλευτικῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων οἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν ἐπύγραμμα,
συμβουλευτικοί, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν-ήττον εἰσι συμβουλευτικοὶ Φιλιπ-
πικοὶ δὲ ἐπυγράφονται, ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου πραγμάτων
εἰρησθαι τὴν κλήσιν λαχόντες. καὶ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἕκαστος ἰδίαν 15
τὴν ἐπυγραφὴν ἔχει κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκάστων ιδιότητα.

γὰρ ἔγωγε τοὺς ἀναφερομένους εἰς αὐτὸν, ἄλλοτρίους εἶναι πείθομαι, ὧν ἔστιν ὃ τε φορτικὸς καὶ κενὸς καὶ παιδαριώδης ἐπιτάφιος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σοφιστικοῦ λήρου μεσπὸν ἐγκώμιον εἰς Πανσανίαν. Westermann ('Quaest. Demos. Part ii. c. iii. and c. iv.),' 'De epitaphio Demosthenis,' and

'De Demosthenis Erotico,' maintains the same opinions at some length.

Φιλιππικοὶ δέ] Bekker retains the common reading of Φιλιππικοὶ δὲ οἷδε.

ιδιότητα]] As the περὶ Εἰρήνης, 'Θλυνθιακοί, περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερβρονήσῳ.

INTRODUCTION
TO THE
OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS.

OLYNTIUS was a city of such antiquity, that its foundation was by some ascribed to a mythic son of Hercules, and by others to a son of the Thracian king Strymon (Steph. Byz. s. v.). It lay at the head of the Toronaic bay (now the Gulf of *Cassandra*), and at the time of the second Persian war was inhabited by the Bottiaei, a tribe removed thither by the Macedonians from the shores of the Thermaic Gulf (now the Gulf of Saloniki), and who had originally, like the Thracians and other neighbouring tribes, furnished a contingent to the army of Xerxes (Herod. vii. 122. 127. 185, and viii. 127). In consequence, however, of their fidelity being suspected after the battle of Salamis, his general Artabazus besieged and took the city, massacred the inhabitants, and replaced them by some of the Chalcidians (τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος), who from Chalcis in Euboea had settled in the neighbourhood. After the Persian war, these Olynthians appear (Thucyd. v. 18), with several cities of the same district, to have joined the Athenian confederacy; but just before the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 432) they were induced to abandon it by Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, with some reliance also on support from the Lacedaemonians (Thucyd. i. 58). At the same time their city was materially strengthened by the influx and aggregation of the inhabitants of the other Chalcidian towns, whom Perdiccas persuaded to remove thither from the coast, and it thus at once became the head of the Chalcidic population. During the Peloponnesian war we find the Olynthians in hostilities against Athens, and capturing a neighbouring town (Mecyberna) with a view of making it their port (ἐπίνειον) or arsenal (Thucyd. v. 39. Strabo vii. frag. 13. Diod.

Sic. xii. 77). This then was a further step in their progress; and the overthrow of Athens at the close of the war left them at liberty to prosecute their schemes of aggrandisement, till at last they became strong enough to make attempts upon Macedonia, and even induced Pella its greatest city (Xenoph. Hell. v. c. 2. 13) to join them (*ἔχουσιν ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν*). About the same time also (B.C. 383) Amyntas, the king of that country, being assailed by the Illyrians and unable to repel them, abandoned his kingdom, after first making over to the Olynthians a large portion of Lower Macedonia on the Thermaic Gulf (Diod. Sic. xv. 19). Thus was another accession made to their augmented power; but the supremacy which they wished to assert in Chalcidice was not cheerfully accepted by all the Chalcidic towns, and jealousy naturally influenced those who had most pretensions to be considered as rivals. Accordingly, the two greatest of these, Apollonia and Acanthus, refused to join the confederacy of which Olynthus was to be the head, and being consequently threatened with hostilities, they sent (B.C. 382) an embassy to Sparta for assistance. Amyntas had by this time regained his kingdom, and as the Olynthians refused to restore their Macedonian acquisitions, he too made a similar application (Diod. xv. 19). Sparta assented, and immediately dispatched a force which at once succeeded in detaching Potidaea from the confederacy, and prevented other states from joining (Hell. v. 2. 24). An obstinate four years' war followed, during which on one occasion the Olynthians inflicted a terrible defeat on the Lacedaemonians (*παμπληθεὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅτι περ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος*), and slew their general Teleutias (Hell. v. 3. 6). At last, however (B.C. 379), they were closely besieged by Polybiades till famine compelled them to ask for peace, which was granted on condition of their breaking up their confederacy, and enrolling themselves under the supremacy of Lacedaemon as her dependent allies. Many of the neighbouring Chalcidian cities followed the example, and the Macedonian territory on the sea-coast doubtless again passed under the dominion of Amyntas (Diod. xv. 23. Hell. v. 3. 26). Thus then were crushed the supremacy and independence of Olynthus, and her progress stopped; but her vitality was not extinguished, and fortune some time afterwards again favoured her. The supremacy of her enemy Sparta was in the next ten years annihilated by land, and the Athenian ascendancy recovered by sea. The Olynthians availed themselves of this state of affairs to regain their old position, and according to Demosthenes (Fal. Leg. § 298) they ultimately managed to unite under their supremacy all the Chalcidians around them (*οὕτω Χαλκιδέων πάντων εἰς ἓν συνγκισμένων*), and even gained possession of Amphipolis (c. Aristoc. § 176). He further

states, though probably with much exaggeration but still some truth, that the terms of peace with Sparta (in B.C. 379) were after all not unfavourable (*ὅπως ἡβούλοντο, οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον κατέθειτο*). But in this revival of her power Olynthus was opposed and resisted by a new enemy. Having re-established their maritime superiority, the Athenians proceeded to make descents upon the coast of Thrace, with the view of recovering the possessions which had formerly belonged to them there, and under Timotheus they succeeded (B.C. 368—363) in taking Methone, Potidaea, Torone, and several other towns of Chalcidice (Isocr. *περὶ Ἀντιδ.* c. 115. Philip. i. § 6. Grote x. 412). But Amphipolis was the city which they coveted most; and, according to Aeschines (Fal. Leg. § 35) their claims to it were publicly declared to be well founded by a commissioner of Amyntas, the father of Philip of Macedon, before a congress of the Lacedaemonians and other confederates in B.C. 371. Their subsequent attempts to recover it under Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other generals, brought them into collision with Olynthus, the ally and protector of Amphipolis (c. Aristoc. § 176), and the hostile relations thus established between them continued till the accession of Philip to the throne of Macedon (B.C. 359). This event soon changed the position of affairs. The Athenians at first supported a rival Argaeus in his claims to the throne, with a view of recovering Amphipolis (Diod. xvi. 3), and a portion of their forces, principally mercenaries, actually marched from Methone on the coast for thirty miles inland, where, with Argaeus himself, they were attacked by Philip, and obliged to surrender (c. Aristoc. § 144). But it was not Philip's policy to make enemies, so he allowed them to depart, and sent an embassy to Athens, with proposals of peace and friendship; professing also to give up all claims of his own to Amphipolis (Diod. xvi. 3, 4. Grote xi. 301), which, according to Diodorus, had already been evacuated by the Macedonian troops posted there by Philip's predecessor Perdiccas (Grote x. 516), to protect it against the Athenians (B.C. 359—358). Nevertheless, from whatever cause (Grote xi. 306), the Athenians did not themselves make any attempt to occupy it, and Philip, as soon as he could, resolved to take advantage of their remissness by attacking it himself, while he deluded them with the assurance that he intended to restore it to them after capturing it (c. Arist. § 138. De Halon. § 28). But this promise he did not fulfil, and the Olynthians, alarmed at the conquest and the rapid extension of his power, thereupon sent to Athens to negotiate an alliance (Olyn. ii. § 20), but without success, for the Athenians still trusted the continued assurances of Philip. Repulsed in that quarter, they readily accepted the alliance which that politic monarch offered them, and

received from him the cession of Potidaea, taken from the Athenians (B.C. 357) by their combined forces (Philip. ii. § 22. Grote xi. 335). And even before this he had ceded to them the district and city of Anthemus, so that he effectually secured their friendship to himself and their hostility against Athens, while, without any formal declaration of war, he was commencing that series of aggressions which led to what was called the war of Amphipolis, and continued between the Athenians and himself for twelve years till the peace of B.C. 346 (Fal. Leg. passim). But Philip and the Olynthians were too near neighbours to continue friends, their independence and progress being manifestly inconsistent with his ambitious aggrandisement. As his power and conquests extended, their conviction of this fact appears to have become more decided, for we read (c. Aristoc. § 129) that in B.C. 352—351, probably after Philip's victories in Thessaly, they had again become the friends, though not as yet allies, of Athens. This change in their sentiments Philip appears to have considered, and perhaps with satisfaction, a sufficient reason for hostilities. Accordingly, soon afterwards (Philip. i. § 20) his troops invaded their territory, and in B.C. 350—349 (Grote xi. 449), after recovery from an illness in Thrace, he commenced serious operations against them by marching into Chalcidice. The *immediate cause* of this attack is stated by Justin (viii. 3) to have been their reception and protection of his two half-brothers, a brother of whom he had already put to death, and who themselves escaped, for a time, the same fate by flight. But this doubtless was only a pretext, not the real cause of his hostility, nor do we even know when it was first put forward. Moreover, somewhat inconsistently with this statement, Demosthenes (Philip. iii. § 16) asserts that Philip had sent special envoys to the Olynthians disclaiming any injurious intentions (πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους) till just before his final attack. Be this as it may this attack was preceded by his previous reduction of several other Chalcidian towns, till the progress of his conquests and their proximity to themselves at last induced the Olynthians to send to Athens with proposals for an alliance, and to solicit its active co-operation against him. This proposition was favourably received as the Olynthians would naturally expect, for not long before the Athenians themselves had expressed a wish that Olynthus might be induced to act against Philip (Olyn. i. § 7). The assembly which was called to consider it was almost unanimous in voting that assistance should be sent, though Demades (Suidas s. v.) opposed it. But the conclusion of an alliance was a very different thing with the Athenians from active co-operation with their allies, and therefore it

was that Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiac orations one after the other, pressing upon his reluctant fellow-citizens the duty of vigorous action as well as of wise determination. After his second speech, as it would seem, 2000 *mercenaries* were despatched under the command of Chares (Dionys. Epist. i. ad Amm. ix.), and some successes were achieved by him. The news created much exultation at Athens, and the people began to fancy not only that they had rescued Olynthus, but that there was a fair prospect of punishing and humbling Philip (τοὺς λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους). To combat this delusion, to exhort his fellow-countrymen to still greater and personal exertions,—possibly, too, in consequence of a second embassy from Olynthus,—Demosthenes delivered his third Olynthiac. One specific measure which he then recommended was an expedition of Athenian citizens instead of foreign mercenaries. This plan, however, was not then adopted, nor do we know for certain whether the oration (delivered towards the end of B.C. 350) was productive of any immediate and practical result, for soon afterwards the Athenian forces were engaged in Euboea in putting down a revolt probably instigated by Philip himself (De Pace, § 5). From there in the first half of B.C. 349 a cavalry force of Athenian citizens crossed over to Olynthus, and Philochorus, an author quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Epist. i. ad Amm. ix.), states that Chares was despatched with a body of 2000 hoplites and 300 horsemen, all citizens. This force, however, of Athenian citizens, as Mr. Grote suggests (xi. p. 467), was not sent till the latter part of the war, which continued for two years and a half. We are further assured by Demosthenes (Fal. Leg. § 301) that from first to last the Athenians despatched no less than 10,000 mercenaries and 4000 native troops, and fifty triremes to assist their allies. But all to no purpose: their troops were badly commanded, and no really efficient aid was given till it was too late, and Olynthus finally fell by treachery into Philip's hands (B.C. 347). Thus was completed his conquest of Chalcidice, thirty-two cities of which, including Olynthus, he is said to have destroyed so utterly, that five or six years afterwards (Philip. iii. § 34) their sites could hardly be discovered. The Olynthians themselves were sold into slavery, and amongst the captives retained by Philip was a large number of Athenian citizens, who towards the close of the war had served in Olynthus as an auxiliary garrison. Moreover, the possession of Chalcidice, while it augmented his territorial sway, increased his resources and enabled him also to threaten the neighbouring possessions of Athens in the Thracian Chersonese and elsewhere, so that the result was in every way most important to himself and most disastrous to the Athenians.

As for the date of the Olynthiac orations, they were delivered in B.C. 350, and as Mr. Grote thinks, during the six or seven last months of it. Their true chronological order has been and is a matter of doubt and controversy. See Excursus.

I.

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Α.

B.C. 350.

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ολυνθος ἦν πόλις ἐπὶ Θράκης, Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τὸ γένος, ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ἡ δὲ Χαλκὶς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικος. πολλοὶ δὲ πόλεμοι καὶ ἔνδοξοι τῆς Ὀλύνθου· Ἀθηναίους τε γὰρ ἐπολέμησεν 7 ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ αὖθις Λακεδαιμονίοις. χρόνῳ τε εἰς δύναμιν προῆλθε μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν πόλεων ἐπῆρχεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Θράκης πολὺ τι γένος Χαλκιδικόν. Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ποιησάμενοι, καὶ πολεμοῦντες μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς 5 Ἀθηναίους τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀνθεμοῦντα παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνα εἰληφότες, πόλιν ἀμφισβητήσιμον Μακεδόσι καὶ Ὀλυνθίοις, τοῦτο δὲ Ποτίδαιαν, ἦν Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων ἐκπολιορκήσας ὁ Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίοις παρ- 10 ἔδωκεν, ὕστερον ὑποπτέειν ἤρξαντο τὸν βασιλέα, ὀρώντες αὐτοῦ ταχέϊαν καὶ πολλὰν τὴν αὐξήσιν, οὐ πιστὴν δὲ τὴν γνώμην. ἀποδημοῦντα δὲ τηρή- 10 σαντες αὐτὸν, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κατελύσαντο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ποιοῦντες τοῦτο παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Φιλίππον·

ἐπὶ Θράκης] 'towards Thrace.'

Ἀθηναίων ἀποικος] Strabo (x. p. 430) says that both Chalcis and Eretria were founded by the Athenians πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. Chalcis was the principal city of Euboea, μητρόπολις τῆς νήσου.

ἐπολέμησεν] Olynthus was at war with Athens (Thucyd. i. 63) in the year before the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 432), and with Lacedaemon B.C. 382.

ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Θράκης] 'for towards Thrace the Chalcidic race was somewhat extensive.'

τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς] About B.C. 358, when he conquered the Illyrians and took Amphipolis. Diod. xvi. 8.

Ἀνθεμοῦντα] On the confines of Chalcidice and Macedonia. Demosthenes (c. Phil. ii. § 22) says, Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς (Ὀλυνθίοις) ἡφείει, ἥς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο.

Ποτίδαιαν] On the Isthmus of Pallene, afterwards Cassandria, now Pinaka, and only seven or eight miles from Olynthus.

ἀποδημοῦντα] Probably while he was in Thessaly, B.C. 352, soon after he had conquered Methone on the Thermaic Gulf. See Grote xi. 446, and Dem. c. Aristoc. § 129, a passage from which Libanius seems to have taken his narrative.

συναγέθειντο γὰρ καὶ κοινῇ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, κἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ, κοινῇ σπείσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος πάλαι μὲν προφάσεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δεόμενος, τότε δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν, ὡς τὰς συνθήκας παραβεβηκόσι καὶ πρὸς 15 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν ἐσπαισμένοις πόλεμον ἐπήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ πεπόμεφασι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας περὶ βοηθείας, οἷς ὁ Δημοσθένης συναγορεύει, βοηθεῖν κελεύων τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις. καὶ φησι τὴν Ὀλυνθίων σωτηρίαν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι τῶν Ἀθηναίων· σωζομένων γὰρ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, οὐδέποτε ἤξευεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐξουσίαν ἔσσεσθαι 20 πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν κἀκεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ 8 γένοιτο, ἢ πόλις αὕτη, ἀνείσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁδὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ. φησὶ δὲ δύσμαχον εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον οὐχ ὡς ὑπείληπται, θαρσύνων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Διείλεκται δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, συμβουλευόν ποιῆσαι 5 αὐτὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀντὶ θεωρικῶν. καὶ τὸ ἔθος οὐ πρόδηλον ὄν, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνάγκη σαφηνίσαι. οὐκ ὄντος τὸ παλαιὸν θεάτρου λιθίνου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ξυλίνων συμπηγνυμένων ἱκρίων, καὶ πάντων καταλαμβάνειν τόπον σπευδόντων, πληγαὶ τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ που καὶ τραύματα. τοῦτο κωλύσαι βουλευθέντες οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὠνητοὺς ἐποιήσαντο 10 τοὺς τόπους, καὶ ἕκαστον ἔδει διδόναι δύο ὀβολοὺς καὶ καταβαλόντα θεᾶν ἔχειν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶσιν οἱ πένητες τῷ ἀναλώματι λυπεῖσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαμβάνειν ἕκαστον ἐτάχθη τοὺς δύο ὀβολοὺς. ἐντεῦθεν μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔθος ἤρξατο, προῆλθε δὲ εἰς τοῦτο, ὥστε οὐκ εἰς τοὺς τόπους μόνον ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τὰς 15 στρατείας ὀκνηροὶ κατέστησαν. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ στρατευόμενοι μισθὸν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλάμβανον, τότε δὲ ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς οἱ οἰκοὶ μένοντες διενέμοντο τὰ χρήματα. οὐκέτι οὖν ἤθελον ἐξίεναι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τούτων χρημάτων, θάνατον ἀπειλοῦντα τῷ γράψαντι μετατεθῆναι ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν καὶ γενέσθαι 20

συναγορεύει.] In the Olynthiac Orations. ἀνείσθαι] Suidas explains this strange phrase by λελῶσθαι.

δύσμαχόν] 'that Philip was indeed hard to contend against, but not so much so as was supposed.'

ξυλίνων συμπηγνυμένων ἱκρίων] 'wooden planks being put together.' Under ἱκρία Hesychius says, καὶ τὰ ξύλινα οὕτως ἐλέγοντο Ἀθηνησιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεώοντο πρὸ τοῦ τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θεάτρον γενέσθαι. So also Photius. Suidas, s. Πρατίνας, tells a different and more sensible story, viz., that in the time of Aeschylus the Athenians had only a wooden scaffolding, erected from

time to time for the representation of the plays at the Dionysian festivals. When however, Aeschylus brought his first drama on the stage in competition with Pratinas, the wooden theatre fell from the weight of the spectators, and then a permanent one of stone was built.

λυπεῖσθαι] 'to be distressed by the cost.' διενέμοντο] 'distributed among themselves.' This is of course an exaggeration.

τῷ γράψαντι μετατεθῆναι] 'to any one who should propose their transfer.' Plutarch (Solon, c. 8) tells us of an equally absurd law for the capital punishment of any one who should propose any measure

στρατιωτικά. διὸ δ' Δημοσθένης εὐλαβῶς ἄπτεται τῆς περὶ τούτου συμβουλῆς, καὶ ὑπερωπῆσας ἑαυτὸν ὅτι “σὺ γράφεις ταῦτα εἶναι στρατιωτικά;” 9 ἐπιφέρει “μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἔγωγε.” τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν.

Διείλεκται δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ περὶ πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀξίων αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ διὰ ξένων, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ποιείσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν· τούτο γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι φησι τοῦ τὰ πράγματα ἀπόλλυσθαι. 5

ΑΝΤΙ πολλῶν ἂν ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ φανερόν γένοιτο τὸ μέλλον· συννοίσειν τῇ πόλει περὶ ᾧ νυνὶ σκοπεῖτε. ὅτε τοίνυν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκει προθύμως ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν βούλομένων

for the recovery of Salamis, which Solon evaded by an ingenious artifice. See Fal. Leg. § 282. Cicero (de Offic. i. 31) describes it as “versutum et callidum factum Solonis.”

ὑπερωπῆσας] “Prius interrogans,” says Rüdiger, adding that ὑπεπείν is used by Demosthenes and Isocrates for προειπεῖν. But ὑπερωπῆσας clearly means ‘covertly’ or ‘artfully asking.’

δε] ‘and he has also treated about a military force of citizens, calling upon them to serve in person.’

Ἀντὶ πολλῶν . . . σκοπεῖτε] ‘rather than great riches, would you men of Athens, as I think, prefer to have it clearly shown what will be for the interest of the city, as regards the matters about which you are now considering.’ Comp. Herod. i. 86: τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. Also Thucyd. vi. 10: οὐς πρὸ πολλῶν ἂν ἐτιμήσαντο ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι. The whole passage is humorously imitated by Lucian, Jov. Trag. c. 15.

προσῆκει . . . συμβουλευεῖν] ‘it behoves you to be with all your heart ready to listen to those who wish you to give your counsel.’ Here we have an illustration of the relative meanings of ἐθέλω and βούλομαι, the former applied to persons who can do a particular thing if they will, the latter to persons who undoubtedly wish to do a thing, but who may not have the necessary power—the former corresponding to the German ‘wollen’ and the latter to ‘wünschen.’ This distinction is universally recognized in good Greek prose writers. Thus in Demosthenes, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, ‘if God will,’ is a common phrase, and in Olyn. ii. § 23, δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεῖξιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν,

ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε,— ἐθέλω is used of the will of the gods, and βούλομαι for the desire of men. Many excellent illustrations of this usage are given by Dr. Donaldson (Cratylus, p. 562). In Herodotus ἐθέλω often occurs as a simple auxiliary verb, without any express notion of willing or wishing. Thus (i. 74), ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυρὰ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν, where the meaning of ἐθέλω is analogous (as Mr. Blakesley observes) to that of ‘amo’ (= soleo) in Horace (Od. ii. 3. 10):

“Una pinus ingens albaque populus,
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis.”

Again (i. 109), Εἰ θελήσει, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θνητάτα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς, and (ii. 14), Εἰ σφι θέλοι ἢ χώρῃ ἢ ἐνερθε Μέρμφιος . . . αὐξάνεσθαι. A similar use of the verb occurs also in Xenophon (Anab. vi. 6. 36): Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει γενέσθαι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν. Butmann, however (Lexil. § 35), writes incorrectly (as I think) and illogically upon the two words, thus: “Ἐθέλω occurs more frequently and is the more general expression for willing (wollen); but it expresses in particular that kind of willing in which there is a purpose (Vorsatz), and therefore(?) the willing which it is, or seems to be, in our power to realize. Βούλομαι, on the contrary, is confined to that kind of willing, in which the wish and the inclination are either the only things expressed, or especially marked. Hence(?) it expresses a ‘willing readiness (Bereitwilligkeit) to do a thing which does not depend on oneself.” He adds, that “in Homer” (and it is certainly remarkable) “βούλομαι is used of the gods only, where ἐθέλω would be used

συμβουλευέιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος ἦκει τις, τοῦτ' ἂν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα ἐνίοις ἂν ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ῥαδίαν τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν αἵρεσιν γενέσθαι.

2 Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐκείνων

for other persons, as in (Iliad. i. 67), *Αἴ κέν πως . . . βούλεται ἀντίστας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγρὸν ἀμύναι*, and (Iliad. vii. 21), *Τρώεσσι δὲ βούλετο νικῆν*,—as if (he observes) in their case the inclination towards an object was immediately connected with its accomplishment and the condescension of their desire was to be particularly marked." So too, he adds, "*βούλομαι*, but never *ἐθέλω* is used in Homer for 'malle,' to express not only a wish, but also a preference." But the Homeric passages which Butmann quotes, by no means support his theory: in fact, some of them (e.g. *καὶ εἰ μάλα βούλεται ἄλλῃ*, Iliad. xv. 51) contradict it. And as for *βούλομαι* expressing a preference (*malle*), it clearly should do rather than *ἐθέλειν*, because a preference of one thing to another implies a wish for it, rather than the will, or the willingness to have it. Then again, though *βούλομαι* (and anciently *βόλομαι*) is applied to the Homeric gods, it must be remembered that they are beings with the feelings and passions of men. On the whole then, *ἐθέλω* is to be ready and willing (*velle*), *βούλομαι* to wish and desire (*cupere*). Comp. Xen. Anab. iii. c. 4, § 41, Ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῇ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήσεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. Arrian, lib. ii. c. 15, speaking of Alexander's intention or resolution to visit Tyre, says that he told the Tyrians, ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θύσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

ἐσκεμμένος ἦκει] Probably alluding to himself, for Plutarch (Demosth. c. 8) states that he seldom spoke in public without previous study and preparation (*μη ῥαδίως ἀκοῦσαί τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος ὁμοσποντὶ μη παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι πεφροντικῶς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος*). A similar remark may, I believe, be made of all famous speakers. Even Curran, ready and fluent as he was, said of himself, "The day of inspiration is gone by:

every thing I ever said, which was worth remembering, my *de bene esses*, my white horses, as I used to call them, were all carefully prepared" (Curran and his contemporaries, by Charles Phillips, p. 486). In the same work it is remarked that, "Lord Erskine corrected his very eloquent orations, and Mr. Burke literally worried his printer into a complaint against the fatigue of his continual revisals. Indeed, it is said, such was the fastidiousness of his industry, that the proof sheet not unfrequently exhibited a complete erasure of the original manuscript! Such is the labour of those who write for immortality." Compare Cicero, in Q. Caecil. Divin. c. xiii., and Mr. Long's note, on the feelings "shared by all men of real merit, especially at the commencement of their career as an advocate or public speaker." Referring to himself, Cicero (Leg. i. 4, 12) says, "*Ad causarum operam ego nunquam nisi paratus et meditatus accedo*."

τοῦτ' . . . λάβοιτε] 'werdet Ihr anhören, und zu Herzen nehmen' (Jacobs): rather, 'would you listen and adopt it.'

τῆς ὑμετέρας . . . εἰπεῖν] 'I conceive it part of your good fortune,' i.e. 'I conceive that by your good fortune many fit suggestions will to some occur on the moment to make—'

Ὁ μὲν οὖν . . . καιρὸς] 'well then the present crisis.' Here *οὖν* is scarcely an inferential particle. It rather marks the opening of the subject matter of the oration, as 'igitur' in Sallust, Catil. c. i. "Igitur initio reges diversi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant."

ἀφιεῖς] read ἀφίεῖς. Comp. Cic. Cat. i. 7: "Patria tecum sic agit et quodammodo tacita loquitur," and Shakspeare, Macbeth, Act iii. Sc. 4, "Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak."

πραγμάτων . . . ἀντιληπτέων] 'that you must yourselves, in your own persons, take in hand those (*ἐκείνων*) affairs (i.e. of the Olynthians), if you have any care for their success.' The Codex Bavaricus

αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπτέον ἐστὶν, εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν
φροντίζετε ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινά μοι δοκοῦμεν ἔχειν
τρόπον πρὸς αὐτά. ἔστι δὴ τὰ γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα ψηφί-
σασθαι μὲν ἤδη τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι τὴν 15
ταχίστην, ὅπως ἐνθένδε βοηθήσετε, καὶ μὴ πάθητε ταῦτον
ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον, πρεσβείαν δὲ πέμπειν, ἥτις ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ 10
3 καὶ παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο
δέος, μὴ πανούργος ὢν καὶ δεινὸς ἄνθρωπος, πράγμασι
χρηῆσθαι, τὰ μὲν εἰκὼν, ἡνίκα ἂν τύχῃ, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν
(ἀξιόπιστος δ' ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιτο), τὰ δ' ἡμᾶς-διαβάλ- 5
λων καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, τρέψηται καὶ παρα-

has αὐτῶν, but Demosthenes has not yet argued that the safety of the Athenians is bound up with that of the Olynthians. It is better therefore to understand αὐτῶν of πραγμάτων. Comp. Olyn. iii. § 24, τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν χάριτος αἰρεῖσθαι.

ἡμεῖς δέ] 'whereas we are behaving in a manner of which I do not know what to think, as regards these matters.'

ἔστι δὴ] 'however, it is at any rate my opinion.' "Δὴ est ordientis quod in-primis attendi debeat," Schaefer. Germ. 'demnach.'

ἤδη] 'at once;' or as Wolf explains it, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μηδὲν ἀναβαλλομένων.

καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι] 'and set about your preparations as quickly as possible.' Observe the aorist here, and the present πέμπειν afterwards, as if the act of sending the embassy were continuous till the return of those who were sent.

πάθητε . . . πρότερον] 'that you may send a force from here, and not suffer the same thing as indeed you *did* before.' Καὶ is best rendered by an emphatic *did*, and πρότερον refers to B.C. 352 (in November), when Philip invaded Thrace, and besieged Ἡραῖον Τεῖχος, a place so near to the possessions of the Athenians in the Chersonese (Gallipoli), that they were very much alarmed, and yet did nothing effectual against him (Olyn. iii. § 5 and § 6. c. Phil. i. § 47. Grote xi. 428). 'Ἐνθενδε, from Athens, not with a mercenary force. Comp. ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς above. In βοηθήσετε καὶ μὴ πάθητε, the indicative with ὅπως seems to denote a certain and direct consequence, the subjunctive a more remote and contingent result. Compare Aeschyl. Choeph. v. 265,

σιγαῶθ' ὅπως μὴ πεύσεται τις, ὃ τέκνα, γλώσσης χάριν δὲ πάντ' ἀπαγγέλλῃ
τάδε
πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας.

ἥτις ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ] 'to tell of these proceedings, and be present at the conduct of affairs.' Παρεῖναι = 'assist,' and 'address.'

πανούργος] 'unscrupulous,' a man who will do anything to gain his object. Jacobs translates it "dieser verschlagene Mann."

ἄνθρωπος] So Bekker and Dindorf, instead of the old ἄνθρωπος. Comp. c. Aristoc. § 170, πολίτης γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, and § 180, θεωρῆσαι τὸν τρόπον τῶνθρώπων.

ἡνίκα ἂν τύχῃ] 'whenever there may be occasion.'

ἀξιόπιστος δέ] 'and with good reason would he seem a man to be believed in his threats.' From his previous treatment of Amphipolis and Pydna the Olynthians might well feel assured that Philip possessed both the power and the will to execute his threats against themselves.

τρέψηται καὶ παρασπόμενται] 'he may turn and wrest to his own purposes some of our chief interests,' or 'res summae.' Instead of τρέψηται, the reading of the MSS. and the older editions, Vömel and Dindorf, adopting the conjecture of Wolf, read τρέψῃ τε, "quum frustra exempla verbi τρέπεσθαι media vi quaesita sint," as Rüdiger alleges. But it is the reading of all the MSS., and τρέψῃ τε not only seems to me quite feeble, if not unmeaning, but also much less impressive in sound than τρέψηται. Dobree conjectures ἀνατρέψῃ, as if the first two letters had been lost in the two last of ἡμετέραν.

4 σπάσῃται τι τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων. οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐπεικῶς
 ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦθ', ὃ δυσμαχώτατόν ἐστι τῶν Φιλίπ-
 που πραγμάτων, καὶ βέλτιστον ὑμῖν· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων
 ἐκείνων ἓνα ὄντα κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων, καὶ 10
 ἅμα στρατηγὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ταμίαν, καὶ πανταχοῦ
 αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τῷ στρατεύματι, πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὰ τοῦ
 πολέμου ταχὺ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττεσθαι πολλῶ προέχει,
 πρὸς δὲ τὰς καταλλαγὰς, ἃς ἂν ἐκείνος ποιήσαιτο ἄσμενος
 5 πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους, ἐναντίως ἔχει. δῆλον γάρ ἐστι τοῖς 15
 Ὀλυνθίοις ὅτι νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας
 πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς
 πατρίδος, καὶ ἴσασιν ἃ τ' Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς

ἐπεικῶς] 'not but that indeed upon a reasonable view of it.' 'Probabiliter,' 'natürlicher Weise.' Such is, I conceive, the meaning of ἐπεικῶς, though Reiske interprets it 'ferme potissimum,' and Schäfer quotes from the Etym. Magn. p. 359, 35: 'Ἐπεικῶς τὸ ἐπὶ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, σημαίνει τὸ πᾶν· σημαίνει καὶ τὸ παραδόξως καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα. But in this last sense I never met with the word.

τοῦθ', 8] 'what is most difficult to contend against in the circumstances of Philip is also most advantageous for us.'

ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων] 'both of secrets and no secrets.' 'Dicenda et tacenda.' Though indeed the Latin phrase (without 'et') is in Horace and Persius used as a conventionalism for 'all manner of things.' The word ταμίαν = paymaster-general. With τὸ εἶναι πάντων ἓνα κύριον comp. De Cor. § 294, τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων, — οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὢν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἅπλως αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων, — and Napier's Penin. War, viii. 5: "The first element of success in war, is that everything should emanate from one head."

πολλὰ προέχει] 'carries with it a great advantage.'

δῆλον γὰρ . . . 8τι] An Iambic line.

οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ] 'not about glory, nor in defence of (ὑπὲρ) a part of their territory, but to ward off the overthrow and subjugation of their country;' or as Mr. C. R. Kennedy well translates it, 'to save their country from destruction and servitude.' But this distinction is not always observed; comp. de Symm. § 38, οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος ἢ περὶ χώρας. The words ὑπὲρ

μέρους χώρας seem to indicate that when this speech was delivered, Philip had already mastered and appropriated a great portion of the Olynthian territory. Or more simply, they may mean, that 'the Olynthians were not fighting for glory, nor for a part of their land, but for their lives, and all they had.'

ἃ τ' Ἀμφιπολιτῶν] Amphipolis on the Thracian Strymon (Struma, or Kara-su) was originally founded (Thucyd. iv. 102) by a colony of Athenians (B.C. 437), and taken from them by Brasidas, the Spartan general, in the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 424). By the peace of Nicias (B.C. 421) Sparta covenanted to restore it (Thucyd. v. 18), but the treaty was not fulfilled at the time, and the subsequent fall of Athens secured its peace and independence for fifty years. But this state of things was not permanent. The city was situated near the mouth of a great river, and not far from its bridge, with nine roads converging to it (formerly called Ἐννέα Ὀδοί), and it commanded the passage from Macedonia to Eastern Thrace. It was moreover the emporium of a fertile district, with vast forests in its vicinity, which furnished an inexhaustible supply of ship-timber, and it was not far from the mining districts of the Mons Pangæus by land, nor from the rich gold mines of Thasos (Herod. vi. 46) by sea. Amphipolis was therefore much too valuable a prize not to attract the attention of ambitious neighbours and more powerful states. Accordingly, when Athens regained her old position, a leading state of Greece, she re-asserted her claims to Amphipolis as an old dependency, which we are told that Amyntas, king of Mace-

παραδόντας αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πυδναίων τοὺς ὑποδεξα-
 μένους· καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς, 20
 6 ἄλλως τε καὶν ὁμορον χώραν ἔχωσι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγνωκότας
 ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντα
 ἐνθυμουμένους φημὶ δεῖν ἐβελῆσαι καὶ παροξυνθῆναι καὶ
 τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν, εἴ πέρ ποτε, καὶ νῦν, χρήματα
 εἰσφέροντας προθύμως καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξίόντας καὶ μηδὲν 25
 ἐλλείποντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἔθ' ὑμῖν τοῦ
 7 μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται. νυνὶ γὰρ, ὃ
 πάντες ἐθρυλεῖτε, ὡς Ὀλυνθίους ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖ Φιλίππῳ, 11

don, and father of Philip, formally and solemnly recognized (B.C. 371). However, Perdiccas, his successor, occupied it with a Macedonian garrison, which Philip himself withdrew, wishing on his accession to conciliate the Athenians (Introduction, p. 13). Subsequently, when no longer afraid of them (B.C. 358), he laid siege to it, and still deceived the Athenians by alleging that he intended to restore it to them, so that they declined to send any aid to the Amphipolitans (Grote xi. 328), when the latter solicited it by a special embassy (Φίλιππος ὅτε μὲν ἐπολιόρκει Ἀμφίπολιν, ἢν ὑμῖν παραδῶ, πολιορκεῖν ἔφη, c. Aristoc. § 138). Consequently Philip at last took the city, with the help of a party within the walls, to whom we may infer from this passage he did not show any gratitude, and whom he is even said to have afterwards banished (δὲ ὃν εἴληφε τὴν πόλιν, τούτους ἐξήλαυε) from the city (Libanius, tom. i. p. 106, D). Nevertheless, he did not transfer it to the Athenians, but after proposing to exchange it for Pydna, a Macedonian port held by them, and amusing them with negotiation for this alleged purpose, he besieged and captured Pydna also (B.C. 357). The negotiation was carried on with the senate exclusively, on the plea that secrecy (Grote xi. 332) was necessary, because the Pydnaeans were averse to the change; and Philip probably availed himself of this circumstance to exasperate the Pydnaeans against Athens on the ground of her treachery and bad faith. The capture of their city however was partly owing to traitors within her own walls (c. Lept. § 71), whom it appears he did not spare when he took it. Ulpian the Scholiast asserts that he put them to death, and Libanius (l. c.) writes, πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς

Πυδναίους οὐ διέστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν σπονδῶν τὰς σφαγὰς. Comp. Diod. xvi. 8.

ταῖς πολιτείαις] 'free states.' Comp. Aristot. Polit. v. 6, 4, Τὰς ἀποκλινοῦσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ πλεῖθος καλοῦσι πολιτείας. Also Xen. Hell. vi. 3, 9, ὥστ' εὐκατε τυραννίσιν μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτείαις ἡδόμενοι; and c. Phil. ii. § 23, οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίσαν δμιλίαι.

ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγνωκότας] 'convinced of these things then, and reflecting upon all the other things which it becomes you to do.'

ἐβελῆσαι] "Absolute, ut apud Thucyd. v. 9, νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν, τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἔρχουσι πείθεσθαι" (Dobree).

εἴ πέρ ποτε, καὶ νῦν] 'if ever, now assuredly.'

ὃ πάντες ἐθρυλεῖτε] The old reading retained by Bekker. But some MSS have in the margin ἐθρύλλουν τε, which, with a similar passage in Olyn. iii. § 8, suggests another reading adopted by Dindorf, viz. ἐθρύλλουν τεως, followed by δεῖν instead of δεῖ. I agree with Bekker and Rüdiger in retaining the old reading, (1) because it is that of the majority of the MSS., and (2) because ὑμῖν in the previous clause might have occasioned the second person rather than the third. Moreover, in Olyn. iii. § 8, there is a stronger contrast between τεως and νυνὶ than there would be here. With ὡς δεῖ compare also De Chers. § 80, ἐδημηγόρησεν ὡς δεῖ. Comparing Olyn. iii. § 9 and § 18, Mr. Grote (xi. 448) infers that in B.C. 351 "the Athenians proposed to the Olynthians a scheme of decided alliance against Philip," who however had too much to fear from him to become the aggressors.

ἐκπολεμῶσαι] Dindorf reads ἐκπολεμῆσαι from the codex S, "in quo illud ipsum

γέγονεν αὐτόματον, καὶ ταύτῃ ὥς ἂν ὑμῖν μάλιστα συμ-
 φέροι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεισθέντες ἀνείλοντο τὸν
 πόλεμον, σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ μέχρι του ταύτ' ἂν
 ἐγνωκότες ἦσαν ἴσως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγ- 5
 κλημάτων μισοῦσι, βεβαίαν εἰκὸς τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ
 8 ὧν φοβοῦνται καὶ πεπόνθασιν ἔχειν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ τοιοῦτον ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι παραπεπτῶκότα καιρὸν ἀφείναι, οὐδὲ
 παθεῖν ταῦτόν ὅπερ ἤδη πολλάκις πρότερον πεπόνθατε. εἰ
 γὰρ, ὅθ' ἤκομεν Εὐβοεῦσι βεβοηθηκότες καὶ παρήσαν 10
 Ἀμφιπολιτῶν Ἰέραξ καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα,
 κελεύοντες ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν, τὴν
 αὐτὴν παρειχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προθυμίαν
 ἦν περ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐβοέων σωτηρίας, εἶχετ' ἂν Ἀμφίπολιν

ἐκπολεμῆσαι a prima manu scriptum fuit, sed a correctore mutatum est," and refers for confirmation to Harpocration, who however observes, 'Εκπολεμῶσαι' Δημοσθένους Φιλίππικοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς πόλεμον καταστήσαι, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ πολλάκις, ἐν μέντοι τοῖς Ἀττικιστοῖς διὰ τοῦ ἡ γράφεται, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι ἐν ἔκτῃ (rather v. 4. 20) Ἑλληνικῶν. But the other MSS. have the reading in the text, and Bekker retains it. By ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικιστοῖς it is supposed that Harpocration refers to some MSS. of Demosthenes compiled by the Atticus alluded to by Lucian (adv. Indoct. § 2 and § 24), as a βιβλιογράφος. Compare ἐκδρακοντωθεὶς δ' ἐγώ (Aeschyl. Choeph. v. 540), where Mr. Paley truly observes that "verbs of this sort are regularly compounded with ἐκ and terminate in -δομαι, implying the transition out of a former state into a new one, as ἐξανδρουσθαι, ἐκθηριῶσθαι, ἐκταυροῦσθαι."

σφαλεροὶ . . . ἦσαν ἴσως] 'they perhaps would have been unsteady allies, and have continued in these resolutions (of war) only up to a certain point.'

Εὐβοεῦσι βεβοηθηκότες] 'when we had returned after aiding the Euboeans.' After the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371, Euboea became a dependency of Thebes. In B.C. 358, however, the Euboeans had become disaffected; and the Thebans sent a large force to keep them in subjection. Thereupon the Chalcidians and Eretrians applied for aid to Athens, which being readily and energetically given, the Thebans were forced to abandon their attempt and evacuate the island. Its inde-

pendence was thus secured, and Euboea joined the Athenian confederacy. De Chers. § 80. De Cor. § 123, σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε. Diod. Sic. xvi. § 7. This happened just before the Social War broke out. Grote xi. 310.

παρήσαν . . . ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα] 'presented themselves at this platform.' In addition to the other reasons which induced the Athenians to withhold their assistance, they probably recollected that the Amphipolitans had not long before solicited the aid of Perdiccas, and admitted a Macedonian garrison to defend their city against Athens. Moreover, they had repudiated a treaty made with the Athenian general Iphicrates, for the surrender of some hostages (c. Aristoc. § 174. Aeschin. Fal. Leg. § 30. Grote xi. 328).

Στρατοκλῆς] An inscription has been found at Amphipolis (Böckh, Corp. Inscr. ii. p. 63, No. 2008) recording a decree for the perpetual banishment of a person of this name and Philo: 'Ἐδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ' Φίλωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέα φεύγειν Ἀμφίπολιν πολιτῶν ἀειφυγίην καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. Böckh conjectures that the Macedonian party on gaining the ascendancy in Amphipolis (B.C. 358), procured their banishment, and the character of the letters of the inscription is of that date.

παραλαμβάνειν] 'to take possession of their city.' Comp. Thucyd. iv. 54: τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι πόλισμα παραλαβόντες.

τότε καὶ πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἂν ᾗτε ἀπηλλαγμένοι 15
 9 πραγμάτων. καὶ πάλιν ἡνίκα Πύδνα, Ποτίδαια, Μεθώνη,
 Παγασαί, τᾶλλα, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων διατρίβω,
 πολιορκούμενα ἀπηγγέλλετο, εἰ τότε τούτων ἐνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ
 προθύμῳ καὶ ὡς προσήκεν ἐβοηθήσαμεν αὐτοὶ, ῥάονι καὶ
 πολὺ ταπεινότερῳ νῦν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ. νῦν δὲ 20
 τὸ μὲν παρὸν αἰεὶ προϊέμενοι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα αὐτόματ'
 οἴομενοι σχήσειν καλῶς, ἠὺξήσαμεν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς, καὶ κατεστήσαμεν τηλικούτου ἡλικίος οὐ-
 10 δείς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονε Μακεδονίας. νυνὶ δὲ καιρὸς
 ἦκει τις οὗτος, ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, αὐτόματος τῇ πόλει, ὃς 25
 οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐλάττων τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔμοιγε
 δοκεῖ τις ἂν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δίκαιος λογιστὴς τῶν
 παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῶν ὑπηργμένων καταστάς, καίπερ οὐκ 12
 ἐχόντων ὡς δεῖ πολλῶν, ὅμως μεγάλην ἂν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς
 11 χάριν. εἰκότως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ
 τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἃν τις θείῃ δικαίως, τὸ
 δὲ μῆτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τέ τινα ἡμῶν 5
 συμμαχίαν τούτων ἀντίρροπον, ἂν βουλώμεθα χρῆσθαι,
 τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἔγωγε θείην. ἀλλ',

Πύδνα] Pydna was taken B.C. 357, Potidaea B.C. 356, and just after Philip captured it (ἔρτι Ποτίδαιαν ἡρηκότι, Plut. Alex. c. 3), he received news at the Olympic games of the birth of Alexander. Methone and Pagasae he took in B.C. 354—353, the latter town lying on the Gulf of Pagasae. Mr. Grote (xi. 334) observes that Demosthenes always enumerates these conquests of Philip in the following order, Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone. There were several towns of the same name as the last, one on the Thermaic Gulf, another (the Thracian Methone) between Olynthus and Apollonia, a third in Magnesia, near to Pagasae. The first is probably meant here. As for τᾶλλα we do not know what the other places were. Possibly it is a mere rhetorical flourish (Grote xi. 365).

ἵνα μὴ . . . διατρίβω] sc. χρόνον. 'Not to waste time.'

αὐτοί] 'in our own persons,' instead of by mercenaries.

ῥάονι . . . νῦν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα] 'we should now have found Philip more manageable

and far more humble.'

νῦν δέ] 'whereas in fact.'

σχήσειν καλῶς] 'will turn out well.' In similar phrases ἔξιν is said to be the more common form. But in the De Pace (§ 18) we find ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι. Dindorf also quotes Soph. Ajax, v. 684, ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ μὲν ταῦτοισιν εὖ σχήσει.

νυνὶ δὲ] 'now, however.' Νυνὶ here refers simply to present time; νῦν δὲ above implies something different.

ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ . . . λογιστὴς . . . καταστάς] 'my opinion indeed is, that if any man would constitute himself an impartial judge of the advantages which we have had from the gods.'

ἂν ἔχειν] ἂν is repeated on account of the parenthetical break in the sentence.

τῆς ἡμετέρας . . . θεῇ] 'a man might with good reason put to the account of our neglect.'

ἂν ἔγωγε θεῇ] 'I should consider a benefit which their good will had done us,' or with Mr. Kennedy, 'manifestations of divine favour.' Demosthenes here changes from the third to the first

οἶμαι, παρόμοιον ἔστιν, ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεως· ἂν μὲν γὰρ, ὅσα ἂν τις λάβῃ καὶ σώσῃ, μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν, ἂν δ' ἀναλώσας λάθῃ, 10
 12 συνανάλωσεν καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τὴν χάριν. καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως οἱ μὴ χρησάμενοι τοῖς καιροῖς ὀρθῶς, οὐδ' εἰ συνέβη τι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν χρηστὸν, μνημονεύουσιν πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβάν· ἕκαστον τῶν προϋπαρξάντων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται. διὸ καὶ σφόδρα δεῖ τῶν 15
 λοιπῶν ἡμᾶς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι φροντίσαι, ἵνα ταυτ' ἐπανορθωσάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀδοξίαν ἀποτριψώμεθα. εἰ δὲ προησόμεθα ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἴτ' Ὀκυνθὸν ἐκείνος καταστρέψεται, φρασάτω τις ἔμοι τί τὸ κωλύον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἔσται 20
 13 βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται. ἄρά γε λογίζεται τις ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν μέγας γέγονεν, ἀσθενὴς ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος; τὸ πρῶτον Ἀμφίπολιν λαβὼν, μετὰ ταῦτα Πύδναν, πάλιν Ποτίδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὐθις, εἴτα Θετταλίας ἐπέβη· μετὰ ταῦτα Φερὰς, 25
 Παγασὰς, Μαγνησίαν, πάνθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον ὥχρετ' εἰς Θράκην· εἴτ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς 13

person, and thereby avoids even the appearance of making a charge *himself*.

παρόμοιον ἔστιν, ὅπερ] 'it is, I take it, a similar case to what happens also in the acquisition of money.'

συνανάλωσεν] 'he loses at the same time also the remembrance of the obligation.'

περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων] 'in the affairs of the state.'

πρὸς γὰρ . . . κρίνεται] 'for by the final result is it that every previous occurrence is generally judged of.' Dindorf brackets *ὡς τὰ πολλὰ*: the Codex S pr. omits it. "Super κρίνεται scriptum habent B, et a m. recentissima S."

διὸ καὶ σφόδρα] 'wherefore must we, and that vigorously, turn our thoughts to the future, that by amendment therein we may obliterate our disgrace in the past.' Comp. de Symm. § 6, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους πολέμους ἐπανορθώσασθαι βουλούμενοι.

τούτους] The Olynthians: as if they were present, and he was pointing to them.

βαδίζειν] 'to go at his leisure.' Attica is of course meant by ὅποι βούλεται.

ἄρά γε] 'does then, let me ask, any of you consider?' As Wolf remarks, we have here "Narratio historica rerum Philippi, qua credibile facere studeat, venturum esse Philippum in Atticam."

Θετταλίας . . . Μαγνησίαν] The invasion of Thessaly and the capture of Pheræ, Pagasæ, and Magnesia took place in B.C. 353–352. Pagasæ, the sea port (*ἐπὶ νείον*) of Pheræ, lies on the Pagasæan Gulf, now the Gulf of Volo. From the context it would certainly seem that Magnesia here means a town, not the district of that name. Colonel Leake (North. Greece, iv. 381) supposed that there really was a town called Magnesia on the shores of the gulf. Mr. Grote, however (Greece xi. 426), supposes it to mean Magnesia, the region inhabited by the Magnetæ, as in c. Neacr. § 141, ἐν Θετταλίᾳ δὲ καὶ Μαγνησίᾳ.

ὥχρετ' εἰς Θράκην] 'he was gone and away in Thrace.' In the latter part (November) of B.C. 352.

τοὺς μὲν . . . καταστήσας] 'after expelling some, and establishing others of

- δὲ καταστήσας τῶν βασιλέων ἡσθένησε· πάλιν ῥαΐσας οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ῥαθυμεῖν ἀπέκλινεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς Ὀλυνθίους ἐπεχείρησεν. τὰς δ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρύββαν καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι παραλείπω στρατείας. 5
- 14 Τί οὖν, τις ἂν εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νῦν; ἵνα γνῶτε ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ αἰσθησθε ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ τὸ προ-
ῖεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον αἰεὶ τι τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἀλυσιτελές, καὶ τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ἣ χρῆται καὶ συζῇ Φίλιππος, ὑφ' ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀγαπήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις 10
- 15 ἡσύχϊαν σχήσει. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς αἰεὶ τι μεῖζον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ πράττειν ἐγνωκὼς ἔσται, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς

the princes there.' By *ἐκβαλὼν* he alludes to Cersobleptes, by *καταστήσας* to Amadocus and Berisades, and the events in question occurred B.C. 352. See c. Aristoc. p. 623.

ῥαΐσας] 'after recovery from an illness.' Harpocration explains the word by *ῥᾶον ἔχων ἐκ τῆς νόσου*. The illness is again alluded to in Olyn. iii. § 6, and Philip. i. § 14.

Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας] In B.C. 359, the year of Philip's accession, these nations were conquered by himself; in B.C. 356 by Parmenio his general (Plut. Alex. c. 3). Probably they did not form distinct nationalities, but an aggregate of various clans and tribes more or less connected one with the other. "The Illyrian and Paeonian tribes," says Mr. Grote, "occupied a wide territory to the north and north-west of Macedonia, over the modern Bosnia, nearly to the Julian Alps and the river Save." But the Paeonians did not occupy the valley of the Danube. Their territory (as Mr. G. indeed observes) seems to have been in the valley of the upper Axios (Vardar). It is not unlikely that they and the Illyrians were driven southward and upon Macedonia by the immigrations of Gallic tribes from the west. Grote xi. 302.

Ἀρύββαν] Arybbas, Arymbas, or Arribas, as the name was variously written, was a king of the Molossians in Epirus and grandfather of the Pyrrhus who invaded Italy. He came to the throne in A.C. 351, so that Philip's attack must have been about that time, as the Olynthiacs were spoken in B.C. 350. Arybbas died in B.C. 342, and *συνεργήσαντος Φιλίππου* was succeeded by Alexander the brother of Olympias, Philip's wife. Diod. xvii.

72. The majority of MSS. read *Ἀρύμβαν*, but the codices B. F. have *Ἀρύββαν*, which is confirmed by the same form in other writers, and also by an inscription quoted by Keil, Ann. Berol. 1844, vol. i. p. 437.

καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι] 'and to whatever place any one might name.'

στρατείας] Vömel here quotes from Isocrates (Philip. § 22) an eulogistic description of Philip's achievements as follows: *Τί (Φίλιππος) ἐλλέλοιπεν; οὐ θεταλοὺς μὲν τοὺς πρότερον ἐπάρχοντας Μακεδονίας οὕτως οἰκέως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι πεποίηκεν, ὥσθ' ἐκάστους αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ πιστεύειν ἢ τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις; τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνων τὰς μὲν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ συμμαχίαν προσήκται, τὰς δὲ σφόδρα λυπούσας αὐτὸν ἀναστάτους πεποίηκεν; Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ Περραιβαίους καὶ Παίονας κατέστραπται, καὶ πάντας ὑπηκόους αὐτοὺς ἐλήφεν; τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυριῶν πλήθους πλὴν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν οἰκούντων ἐγκρατῆς καὶ κύριος γέγονεν; ἀπάσης δὲ τῆς Θράκης οὐς ἡβουλήθη δεσπότας κατέστησεν;*

τὸ προτεῖσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον] 'to be always abandoning, one after the other, some of our interests.'

ὑφ' ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν] 'by reason of which it is not possible for him to be contented with what he has, and keep quiet.' With this use of *ἀγαπήσας* comp. Xen. Hell. i. 4. 16, *δι' αὐτὸ ταῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν*, also c. Phil. ii. § 21, *οὐς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν οἴεται*.

εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν . . . ἐγνωκὼς ἔσται] 'but if he shall have resolved that he must always be attempting something beyond his present position, and you that you need not undertake any thing with vigour.'

- οὐδενὸς ἀντιληπτέον ἐρρωμένως τῶν πραγμάτων, σκοπεῖσθε εἰς τί ποτ' ἐλπὶς ταῦτα τελευτήσῃ. πρὸς θεῶν, τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεῦρο 15
- 16 ἤξοντα, ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο γενήσεται, δέδοικα ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις τόκοις μικρὸν εὐπορήσαντες χρόνον ὕστερον καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ πολλῷ φανῶμεν ἐρραθυμηκότες, καὶ 20
- ἅπαντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζητοῦντες πολλὰ καὶ χαλέπα ὧν οὐκ ἡβουλόμεθα ὕστερον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιεῖν, καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ.
- 17 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φῆσαι τις ἂν ῥάδιον καὶ παντὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ὃ τι δεῖ πράττειν 25 ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ 14 μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦθ', ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθε, ἂν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῇ· οὐ μὴν οἶμαι δεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν σκοποῦνθ' ὑποστείλασθαι 5

δανειζόμενοι . . . τόκοις] 'those who borrow inconsiderately at high rates of interest.'

μικρὸν . . . ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν] 'after being well supplied for a short time, they afterwards lose even their original property.' With ἀπέστησαν comp. *Fal. Leg.* § 156, ἀφεστηκέναι ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων.

ἐπὶ πολλῷ] The MSS. have all ἂν ἐπὶ πολλῷ, sc. τόκῳ, and therefore an editor may well be unwilling to reject the ἂν. But I agree with Dindorf, Rüdiger, and Dobree in thinking it an interpolation. Dobree wrote "Delendum suspicor ἂν, ut sit constructio δέδοικα μὴ φανῶμεν καὶ . . . ἔλθωμεν, ut in Hippol. ed. Monk. v. 520, δέδοιχ' ὅπως μοι μὴ λίαν φανῆς σοφῇ." Translate, 'I fear we may turn out to have enjoyed our ease at a great cost, and that seeking every thing for pleasure we may hereafter be subjected to the necessity of doing many painful things which we should not have wished, and find ourselves in peril as regards our interests even in our country here.' The price which the Athenians paid for the enjoyment of ease at home was the surrender to Philip of their dependencies and allies abroad, a policy obviously calculated, if persevered

in, to effect the ruin of Athens herself, and the overthrow of her institutions. Dobree quotes Livy iii. 68, "Sedemus desides domi, mulierum ritu inter nos altercantes, praesenti pace laeti, nec cernentes, ex otio illi brevi multiplex bellum reditumum." He remarks also, "Respicit ut videtur Livius (iii. 68) qui omnia a verbis, 'At enim communes res' usque ad orationis finem e Demosthene adumbravit."

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν] 'Now, as for fault-finding;' perhaps a man may say that it is easy, and any body's work, but that the duty of a counsellor is this, viz. to show what we ought to do as regards the present state of affairs.'

οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους] Comp. c. Phil. ii. § 36, ὁρῶ, ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.

οἶμαι] Rüdiger observes that this shorter form is used in parentheses, ironical expressions, and short answers, but the longer οἶμαι in elaborate sentences. In this remark there is I think some truth; but here, as Dindorf remarks, "libri omnes in οἶμαι consentiunt," and therefore I adopt it.

ὑποστείλασθαι] 'to use reserve,' or

- 18 περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ δὴ διχῇ βοηθητέον
εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑμῖν, τῷ τε τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις
σώζειν καὶ τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσοντας στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν,
καὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ
στρατιώταις ἑτέροις· εἰ δὲ θατέρου τούτων ὀλιγορήσετε, 10
19 ὁκνῶ μὴ μάταιος ὑμῖν ἡ στρατεία γένηται. εἴτε γὰρ ὑμῶν
τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιούντων ὑπομείνας τοῦτο Ὀλυνθον
παραστήσεται, ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν ἀμυνεῖται·
εἴτε βοηθησάντων μόνον ὑμῶν εἰς Ὀλυνθον ἀκινδύνως.
ὁρῶν ἔχοντα τὰ οἴκοι προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ προσεδρεύσει 15
τοῖς πράγμασι, περιέσται τῇ χρόνῳ τῶν πόλιορκουμένων.
δεῖ δὴ πολλὴν καὶ διχῇ τὴν βοήθειαν εἶναι.
- 20 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς βοηθείας ταῦτα γινώσκω· περὶ δὲ
χρημάτων πόρου, ἔστιν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χρήματα ὑμῖν,
ἔστιν ὅσα οὐδέσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων στρατιωτικά· 20
ταῦτα δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτως ὥς βούλεσθε λαμβάνετε. εἰ μὲν
οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀποδώσετε, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν
προσδεῖ πόρου, εἰ δὲ μὴ, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντος
ἐνδεῖ τοῦ πόρου. τί οὖν, ἂν τις εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ'
21 εἶναι στρατιωτικά; μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ 25
ἡγοῦμαι στρατιώτας δεῖν κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι

'shrink from the truth in what I think to be for your advantage.' Ὑποστέλλεσθαι is properly, 'to take in' or 'take down the sails of a ship.'

τοῖς πράγμασιν] 'in the case.' Τὰς πόλεις, the cities of Chalcidice.

παραστήσεται] Literally, 'shall cause to stand on his own side,' i. e. shall reduce. Comp. Herod. iii. 155, θάσσον οἱ πολέμοιοι παραστήσονται, 'will yield,' literally, 'place themselves by us.'

προσκαθεδεῖται . . . πράγμασι] 'if he shall keep up a close siege, and a vigilant watch over the position,' which appears simply to mean, 'if he shall keep up a close and vigilant blockade.' C. R. K.

οὐδέσι.] The old reading is οὐδενί. Dindorf adopts the plural, and quotes in support of it Olyn. ii. § 17, οὐδέων εἰσι βελτίους, and c. Philip. iv. § 59, παρ' οὐδέσι τούτων. Comp. also Xen. Hell. i. 5, 9, ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδένες τινὲς ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, and v. 4, 20, εἰ μηδένες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοί. But οὐδένης is used differently, and as a

substantive in Herod. ix. 58, οὐδένης ἄρα ἐόντες, 'being after all nobodies,' with which Mr. Blakesley compares Sophoc. Ajax, v. 1135, οὐ γὰρ ἤξιον τοὺς μηδένας.

ταῦτα . . . λαμβάνετε] You take for theatricals and festivals the public funds which should pay for military services and stores.

ἀποδώσετε] 'assign it as their due,' for such is the idea in ἀποδοῦναι here, as in 'reddere' sometimes.

εἰ δὲ μὴ . . . πόρου] 'but if not, you want an additional supply, or rather you want the whole supply altogether.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'If ye will assign this to your troops, ye need no further supply: otherwise ye need a further, or rather ye have none at all.'

σὺ γράφεις] A bill for this purpose would have subjected the person who brought it forward to an impeachment.

καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά] Dindorf omits these words altogether. Dobree says, "haec delenda ut manifestum scholion

στρατιωτικά, καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὕτω πως ἄνευ πραγμάτων λαμβάνετε εἰς τὰς ἐορτάς. ἔστι δὴ 15 λοιπὸν, οἶμαι, πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἂν πολλῶν δέῃ, πολλὰ, ἂν ὀλίγων, ὀλίγα. δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἄλλοι πόρους, ὧν ἔλεσθε ὅστις ὑμῖν συμφέρειν δοκεῖ· 5 καὶ ἔως ἐστὶ καιρὸς, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων.

- 22 Ἄξιον δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ πράγματα ἐν ᾧ καθέστηκε νυνὶ τὰ Φιλίππου. οὔτε γὰρ, ὥς δοκεῖ καὶ φήσει τις ἂν μὴ σκοπῶν ἀκριβῶς, εὐτρεπῶς οὐδ' ὥς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει, οὔτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν 10 πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον· ἐκείνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ᾤκηται δεήσειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπιὼν ἅπαντα τότε ἡλπιζε τὰ πράγματα ἀναιρήσεσθαι, κᾶτα διέψευσται. τοῦτο δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ταραττει παρὰ γνώμην γεγονὸς καὶ πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν αὐτῷ 23 παρέχει, εἴτα τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν 15

ad sequentia," and Bekker brackets ταῦτα. But they are found in all the MSS., and seem to me not only consistent with the previous sentence, but to give additional force and point to the whole context. For Demosthenes had just declined the supposed challenge to bring in a bill for appropriating certain monies to military objects. Such a measure would have exposed him to impeachment, and therefore he says, 'By Zeus, I will not attempt that.' For' (he adds) 'it is true that I am indeed of opinion (no further, I propose no measure about it) that soldiers ought to be provided, and that the funds in question (ταῦτα) should be reserved for military purposes, and that there should be one and the same regulation for the receipt of the money and the discharge of duty (i.e. that the regulation which warrants payments should require duties). But you on the contrary receive it just as it happens, without any service for it, and therefore it only remains for you to make extraordinary contributions.' In all this there is sound sense and argument, but there would be no point in saying (according to Dindorf's text), 'I think that soldiers should be provided, and that there should be some funds to pay for them.' Of course every body

thought so; but the difference between Demosthenes and others was, that he wished to appropriate *certain public monies* to this purpose, while they wished to keep them for theatricals and festivals.

ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων] 'put hands to the work.' C. R. K.

οὔτε γὰρ . . . τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει] 'for neither are his present affairs in good order, nor in the best possible condition for him.'

ὥς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ] sc. ἔχοι. Compare De Cor. § 251, περ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεπονηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἐξήτασαι.

οὔτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε] 'nor would he ever have waged or carried out this war.' So προτέρους ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον. Libanius also uses the same phrase in his life of Demosthenes, sub fin.: οἱ Θηβαῖοι πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν πρὸς αὐτούς.

ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπιὼν . . . ἀναιρήσεσθαι] 'but at first he expected to carry off every thing (from the Olynthians), as soon as ever he marched upon the country.' Reiske correctly explains ὥς ἐπιὼν by οὕτως ὥς ἐπιὼν τις ἀναρεῖται, 'primo statim impetu,' ὥς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς. 'So wie er anrückte' (Rüdiger).

ταῦτα . . . πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις] 'for they,

ἦν δῆπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, κομιδῇ δ',
 ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι νῦν τούτῳ. καὶ γὰρ Παγασὰς ἀπαι-
 τεῖν αὐτόν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλόκασι
 τειχίζειν. ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας
 καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ 20
 κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ Φίλιππον
 λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀποστερηθήσεται τῶν χρημά-
 των, εἰς στενὸν κομιδῇ τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ξένοις αὐτῷ
 24 καταστήσεται. ἀλλὰ μὴν τόν γε Παίονα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυ-
 ριδὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς τούτους ἅπαντας ἡγείσθαι χρή αὐτονόμους 25
 ἡδιον ἂν καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀήθεις
 τοῦ ἀτακτοῦναι τινός εἰσι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής, ὥς
 φασιν. καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν ἄπιστον ἴσως· τὸ γὰρ εἶ πράτ-
 τειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς 16
 ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται, διόπερ πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι
 25 τὰ γαθὰ τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. δεῖ τοίνυν
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου καιρὸν
 ὑμέτερον νομίσαντας ἐτοίμως συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα, 5
 καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐφ' ᾧ δεῖ καὶ στρατευομένους αὐτοὺς
 καὶ παροξύνοντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, λογιζομένους, εἰ

as is well known (δῆπου), have been by
 nature and at all times faithless to all
 men.' The perfidy of the Thessalians
 was proverbial, so much so that Θεσσαλὸν
 νόμισμα was a phrase for bad or spurious
 coins. Demosthenes (c. Aristoc. § 133)
 says of them, ὑμεῖς οὐδένα προῦδάκατε
 πάποτε τῶν φίλων, Θετταλοὶ δὲ οὐδένα
 πάποθ' ὄντινα οὐ.

ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ] This must have been
 about B.C. 350—349.

τοὺς λιμένας . . . καρποῦσθαι] 'to en-
 joy the customs and market dues.'

τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ . . . δέοι διοικεῖν] This is
 clearly the optative of the 'oratio obliqua.'
 'For (they said) they ought to support
 the general administration of the Thessa-
 lians out of these funds instead of Philip
 taking them.' It would seem then, that
 on Philip overthrowing the tyrants of
 Thessaly, their old subjects made over to
 him (of their free will or by compulsion)
 some of the principal resources of the
 public revenue.

τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ξένοις] 'the means
 of support for his mercenaries.'

ὑβριστής] 'overbearing.'

τὸ γὰρ εἶδὲ πράττειν . . . γίγνεται]
 'for success beyond deserts proves to
 those who want understanding a cause
 of infatuation.' This sentence is quoted
 by the grammarian Hermogenes and
 others as an example of a γνωμικὴ
 περίοδος. Vömel quotes a similar senti-
 ment, which may have suggested the idea
 to Demosthenes, from Thucyd. iii. 39:
 εἰώθε δὲ τῶν πόλεων αἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι'
 ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ
 εἰς ὕβριν τρέπειν.

τὴν ἀκαιρίαν . . . νομίσαντας] 'thinking
 his unfavourable time your opportunity.'
 So "England's need is Ireland's oppor-
 tunity," said the Irish leader O'Connell.
 Dobree quotes Livy iv. 58: "Tantum ab-
 fuit ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio
 peteretur," a remark which few would
 apply to the Irish patriot.

συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα] 'to help (the
 Olynthians) in bearing the burdens of the
 war.' Comp. Eurip. Orest. v. 757, συν-
 ηράμην φόνον σοι μητρός.

λογιζομένους . . . ἐλθεῖν] The gram-

Φίλιππος λάβοι καθ' ἡμῶν τοιοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ πόλεμος γένοιτο πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν οἴεσθε ἐτοιμῶς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν. εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ μὴδ' ἂ πάθοιτ' ἂν ¹⁰ εἰ δύναιτ' ἐκείνος, ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καιρὸν ἔχοντες οὐ τολμήσετε ;

- 26 Ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴδὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς λανθανέτω. ὅτι νῦν αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ὑμῖν πότερ' ὑμᾶς ἐκείῃ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκείνων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀντέχῃ ¹⁵ τὰ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, ὑμεῖς ἐκείῃ πολεμήσετε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιήσετε, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι· ἂν δ' ἐκείνα Φίλιππος λάβῃ, τίς αὐτὸν ²⁷ κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζειν ; Θηβαῖοι ; μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν

matical construction should manifestly have been λογισμένους ὡς ἂν ἐτοιμῶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθοι, instead of which it is changed into an interrogative form by introducing πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν οἴεσθε. Construe: 'Considering if Philip were to get such an opportunity against us, and a war arose on our frontier, how readily, think you, he would have marched against us?' Dobree quotes similar passages: c. Meid. § 265, ἐνθυμείσθε . . . τίνος συγγνώμης . . . τυχεῖν ἂν οἴεσθε ; adv. Macart. § 96, ἐκείνο δ' ἐνθυμείσθε ; . . . τί ποτ' οἴεσθ' ἡμᾶς παύσκειν ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ;

εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε] 'are you not ashamed then, if, when you have the opportunity, you will not dare to inflict even what you would suffer, if he had the power?' The construction εἰ μὴδ' . . . οὐ τολμήσετε is irregular, and is supposed by Rüdiger and others to have arisen from a blending of the two, εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ μὴδ', ἂ πάθοιτ' ἂν, εἰ δύναιτ' ἐκείνος, ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καιρὸν ἔχοντες τολμήσετε, and εἴθ' ἂν πάθοιτ' ἂν . . . ταῦτα . . . οὐ τολμήσετε. But it is quite possible, and I think more probable, that Demosthenes, having already given the sentence a negative turn by εἰ μὴδ' ἂν πάθοιτ' ἂν, simply added the οὐ to τολμήσετε at the end, for additional emphasis, and to impress more forcibly on his hearers the dishonour of *not* having done their duty. Upon this supposition perhaps οὐ may be admissible, though the regular construction would be εἰ μὴ τολμήσετε.

Ἔτι τοίνυν] Here τοίνυν is not inferential, but connecting.

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν . . . καρπούμενοι] 'en-

joying without alarm your country here, which you possess and which is your home.' Comp. Shakspeare, Henry VIII. Act V. Sc. 4,

"In her days, every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants."

Θηβαῖοι ; μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν] 'the Thebans? nay, though it may be too painful to say so—they will even readily join him in invading us.' With Bekker I accept the reading of the MSS. rather than Dindorf's emendation, Θηβαῖοι ; οἱ εἰ μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, καὶ . . . , for which, however plausible, there is but little authority in the MSS, though he observes, "εἰ μὴ sumpsit ex cod. Paris. octavo Morelii (qui εἰπεῖν omittit) et Harleiano." It may also appear to correspond better with ἀλλὰ φωκεῖς ; οἱ τὴν οἰκείαν . . . But it is by no means certain that Demosthenes affected such studied symmetry and similarity in his sentences. Nor again is the severance of the connexion between Θηβαῖοι and συνεισβαλοῦσιν, in the old text, a valid objection to it. On the contrary, a rapid and energetic orator hurriedly speaking the clause μὴ λίαν . . . εἰπεῖν ᾗ, would bring them into close connexion. This consideration alone would lead me to prefer Bekker's reading to Dindorf's, and if a student will but read the text aloud, with proper spirit and emphasis, he will, I think, readily perceive that there is no objection at all to it, but quite the reverse. There is however some difficulty in μὴ . . . εἰπεῖν ᾗ, which perhaps is most easily explained by supposing the omission of δέδοικα.

- ἤ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἐτοίμως. ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς; οἱ τὴν 20
οἰκείαν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ὄντες φυλάττειν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήσῃ
ὑμεῖς. ἢ ἄλλος τις; ἀλλ', ὦ τῶν, οὐχὶ βουλήσεται. τῶν
ἀποπωτάτων μέντ' αὖ εἴη, εἰ ἂν νῦν ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων ὁμως
28 ἐκλαλεῖ, ταῦτα δυνηθεῖς μὴ πράξει. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα γ'
ἐστὶ τὰ διάφορα ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγου 25
προσδεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς δεήσειεν αὐτοὺς τριά-
κοντα ἡμέρας μόνας ἔξω γενέσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἀνάγκη στρα-
τοπέδῳ χρωμένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, μηδεὶς 17
ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ πολεμίου λέγω, πλεόν ἂν οἶμαι ζημιωθῆναι
τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ὑμῶν ἢ ὅσα εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ
πόλεμον δεδαπάνησθε. εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἦξει, πόσα
χρὴ νομίσαι ζημιώσεσθαι; καὶ πρόσσεσθ' ἢ ὕβρις καὶ ἔτι 5
ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημία τοῖς
γε σάφροσιν.
- 29 Πάντα δὴ ταῦτα δεῖ συνιδόντας ἅπαντας βοηθεῖν καὶ
ἀπωθεῖν ἐκείσε τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους, ἢ ὑπὲρ

ἀλλ', ὦ τῶν] 'but, my good fellow, Philip will not wish to do this.' Demosthenes puts this remark, addressed to himself, into the mouth of some objector, and replies, τῶν ἀποπωτάτων μεντ' αὖ εἴη: 'but it would assuredly be one of the most absurd proceedings, if, when he has the power, he shall neglect to do those very things which now, even though he incurs the imputation of folly for it, he nevertheless publicly talks of.' On ὦ τῶν see Donaldson's Cratylus (p. 262), where it is compared with the Sanscrit *tvam*, 'thou.'

ἔξω] i. e. τῆς πόλεως. Comp. Xen. Anab. vi. 6. 5, ἐτόγγχευε τὸ στρατεῦμα ἔξω ὄν, i. e. out of camp.

ὅσα ἀνάγκη . . . λαμβάνειν] 'and to take of the produce of the country what men who are in camp must take.'

μηδεὶς . . . λέγω] 'I mean too when there is no enemy in it.'

τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πόλεμον] That of Amphipolis as it was called (B.C. 357), and which up to the time of the Olynthiac Orations had been carried on chiefly in Chalcidice and its neighbourhood. In Olyn. iii. § 32, Demosthenes says the Athenians had already spent 1500 talents upon it without effect, εἰς οὐδὲν δέον.

ζημιώσεσθαι] A middle future form (as it is called) in a passive sense, ex-

amples of which are by no means uncommon.

πρόσσεσθ' ἢ ὕβρις] Rüdiger prefers this reading (as it originally stood in the codex S.) for πρόσσεστι, το πρόσσεσθ' or προσέσται, on the ground that there are no indisputable cases of the elision of αἰ in Demosthenes. Dindorf also observes, that if he used the future, πρόσσεσται ought to be written 'cum Paulo Manutio.' Translate, 'And there is its license also, and besides this the ignominy of the position, which, at any rate with right-thinking men, is not less than any other damage.' Jacobs translates ὕβρις by 'der Frevel der Feinde.' Compare Act. Apost. xxvii. 10, μετὰ ὕβρεως καὶ πολλῆς ζημίας οὐ μόνον τοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῦ πλοίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, and ver. 21, κερδήσαι τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν. Also, Odys. xiv. 262, where the invaders of a country are described as ὕβρει εἰζάντες, ἐπισπόμενοι μένει σφῶ, and so committing all sorts of outrage. Milton might have used ὕβρις for 'violence' in his lines (Par. Lost i. 494):

"When the priest
Turns Atheist, as did Eli's sons, who
filled
With lust and violence the house of God."

τῶν πολλῶν ὧν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι, μικρὰ ἀναλίσ- 10
 κοντες τὰ λοιπὰ καρπῶνται ἀδεῶς, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἵνα
 τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου χώρα κτησά-
 μενοι φοβεραὶ φύλακες τῆς οἰκείας ἀκεραίου γένωνται,
 τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἵν' αἱ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων αὐτοῖς εὐθυναὶ
 ῥάδιαι γένωνται, ὥς ὅποι' ἄττ' ἂν ὑμᾶς περιστητὴ τὰ πράγ- 15
 ματα, τοιοῦτοι κριταὶ καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε.
 χρηστὰ δ' εἴη πάντος ἔνεκα.

καλῶς ποιοῦντες] 'and thankful they may be for it.' 'Was sie zu ihrem wohl besitzen' (Jacobs). 'Deorum benignitate' (Rüdiger). 'Quorum de possessione iis congratulor' (Reiske). Comp. de Cor. § 290, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε, and the note there.

φοβεροὶ . . . γένωνται] 'they may prove formidable guardians of their own country kept free from harm.'

αἱ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων . . . εὐθυναὶ] 'that their accounts of their statesmanship may turn out easy to them.' Editors differ in the accent of εὐθυναί, Bekker having εὐθῦναι. But there seems a preponderance of authority in favour of the form εὐθυνα in the nom.; and the Scholiast on the speech c. Timocr. § 23, states expressly that the accent is on the antepenult, περὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου (τόνον, Taylor) τῆς εὐθύνης ἥδη ἐπομεν ὅτι προποροῦνται. I have therefore followed

Dindorf in writing εὐθυναί. Mr. Shilleto (Fal. Leg § 19), has the following note: "εὐθυναί, ed. Turic. Dind. sc. ex singulari εὐθυνα. Sed ex εὐθύνῃ recte formatur εὐθῦναι, εὐθυνα autem et εὐθύνῃ promiscue videntur Graeci usurpasse. Caeterum vulg. ante Bekk. εὐθύναι quod nihili est."

ὅποι' ἄττ' . . . πράγματα] 'since whatever may be the character of the circumstances that may surround you, such will you be as judges of their actions also.'

παντός ἔνεκα.] 'on every account: 'um Alleswegen.' The grammarian Thomas Magister, p. 307, observes that Plato and Demosthenes use the form ἐνεκα, which Bekker here adopts. Dindorf, however, reads ἔνεκα, and shows by a quotation of passages and various readings, that if the MSS. can be depended on, Demosthenes was at any rate by no means constant in his preference of ἐνεκα.

II.

ΟΛΤΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Β.

B.C. 350.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Προσῆκοντο μὲν τὴν πρεσβείαν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς κεκρίκασιν· μέλλουσι δὲ περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ δεδιόσιν ὡς δυσπολεμήτου ὄντος τοῦ Φιλίππου, παρελθὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης πειρᾶται θαρσύνειν τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὡς ἀσθενῇ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο πράγματα. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτὸν ὑποπτον εἶναι φησι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἰσχυρόν· τοὺς γὰρ Μακεδόνας εἶναι ἀσθενεῖς καθ' ἑαυτούς.

Ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν τις ἰδεῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ 18
μοι τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν φανεράν γιγνομένην τῇ
πόλει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν τὸ γὰρ

Προσῆκοντο] 'gave a favourable reception to.' This aor. mid. is not a common form in Attic prose, though Butmann, *Ausfuhr Gram.* i. p. 543, shows that it does occur in prose writers. Compare *Fal. Leg.* § 88, τὴν τῶν συμμάχων σωτηρίαν προήκασθε. Also § 95, ταῦτ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προήκασθε. Nor is the word itself common in Attic writers in its sense here. Xenophon (e.g. *Hell.* i. 5. 9) uses προσδέχεσθαι, —οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεμπον πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις . . . ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο.

μέλλουσι] An unusual construction for μελλόντων.

τὴν ἰδίαν] The codex Y has οἰκέαν, apparently a mere explanation.

Ἐπὶ πολλῶν] 'In many things, men of Athens, as it appears to me, may one see the good-will of the gods manifesting itself to the city.' Mr. C. R. Ken-

nedy thus: 'On many occasions, one may see the kindness of the gods to this country manifested;' and Jacobs, 'das Wohlwollen der Götter gegen diese Stadt;' both which renderings are apparently justified by *De Cor.* § 1, ὅσ' αὖτε εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. But the introduction of φανεράν γιγνομένην seems to require the modification which I have made.

τὸ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμήσοντας] 'for the fact that there have arisen men who are ready to wage war with Philip, possessing both a neighbouring country and some power, and (what is most important of all) having their convictions about the war such as to think reconciliations with him to be in the first place untrustworthy, and in the next ruinous to their country; this is like some providential and altogether divine benefaction.'

τοὺς πολεμήσοντας Φιλίππῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ χώραν ὁμορον καὶ δύναμιν τινα κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀπάντων, 5 τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην τοιαύτην ἔχοντας ὥστε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνον διαλλαγὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἀπίστους, εἶτα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν εἶναι, δαιμονία τινὶ 2 καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ. δεῖ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὅπως μὴ 10 χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξομεν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὧν ἡμὲν ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι προ- ἱεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν. 15

3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν Φιλίππου ῥώμην διεξιέναι καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων προτρέπειν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. διὰ τί; ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν εἴπῃ τις ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν 20 φιλοτιμίαν τινά, ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπραῆχθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὅσῳ πλείονα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτ' ἂν θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσι νομίζεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσῳ χείρον ἢ προσῆκε κέχρησθε τοῖς πράγμασι, τοσοῦτ' 4 πλείονα αἰσχύνῃν ὠφλήκατε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μετ' ἀληθείας τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σκο- 19 ποῖτο, ἐνθένδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἴδοι μέγαν γεγενημένον, οὐχὶ παρ'

αὐτούς] Opposed to τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν, and = ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.

τῶν ὑπαρχόντων] 'than our opportunities,' or 'circumstances.' Τὰ ὑπάρχοντα are the advantages afforded to the Athenians independently of their own efforts. The meaning is further explained by τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων τε καὶ καιρῶν.

πόλεων . . . προΐεμένους] The verb προΐεσθαι elsewhere governs an accusative, as in Olyn. i. § 9, τὸ παρὸν αἰεὶ προΐεμενοι: § 12, εἰ προσόμεθα καὶ τοῦτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: and c. Meid. § 2618, πῶς ὑμῖν καλὸν τὸν ὕρκον προέσθαι; But the genitive here seems to be the result of an attraction by ὧν ἡμὲν ποτε κύριοι, to which also the meaning of προΐεσθαι may have somewhat contributed, being similar to that of ἐξίστασθαι, and other kindred words.

ὑπὲρ τούτων] 'upon these matters,' i. e. the achievements of Philip.

ἐκείνῳ μὲν . . . τινά] 'reflects upon him indeed a degree of credit to his honour, and on us the discredit of mismanagement;' or, as Mr. Kennedy, 'all that may be said on that score involves matter of glory for him, and misconduct on our part.' Comp. Thucyd. i. 9, λέγουσι Πέλοπα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλύτην ὄντα ὁμῶς σχεῖν, on which Gölter sensibly observes, "Locī ubi ἔχειν per praeberē reddi potest, ita intelligendi sunt, ut ἔχῃ accipias dictum pro continere, in se habere causam et rationem, sive ansam dare alicui rei."

ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν] 'beyond what was expected of himself;' or, 'the more he has transcended his reputation.' C. R. K. καὶ γὰρ] 'and in fact.'

ἐνθένδ'] 'from here,' i. e. either from

αὐτοῦ. ὦν οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὀφείλει τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπο-
 λιτευμένοις χάριν, ὑμῖν δὲ δίκην προσήκει λαβεῖν, τούτων
 οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν· ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς 5
 τούτων ἔνι, καὶ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἀκηκοέναι πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ
 μεγάλα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατ' ἐκείνου φαίνουσι· ἅπ-
 ὁνείδῃ βουλομένοις ὀρθῶς δοκιμάζειν, ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν πειρά-
 σομαι.

5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίορκον καὶ ἄπιστον καλεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ τὰ 10
 πεπραγμένα δεικνύναι λοιδορίαν εἶναι τις ἂν φήσκει κενὴν
 δικαίως· τὸ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα πάποτ' ἔπραξε διεξιόντα, ἐφ'
 ἅπασι τούτοις ἐλέγχειν, καὶ βραχέος λόγου συμβαίνει
 δεῖσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν ἔνεκα ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν εἰρηῇσθαι, τοῦ
 τ' ἐκείνων, ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει, φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι, 15
 καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους ὥς ἄμαχόν τινα τὸν
 Φίλιππον ἰδεῖν, ὅτι πάντα διεξελέλυθεν οἷς πρότερον παρα-
 κρουόμενος μέγας ἠϋξήθη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἤκει τὴν τελευ-
 6 τὴν τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ. ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 σφόδρ' ἂν ἡγοῦμην καὶ αὐτὸς φοβερὸν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ 20
 θαυμαστὸν, εἰ τὰ δίκαια πράττοντα ἐώρων ἠϋξημένον· νῦν
 δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν εὐρίσκω τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν

Athens, or the βῆμα from which Demos-
 thenes spoke: the former seems preferable.

ὦν οὖν ἐκεῖνος . . . χάριν] 'with regard
 then to those matters for which he in-
 deed is under obligation to those who as
 public men have acted for him here, and
 for which you ought to take satisfaction
 from them—as to these matters I do not
 now see the proper time for speaking of
 them.' Τούτων I think depends on και-
 ρόν, owing to a combination of the
 two phrases καιρὸν τούτων and καιρὸν τοῦ
 λέγειν. See Matt. Gram. § 343, where
 τοῦ λέγειν is said to be an explanation of
 τούτων, and Hermann (ad Soph. Trach.
 v. 57), who quotes τούτων οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ
 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν, and says, "quod
 recte dicas Latine: 'Horum non video
 opportunitatem dicendi.'"

τὸ δὲ πάνθ' . . . ἐλέγχειν] 'but to go
 through every thing which he has ever
 done, and in all these matters to bring
 proof against him,—this both happens to
 require a short story, and on two ac-
 counts is it, as I think, expedient to have
 it told.'

πάντα διεξελέλυθεν] I agree with the
 very natural explanation of the Scholiast,
 οὐδεμίαν ἔτι εὐρίσκει μηχανὴν, πάσας γὰρ
 διῆλθε, 'he has gone through (ex-
 hausted) all the artifices by which in
 past time imposing upon people he raised
 himself to greatness.' On παρακρούεται
 Harpocration observes, μετῆκται τοῖννομα
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς ἰστώντας (ponderantes) τι ἢ
 μετρούντας κρούειν τὰ μέτρα καὶ διασελεῖν,
 ἔνεκα τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν. In other words
 the term was originally applied to cheats
 in weighing by secretly tilting or lifting
 the scales.

εὐρίσκω τὴν . . . αὐτῶν ἀναδέεσθαι]
 'but, in fact, on inquiry and observa-
 tion, I find that in the first instance,
 when certain persons drove away from
 here the Olynthians, wishing to negotiate
 with us, he gained over our simplicity by
 this, viz. by declaring that he would cede
 Amphipolis, and by getting up that once
 much talked of secret; and afterwards (he
 won) the friendship of the Olynthians, by
 taking from us Potidaea though it was
 ours, and wronging us his former allies,

τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς, ὅτε Ὀλυνθίους ἀπήλυνόν τινας ἐνθένδε
 βουλομένους ὑμῖν διαλεχθῆναι, τῷ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν φάσκειν
 παραδώσειν καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτε ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνο 25
 ἢ κατασκευάσαι, τούτῳ προσαγαγόμενον, τὴν δ' Ὀλυνθίων
 Φιλίαν μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ Ποτίδαιαν οὔσαν ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν 20
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἀδικῆσαι, παρα-
 δοῦναι δ' ἐκείνοις, Θετταλοὺς δὲ νῦν τὰ τελευταῖα τῷ

and giving it up to them; and now, last of all (he has won), the Thessalians, by promising to cede Magnesia, and undertaking to carry on the Phocian war for them.' The construction is *τὴν μὲν ὑμετέραν εὐθείαν εὐρίσκω προσαγαγόμενον τῷ φάσκειν καὶ κατασκευάσαι—τὴν δ' Ὀλυνθίων φιλίαν τῷ Ποτίδαιαν ἐξελεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι—Θετταλοὺς δὲ τῷ ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ ἀναδέξασθαι*. For a similar use of *προσάγεσθαι* comp. Thucyd. iii. 43, *ἀπ' αὐτῆς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος*.

Ὀλυνθίους ἀπήλυνον.] In B.C. 358—357. Immediately after Philip reduced Amphipolis, the Olynthians became alarmed for their own safety, and sent to negotiate an alliance with the Athenians, —*ὑμῖν διαλεχθῆναι*. The envoys were however dismissed without success; for the partisans of Philip represented that he was well disposed to Athens, and intended to restore Amphipolis to her. But as a preliminary to this step, they asserted that the Athenians ought to cede Pydna, a port of Macedonia still retained by them, and that negotiations should be opened with Philip for effecting the transfer. Moreover, the Pydnaeans being adverse to this scheme, it was alleged that secrecy was essential to its success, and consequently it was determined that the arrangement should be discussed before the senate exclusively, and not before the assembly of the people (*τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτε ἀπόρρητον*). But in this he was only deluding the Athenians: for soon afterwards he besieged Pydna on his own account, and by the help of some traitors amongst its inhabitants he captured it, and sold into slavery some Athenians who were resident there (adv. Lept. § 71). About the same time he opened a treaty with the Olynthians, whose friendship he had already conciliated, by ceding to them the district of Anthemus, and who were sure to be irritated by the rejection of their proffered alliance with Athens. Then—but without any formal declara-

tion of war against the Athenians, and in conjunction with the Olynthians (*πρὸς Ποτίδαιαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφοτέρων*)—he captured Potidaea, an old dependency of Athens, and transferred it to the Olynthians (c. Phil. ii. § 22. Grote xi. pp. 332—335). Some of our information on the secret negotiation is derived from fragments of Theopompus preserved by Photius, p. 588.

Θετταλοὺς.] Thessaly was occupied by certain houses or clans, who maintained a sort of feudal supremacy in their respective districts, as the Scopadae in and round Crannon, and the Aleuadae of Larissa. On the latter being assailed by the superior forces of Lycophron and Pitholaus, tyrants of Pherae, they solicited the aid of Philip, who thereupon entered Thessaly (B.C. 353) with a large army. Just at the same time the neighbouring Phocians were in arms under Onomarchus, and successfully carrying on by means of a large body of mercenaries, what was called the Second Sacred War (B.C. 356—346) against Thebes. Accordingly, Lycophron obtained their assistance against Philip, and the first campaign resulted in the defeat of the Macedonians, and their withdrawal from Thessaly. But Philip soon returned with a fresh army, and Lycophron again solicited the aid of Onomarchus, and agreed to hold Thessaly under his supremacy (Grote xi. 366. 409. Diod. Sic. xvi. 35). From this Philip delivered the country, by defeating Lycophron and the Phocians (B.C. 352); after which he proceeded, it would seem, to make himself master of Magnesia, by taking Pherae and its port Pagasae (*μετὰ ταῦτα Φεράς, Παγασάς, Μαγνησίαν*, Olyn. i. § 12). Subsequently the Thessalians requested its restitution; and Philip's promise to restore it, here alluded to by Demosthenes, appears to have been fulfilled before B.C. 344, by his offering Magnesia to them (*Μαγνησίαν ἐξίδου*, c. Phil. ii. § 24). The undertaking

- Μαγνησίαν παραδώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον πολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι. ὅλως δὲ 5· οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὄντιν' οὐ πεφενάκιεν ἐκείνος τῶν αὐτῷ χρησαμένων τὴν γὰρ ἐκάστων ἄνοιαν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούν-
 8 των αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν καὶ προσλαμβάνων οὕτως ηὑξήθη: ὥσπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων ἦρθη μέγας, ἥνίκα ἕκαστοι συμ- φέρον αὐτὸν ἐαυτοῖς ᾤοντό τι πράξειν, οὕτως ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν 10 αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ἕνεκα ἐαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξελέλεγκται. καιροῦ μὲν δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι Φιλίππῳ τὰ πράγματα· ἡ παρελθὼν τις ἐμοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν δεῖξάτω ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λέγω, ἡ ὡς οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ἐξηπατημένοι τὰ λοιπὰ 15 πιστεύουσιν, ἡ ὡς οἱ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν δεδουλω- μένοι Θετταλοὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιτο ἄσμενοι.
 9 Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἡγεῖται, οἶεται δὲ βία καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα τῷ τὰ χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προειληφέναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς 20 οἶεται. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα συστήῃ καὶ πᾶσι ταῦτα συμφέρη τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ μένειν ἐθέλουσιν ἀνθρωποι· ὅταν δ' ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ πονηρίας τις ὥσπερ

to carry on the Phocian war (τῷ ἀναδέξασθαι) can only refer to Philip's readiness (B.C. 352) to assist the patriotic Aleuadae against the Phocian invasion.

ὅλως δὲ . . . χρησαμένων] 'and in short none is there of those who have had dealings with him whom he has not imposed upon.' The word φενακίζω is said to be connected with φενάκη, false hair, or a wig, used for disguise. Hence φέναξ, an impostor, as in Aristophanes.

τὴν γὰρ ἐκάστων] 'for by deceiving and gaining over to his own purposes the ignorance of every people one after the other (ἀεὶ) who knew him not, in this way has he risen.' It may be observed, that Demosthenes attributes εὐήθεια to his own countrymen, but ἄνοια to foreigners. Sauppe compares Plato, Gorg. § 44, τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ ἡδίστῳ θηρεύεται τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ.

ὥσπερ οὖν . . . ἦρθη μέγας] 'as then it was by these means that he was raised to

greatness.'

καιροῦ . . . πάρεστι] 'to this crisis then are Philip's affairs come.'

δεδουλωμένοι Θετταλοί] This is an exaggeration, not to say an untruth. Philip had conquered some of the tyrants of Thessaly, and made himself master of it, but he had not reduced its inhabitants to actual slavery.

Καὶ μὴν] 'And then indeed.'

καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα] 'that he will forcibly retain his power by his pre-occupation of posts and harbours.'

ὅταν μὲν . . . συστήῃ] 'when power is consolidated by good-will.'

πᾶσι ταῦτα συμφέρη] "Idem velle atque idem nolle ea demum firma amicitia est." Sallust, Bell. Cat. c. 20.

συμπονεῖν] 'to co-operate, and to bear misfortunes, and to be constant.' Clearly it is not necessary to supply σύν to φέρειν from συμπονεῖν.

- οὗτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα 25
 10 ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐπιорκοῦντα καὶ ψευδό-
 μενον δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς 21
 μὲν ἄπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, καὶ σφόδρα γε
 ἡνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχῃ, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται
 καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας, οἶμαι, καὶ
 πλοίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ κάτωθεν ἰσχυρό- 5
 τατα εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς
 ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προΐσκει. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ
 ἔνι νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ.
 11 Φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ὑμᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν, καὶ
 ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι 10
 πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, ἣ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει

ἡ πρώτη . . . διέλυσεν] 'the first pre-
 text and a slight mishap overthrows and
 breaks up every thing.' The word ἀναχαι-
 τίς is properly applied to a horse rearing
 and tossing back his neck and mane so as
 to throw his rider. Comp. Eurip. Hipp.
 v. 1276, εἰς τοῦθ' ἕως ἔσφηλε κἀνεχαίτισεν.
 The aorist is here used, as in many other
 cases, to express what is usual and custo-
 mary under certain circumstances. It
 does not denote the continued or habitual
 action of the imperfect, but is used in its
 proper meaning as an indeterminate tense
 referring to no special or particular time.
 See Appendix II. to Notes upon Thucy-
 dides, by Mr. Shepherd, who quotes in
 illustration the Latin, 'Mollivit aversos
 Penates,' 'Deduxit corpore febres,' &c.
 With the sentiment μικρὸν πταῖσμα,
 κ.τ.λ. compare Shakspeare, Henry VIII.
 Act II. Scene 1:—

"Where you are liberal of your loves and
 counsels,

Be sure you be not loose; for those
 you make friends,
 And give your hearts to, when they
 once perceive

The least rub in your fortunes, fall
 away

Like water from ye, never found again
 But where they mean to sink ye."

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν] 'for not possible is it—
 not possible is it.'

τὰ τοιαῦτα . . . ἀντέχει] 'such things

indeed hold out for once and a short
 time.'

καὶ σφόδρα γε . . . ἂν τύχῃ] 'and
 blossom it may be very fully too in men's
 hopes.' With ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν comp. c.
 Phil. i. § 55, ἐπὶ τῷ, συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἐὰν
 πράξητε ταῦτα, πεπεισθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι.
 'I resolve to speak in the conviction that
 these measures will be for your advantage
 if you adopt them.'

περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ] 'drop down upon
 themselves,' like flowers in decay. Dobree
 compares Herod. i. 108, μηδὲ . . . σεωυτῷ
 περιπέσης, and Thucyd. i. 69, αὐτὸν περὶ
 αὐτῷ σφαλέντα: ii. 65, αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι
 . . . περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. Some an-
 notators have noticed the long syllables
 in φωρᾶται, as expressive of the slow-
 ness of detection, 'pede claudo,' and the
 dactyls which follows as expressive of the
 rapidity of ruin. With the sentiment
 comp. Cicero, de Offic. ii. § 12, "Ficta
 omnia tamquam flosculi decidunt."

ὥσπερ . . . οἶμαι] 'for as in the case of
 a house I take it.' An American would
 well translate οἶμαι, 'I guess' or 'calcu-
 late.' It is the 'credo' of Cicero. Do-
 bree compares ταῦτ' ὅν γὰρ, ταῦτ' ὅν δύνα-
 σθαι τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ, καὶ
 τρόπῳ ἐν νηὶ καὶ θεμέλιον ἐν οἰκίᾳ, Liba-
 nius, Parental. in Julian. t. i. p. 563, ed.
 Reiske.

τὰς . . . ὑποθέσεις] 'the principles and
 the foundations.'

καὶ ὅπως . . . οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι] 'the
 more effectually and quickly any one pro-

- ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι
 12 Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ περὶ Μαγνησίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι.
 σκοπεῖσθε μέντοι τοῦτο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ
 λόγους ἐροῦσι μόνον οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ 15
 ἔργον τι δεικνύειν ἔξουσιν ἐξεληλυθότων ἡμῶν ἀξίως τῆς
 πόλεως καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥς ἅπας μὲν λόγος,
 ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν,
 μάλιστα δὲ ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐτοιμό-
 τατ' αὐτῷ δοκοῦμεν χρῆσθαι, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι 20
 13 πάντες αὐτῷ. πολλὴν δὴ τὴν μετάστασιν καὶ μεγάλην
 δεικτέον τὴν μεταβολὴν, εἰσφέροντας, ἐξιόντας, ἅπαντα
 ποιούντας ἐτοίμως, εἴπερ τις ὑμῖν προσέξει τὸν νοῦν. κἂν
 ταῦτα ἐβελήσητε ὥς προσήκει καὶ δεῖ περαίνειν, οὐ μόνον,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπίστως 25
 ἔχοντα φανήσεται Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς 22
 καὶ δυνάμεως κακῶς ἔχοντα ἐξελεγχθήσεται.
 14 Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐν μὲν
 προσθήκης μέρει ἐστὶ τις οὐ μικρὰ, οἶον ὑπῆρξέ ποθ' ὑμῖν
 ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς Πιοτίδαιαν 5

poses to do this, the more am I pleased with him.'

ταῦτα] 'these measures,' i. e. for aiding the Olynthians.

λόγους ποιεῖσθαι] 'to remonstrate with him about Magnesia.'

σκοπεῖσθε μέντοι τοῦτο] 'mind this however.' From an examination of several passages it would seem that Demosthenes uses both σκοπεῖν and σκοπεῖσθαι, with no perceptible difference of meaning.

ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν] 'and being at the scene of action,' or simply 'at the business.'

ἅπας μὲν λόγος] 'all speech unaccompanied by action.'

πολλὴν δὴ] 'extensive then is the alteration, and great the change which you must show.' Some say that μετάστασις implies a settled change, and μεταβολή a sudden one, and quote in illustration Thucyd. ii. 48, Λεγέτω μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ λοιμοῦ), ὥς ἑκάστος γιννώσκει, καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης, τὰς αἰτίας ἄστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν. But I see no real distinction in the meaning of

the two words, as here used, and the passage from Thucydides shows them to be identical rather than different in sense. Demosthenes seems to use both simply to give greater force to his remark, and to secure it more attention.

εἴπερ . . . προσέξει] 'if indeed any one is to pay attention to you;' i. e. 'if you expect or wish it.' Mr. Kennedy, 'before any one will.'

ὥς προσήκει καὶ δεῖ] This is the old reading for which Dindorf unnecessarily, as I think, adopts καὶ δὴ, observing,

"Legebatur δεῖ. δεῖ S. ἢ a m. pr. superscripto." Rüdiger agrees with Dindorf, interpreting καὶ δὴ by 'protinus.'

τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς] 'the state of his empire and power at home will prove to be bad.'

ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει] 'as an adjunct.'

ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου] In B. C. 374 Timotheus made an expedition into Chalcidice (πλευσας ἐπὶ Θράκης) to restore the Athenian power there, and invited, if he did not induce, many cities of the district to ally

Ὀλυνθίοις ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφότερον· νυνὶ δὲ Θεττα-
 λοῖς στασιάζουσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν
 οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησε· καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, προσθῇ καὶ
 15 μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεί. αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀσθε-
 νῆς καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐστὶ μεστή. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι 10
 τούτοις, οἷς ἂν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιοτο, τοῖς πολέμοις
 καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις, ἔτ' ἐπισφαλεστέραν αὐτὴν ἢ ὑπῆρχε
 φύσει κατεσκεύακεν αὐτῷ. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς Φίλιππόν τε χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχο-
 16 μένους, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ τοῦτο ἐζήλωκε, καὶ 15
 προήρηται πράττων καὶ κινδυνεύων, ἂν συμβῇ τι παθεῖν,

themselves with the Athenians (πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν προσκαλεσάμενος). Diod. Sic. xv. 47, and Dem. adv. Timoth. § 7. But from the manner in which Diodorus mentions this expedition, it would seem that it was not of sufficient duration to have allowed of a successful campaign against Olynthus. Moreover, we learn from the same authority (xv. 81), that Timotheus made another expedition in B.C. 364, into the same country with a land and naval force, and then conquered Torone and Potidaea. By this it is reasonable to suppose that he provoked the hostility of Olynthus, and therefore we may fairly infer that Demosthenes here alludes to the later campaign of B.C. 364, and not to that of B.C. 374. There is, however, an objection to this supposition, founded on a statement of Aeschines (Fal. Leg. § 33), that Perdiccas, the then king of Macedonia, was engaged in hostilities with Athens (Περδίκκας ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολέμησε τῇ πόλει). But how long they continued does not appear, and Aeschines himself adds that they were followed by a peace. Moreover, the Scholiast Ulpian expressly states that Perdiccas assisted the Athenians in their campaign against Olynthus, and his testimony is supported by Polyænus (Strateg. iii. 10, 14, and iv. 10, 2). Again, Isocrates (de Antid. § 115) in eulogizing the exploits of Timotheus, mentions only one expedition into Thrace, in which he conquered Potidaea and Torone for the Athenians, i.e. the same towns as Diodorus specifies in xv. 81.

πρὸς Ποτίδαιαν] In B.C. 357. See Introd. p. 13. "In the speech c. Aristoc. (§ 128), delivered B.C. 352, Demos-

thenes treats the capture of Potidaea as mainly the work of Philip: in the second Olynthiac he speaks as if Philip had been a secondary agent, a useful adjunct to the Olynthians in the siege. The first representation, delivered two or three years before the second, is doubtless the more correct" (Grote xi. 334).

ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο] 'this power appeared of some consequence (τι) when joined with the Olynthians.'

ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν] Against Lycon, the tyrant of Phærae, B.C. 352.

πάντ' ὠφελεί] 'and wherever a man makes an addition of even a small force, all of it tells,' or 'every thing tells.' Such is, I think, the meaning of this phrase, which Dindorf appears to have interpreted in the same way, if we may judge by his note: "πάντα non adverbialiter dictum, sed adjectivum est, recte illatum post numerum singularem nominis collectivi δύναμιν." Mr. Kennedy translates thus, 'the accession of any power, however small, is undoubtedly useful.' Jacobs thus, 'denn auch eine geringe Macht kann als Zugabe den grössten Ausschlag geben.'

αὐτὴ δέ] 'the Macedonian power.'

ὁ μὲν . . . ἐζήλωκε] 'he, indeed, sets his heart upon glory, and has made this his passion.'

προήρηται] 'and has made up his mind doing and daring to suffer whatever may happen.' Demosthenes here describes briefly but comprehensively the noblest parts of Philip's character in terms of which any sovereign might have been proud. They might have been applied to Alexander, for they are not unworthy even of him.

τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦτα ἂ μὴδεὶς πώποτε ἄλλος
 Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἡρημέ-
 νος· τοῖς δὲ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ μέτεστι,
 κοπτόμενοι δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ταύταις ταῖς ἄνω κάτω 20
 λυποῦνται καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις
 οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν, οὐθ' ὅς' ἂν
 ποιήσωσιν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔχοντες δια-
 θέσθαι κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν
 17 πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ Μακεδόνων πῶς ἔχουσι 25
 Φιλίππῳ, ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις σκέψαιτο οὐ χαλεπῶς· οἱ δὲ δὴ 23
 περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσιν
 ὥς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου,
 ὥς δ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γεγεννημένων τιτὸς ἤκουον,
 ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἷον τε ψεύδεσθαι, οὐδένων εἰσὶ βελτίους. 5
 18 εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷος ἔμπειρος πολέμου

τοῖς δὲ . . . φιλοτιμίας] 'whereas they have no share in the honour.' Φιλοτιμία is here simply 'decus,' as in § 18.

τοῖς ἔργοις] 'their employments;' τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις, 'their own private affairs.'

ὅς' ἂν ποιήσωσιν . . . διαθέσθαι] 'and not being able to dispose of whatever they may raise or make.' The old reading was πορίσωσιν, but the Codices B, F, S have ποιήσωσιν, which Dindorf and Rüdiger retain. It is confirmed by adv. Phaen. § 26, ἐπειδὴν ποιῆς σίτου μέδμους πλεῖον ἢ χιλίους, and § 42, πολλὸν καὶ σίτον καὶ οἶνον ποιοῦντες, as in America they say, "he makes a good deal of wheat." Besides, πορίσονται for the sense here required, would have been more consistent with Attic usage than πορίσωσι. With διαθέσθαι comp. Herod. i. c. 1, τοὺς Φοίνικας διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον, 'set out their wares for sale.' Also, Xen. Anab. vi. 6. 37, διαθέμενοι τὸν σίτον ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι.

οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται] 'any how they can.' "Misere aerumnose quantum quidem licet per stipendia continua" (Schaefer).

πῶς ἔχουσι] Observe that ὅπως is generally used in similar phrases.

πεζέταιροι] 'foot-guards.' The household troops or body-guard of Philip seem to have been thus called. The Scholiast observes, Θεόπομπός φησιν, ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπὶλεκτοὶ οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι ἐδορυφόρου βασιλέας καὶ

ἐκαλοῦντο πεζέταιροι, as a kind of imperial guard. The same Theopompus (Athen. xii. 43) uses a similar phrase to describe the female attendants of Chares: περιήγετο στρατενόμενος αὐλητρίδας καὶ ψάλτριας καὶ πεζὰς ἐταίρας. Arrian apparently describes the bodyguard of Alexander as ὑπασπισταί.

συγκεκροτημένοι] 'well disciplined.' The verb συκροτεῖν is literally to hammer or weld together, hence to train to act in concert. In the Or. c. Meid. § 24, it is synonymous or nearly so with διδάσκειν, and applied to the teacher or band-master of the tragic chorus, training his company to keep time in their dance and song—αὐτὸς συκροτεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν φέτο δεῖν τὸν χορόν. Libanius the Sophist, Argum. in c. Phil. ii., uses it as identical with συμπράττει,—Λακεδαιμόνιοις εὖνους τέ ἐστι καὶ συκροτεῖ. It is used thus, because συκροτεῖν also signifies to clap in testimony of approbation. Compare Xen. Sympos. viii. 1, ὁ Συρακόσιος συκροτεῖτο. See Viger's Idioms by Seager, p. 99.

οἷος ἔμπειρος] Οἷος is pleonastic here, but its force may be expressed thus: 'If there is amongst them any man—of a character experienced in wars and campaigns.' With ἀνὴρ οἷος ἔμπειρος, compare below ἀνθρώπους οἷους μεθύσθοντας, 'fellows of the sort who get drunk and dance.'

καὶ ἀγώνων, τούτους μὲν φιλοτιμία πάντας ἀπωθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη, βουλούμενον πάντα αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα· πρὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τάνδρὸς ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι· εἰ δέ τις σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως τὴν 10 καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκрасίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ μέθην καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν, παρεῶσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς 19 εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον. λοιποὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι ληστὰς καὶ κόλακας καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἷους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦτα οἷα ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς 15 ὀνομάσαι. δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· καὶ γὰρ οὗς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαινον ὥς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκείνουν τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχυρῶν ᾠσμάτων ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ γε- 20 λασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει. καίτοι ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μικρά τις ἡγεῖται, μεγάλα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμονίας

εἰ δέ τις . . . ἄλλως] 'if any one be sober-minded or generally upright.' ἄλλως is often thus used to express the possession of all the incidents of any object, or of all the elements of any substance or character besides or other than one already named. Connected with this usage is the meaning in Herod. v. 8, ἐπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῇ κρύψαντες, where Mr. Blakesley translates it 'simply,' as in iii. 139, δίδωμι δ' ἄλλως, 'but I offer it as a gift,' i. e. simply without conditions. Comp. Xen. Hell. i. 6. 34, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικὰ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων θυμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα. Compare also the well-known line in Eurip. Med. 280, χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης ἢς ἔχουσιν ἀργίας.

τὴν . . . ἀκрасίαν] This element in Philip's character was, however, so far checked and controlled that it rather helped than hindered his success among his wild and half civilized subjects and neighbours.

ληστὰς] 'accordingly there are left about him brigands and flatterers.' Various other words have been most unnecessarily conjectured for ληστὰς. It is evident that Demosthenes contrasts the ἔμπειροι πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων, honourable

soldiers, whom Philip got rid of, with the disreputable hirelings more like banditti, i. e. λησταί, than στρατιῶται, whom he kept about him. The assertion is illustrated by Theopompus (Athen. vi. p. 260, c. 77), who, writing of Philip's friends, says, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ νῆφειν τὸ μεθύειν ἡγάπων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ κοσμίως ζῆν ἀρπάζειν καὶ φονεῖν ἐζήτουν.

Καλλίαν ἐκείνον] 'Callias the public slave.' Nothing else is known as to who or what this man was. The Scholiast says of him, ὁ δὲ Καλλίας εἰς ὧν τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ καταγινωσθεὶς ἔφυγεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ διέτριβε παρὰ Φιλίππῳ.

μίμους γελοίων] 'players of drolls or farces, and composers of ribald songs.' Our ancient word *droll* signifies, like *μίμος*, both the actor and the thing acted. C. R. K. A curious story is told in Athenaeus (vi. 260) of a joking club which met regularly at Athens, and to which Philip contributed a subscription, receiving in return a report of their proceedings. The members met εἰς τὸ Διομέων Ἡράκλειον.

κακοδαιμονίας] 'of his infatuation or wrong-headedness,' as if he were possessed by some evil spirit, or haunted by an evil genius. Aristophanes (Plut. 501,

- ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ
τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι 25
τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειδῇ· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότ' ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῦ
21 ταύτ' ἐξετασθήσεται. δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 24
δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς
βούλησθε. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, τέως μὲν ἂν
ἐρρωμένος ἦ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα
σαθρῶν, ἐπὰν δὲ ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ, πάντα κινεῖται, 5
κἂν ῥήγμα κἂν στρέμμα κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
σαθρὸν ἦ, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν τυράννων, ἕως
μὲν ἂν ἔξω πολεμῶσιν, ἀφανῇ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν,
ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁμορος πόλεμος συμπλακῇ, πάντα ἐποίησεν
ἐκδηλα.
- 10
22 Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον
εὐτυχοῦντα ὀρών, ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι νομίζει,
σώφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου λογισμῷ χρῆται· μεγάλη γὰρ

Dind.) contrasts *κακοδαιμονία* and *μανία* as if one was a milder form of the other:

‘Ὅς μὲν γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ βίος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δικάζεται,

τίς ἂν οὐχ ἡγοῖτ' εἶναι μανίαν κακοδαιμονίαν τ' ἔτι μᾶλλον;

αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι] ‘for successes are famous things for hiding such blemishes.’ Some MSS. read *συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιᾶσαι*, but others of greater worth omit *καὶ συσκιᾶσαι*. For the sentiment comp. Sallust (Orat. Lepidi, ad. fin. c. x.), “Quare igitur (Sulla) tanto agmine atque animis incedit? Quia secundae res mire sunt vitii obtentui; quibus labefactis, quam antea formidatus est tam contemnetur.”

δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε] ‘and as I think this will be seen in no long time.’ Dindorf has a note thus: “δείξειν] *Appariturum esse*. Est enim impersonaliter dictum, ut apud Aristoph. Vesp. 988, δείξειν ἔοικεν. Ran. 1261, δείξει δὴ τάχα.”

ἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι] Observe θέλωσι of the gods, and βούλησθε of men. ‘If the gods will, and you so resolve.’ Here θέλειν indicates a simple inclination, and βούλεσθαι a wish with some effort to carry it out. To the instances cited in p. 19 of the use of θέλειν as a simple

auxiliary, add Xen. Anab. vi. 6. 36: ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει γενέσθαι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν. τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα σαθρῶν] ‘of partial ailments.’

κἂν ῥήγμα . . . σαθρὸν ἦ] ‘whether there be a rupture or a sprain, or any other unsoundness in his members.’ Comp. De Cor. § 253, ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται. The Scholiast here says, ῥήγμα μὲν οἱ ἱατροὶ φασὶ φλεβὸς ἢ ἀρτηρίας ῥῆξιν, στρέμμα δὲ ἄρθρου παράβασιν. But ἀρτηρία originally meant the wind-pipe, not a blood-vessel of any kind.

ἐπειδὰν . . . συμπλακῇ] ‘but when there is the close struggle of a war on the frontiers.’

Εἰ δέ τις] Dionysius Halicar. (de Adm. vi dic. in Demos. c. 43) specially quotes this passage as one of great beauty.

ταύτῃ] ‘in this respect,’ or ‘on this account.’

μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή] ‘for a great weight, or rather every thing is fortune in the course of human affairs.’ Παρὰ here implies that she follows alongside of, and parallel to them, dogging, as it were, their steps. On τὸ δλον Dindorf says, “Dendandus articulus quo carent sex codices et Dionys. Halic. l. c.” He also quotes other passages such as (c. Steph. i. § 37) δψεσθε ὅτι πλάσμα δλον ἐστίν ἢ διαθήκη.

ροπή, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἢ τύχῃ παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων πράγματα· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, εἴ τις αἵρεσίν μοι.¹⁵
 δοίῃ, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἐλοίμην, ἐθελόν-
 των ἂ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν, ἢ τὴν
 ἐκείνου· πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ τὴν παρὰ τῶν
 23 θεῶν εὖνοιαν ἔχειν ὁρῶ ὑμῖν ἐνούσας ἢ ἐκείνω. ἀλλ',
 οἶμαι, καθήμεθα οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες· οὐκ ἔνι δ' αὐτὸν ἀρ- 20
 γοῦντα οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιεῖν,
 μή τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστὸν ἐστίν, εἰ στρα-
 τευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκείνος αὐτὸς καὶ παρὼν ἐφ' ἅπασι
 καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν μηδ' ὥραν παραλείπων ἡμῶν μελλόντων
 καὶ ψηφιζομένων καὶ πυνθανομένων περιγίγνεται. οὐδὲ 25
 θαυμάζω τοῦτ' ἐγώ· τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἂν ἦν θαυμαστὸν, εἰ
 μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ὦν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι προσήκει τοῦ
 24 πάντα ποιοῦντος ἂ δεῖ περιῆμεν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο θαυμάζω, εἰ 25
 Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῶν
 Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων ἀντήρατε, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ πλεονεκτή-
 σαι πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐξὸν οὐκ ἡθελήσατε, ἀλλ' ἔν' οἱ ἄλλοι
 τύχωσι τῶν δικαίων, τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀνηλίσκετε εἰσφέ- 5

But none of them exactly resemble the construction in the text.

ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου] The omission of μᾶλλον, which is generally added after αἰρεῖσθαι in similar cases, may be illustrated by a corresponding usage in Latin. Thus Sallust, Catilin. c. 8, "Fortuna res cunctas ex libidine, quam ex vero celebrat." Liv. xxiii. 43, "Ipsorum, quam Annibalis interesse." Tacit. Germ. 6, "Consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur."

οὐκ ἔνι . . . μή τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς] Dr. Donaldson (Gk. Gram. p. 227) explains this sentence thus: 'When a man is idle, not only can he *not* call upon the gods to help him, but he cannot even apply to his friends.' But this explanation does not account for the change from οὐκ and οὐδέ, to μή, and it implies an inversion of arrangement which is far from natural. To me it seems that μή τί γε δὴ in its sense of 'much less indeed,' is an abbreviation of a strong form of deprecation to this effect: 'Heaven of course forbid (μή τί γε δὴ γένοιτο ὅτι . . .) that he should ever think of applying to the gods.'

πλείους ἀφορμὰς] ἀφορμή is literally

'a starting point.' Hence a basis of operations and capital in trade. Here it means a reason or claim for gaining the good will of the gods.

ἀλλ', οἶμαι] 'but I take it.'

θαυμαστὸν ἐστίν, εἰ] 'it is not to be wondered at that this person campaigning and labouring personally.'

ἀντήρατε] 'but this I wonder at, that in past times you resisted the Lacedaemonians in behalf of the rights of Greece.' Allusion is probably here made to what was called the Boeotian war caused by the infamous seizure of the Cadmeia or Citadel of Thebes by the Lacedaemonian general Phaebeidas, on his way to Olynthus, B.C. 382. Some MSS. omit Ἑλληνικῶν, and Bekker brackets it. I think it is necessary to complete the sense, and agree with Dindorf in retaining it. With regard to ἀνταίρειν, τὰ ὅπλα might be supplied, as we say 'to present.'

ἔν' οἱ ἄλλοι τύχωσι] The usual sequence of tenses would require τύχοιεν, but the subjunctive mood may here represent an effect continuing in its results to the time of the speaker.

ροντες καὶ προεκινδυνεύετε στρατευόμενοι, νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖτε
 ἐξιέναι καὶ μέλλετε εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν
 κτημάτων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σεσώκατε πολλάκις πάντας
 καὶ καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν
 25 ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε. ταῦτα θαυμάζω, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦ- 10
 τοις, εἰ μηδὲ εἰς ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δύναται λογί-
 σασθαι πόσον πολεμεῖτε χρόνον Φιλίππῳ καὶ τί ποιούντων
 ὑμῶν ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν οὗτος. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ',
 ὅτι μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐτέρους τινὰς ἐλπίζοντων πράξειν,
 αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους, κρινόντων, πάλιν ἐλπίζοντων, σχεδὸν 15
 26 ταῦτ' ἅπερ νυνὶ ποιούντων ἅπας ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν. εἰθ'
 οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε δι' ὧν
 ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως γέγονε, διὰ
 τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων ἐκ φαύλων αὐτὰ
 χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐτ' εὐλογον οὐτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ 20
 φύσιν τοῦτό γε· πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ κτή-
 σασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. νῦν δὲ ὅ τι μὲν φυλάζομεν, οὐδὲν
 ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν τῶν πρότερον, κτήσασθαι
 27 δὲ δεῖ. αὐτῶν οὖν ἡμῶν ἔργον τοῦτ' ἤδη. φημὶ δὴ δεῖν
 εἰσφέρειν χρήματα, αὐτοὺς ἐξιέναι προθύμως, μηδέν' αἰτιά- 25
 σθαι πρὶν ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων κρατήσητε, τηνικαῦτα δὲ
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων κρίναντας τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου 26
 τιμᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἀδικούντας κολάζειν, τὰς προφάσεις δ'

τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους] 'after often saving
 the rest of the Greeks collectively, and
 every one of them individually in turn,
 you nevertheless sit still when you have
 lost your own,' i. e. Amphipolis, Pydna,
 Methone, and Potidaea.

πόσον . . . χρόνον] 'for how long a time,'
 i. e. for eight years since the capture of
 Amphipolis, B.C. 358.

καὶ τί ποιούντων ἡμῶν] 'and what you
 have been doing while all this time has
 passed away.'

κρινόντων] 'bringing one another to
 trial,' or rather your generals.

εἰθ' οὕτως] 'are you then so unreason-
 able as to expect that the affairs of the
 State will become prosperous from bad by
 those self-same means by which they be-
 came bad from prosperous?'

πολὺ . . . πέφυκεν] 'it is much easier
 if one has a thing to keep it than to get

it in all cases.' Mr. Kennedy briefly
 thus: 'all things are easier kept than
 gotten.' The sentiment is in the abstract
 at variance with that in Olyn. i. § 23,
 διόπερ πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξει τάγαθὰ
 τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. But
 both are true of different characters and
 persons. Compare Sallust, Jugurth. c.
 52, "Profecto virtus, atque sapientia ma-
 jor in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tan-
 tum imperium fecere, quam in nobis qui
 ea bene parta vix retinemus."

πρὶν ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων] 'before you
 are masters of the position,' i. e. before
 you have gained your objects by conquer-
 ing Philip, relieving Olynthus, and reco-
 vering your old possessions.

τὰς προφάσεις δ' ἀφελεῖν] 'and to get
 rid of all pretexts and your own defi-
 ciencies.' Demosthenes insinuates that the
 defaults of the Athenian administration

ἀφελεῖν καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πικρῶς
 ἐξετάσαι τί πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἂν μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν
 28 αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὑπάρξῃ τὰ δέοντα.· τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκα, ὧ 5
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τοῦτον μὲν φεύγειν τὸν πόλεμον
 πάντας ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψητε στρατηγούς, ἰδίους δ' εὐρί-
 σκειν πολέμους, εἰ δέ τι τῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν εἰπεῖν; ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἔστι τὰ ἄθλα, ὑπὲρ ὧν
 ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος, ὑμέτερα—Ἀμφίπολις ἂν ληφθῇ, παρα- 10
 χρήμα αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς κομιεῖσθε—οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστη-
 κότων ἴδιοι, μισθὸς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐκεῖ δὲ κίνδυνοι μὲν
 ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν, Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖα ἃ συλῶσιν. ἐπ' οὖν
 29 τὸ λυσιτελοῦν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι χωροῦσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὅταν 15
 μὲν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψῃτε φαύλως ἔχοντά, τοὺς
 ἐφεστηκότας κρίνετε, ὅταν δὲ δόντες λόγον τὰς ἀνάγκας
 ἀκούσῃτε ταύτας, ἀφίετε. περίεστι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις
 ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι, τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πεπεισμένοις, τοῖς δὲ
 ταῦτα, τὰ κοινὰ δ' ἔχειν φαύλως. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, ὧ 20

were urged as excuses for the failures of Athenian generals:

πικρῶς ἐξετάσαι] 'you cannot be severe in questioning the conduct of others, unless your duty is first done by yourselves.'

ἐνταῦθα] 'in this case,' i. e. of the war against Philip.

αὐτῇν] This word Dindorf omits, "auctoribus B, S."

ἐκεῖ δέ] 'but in the other case,' i. e. of ἴδιοι πόλεμοι, wars on their own account.

τῶν ἐφεστηκότων] 'the dangers are confined to the commanders, and yet there is no pay.'

Λάμψακος, Σίγειον] These two towns are on the Hellespont, Sigeum being at the Aegean end of the straits, and Lamp-sacus near the mouth of the Propontis. They are said to have been given to Chares, the Athenian general (a sort of leader of Condottieri), by Artabanus the Persian satrap for some services rendered to him (comp. c. Phil. i. § 28). By this, however, it may only be meant that the revenues of these cities were bestowed upon Chares, a species of gift not unfrequently bestowed by the kings of Persia on their parasites and wives. (Plut. Them. c. 29. Xen. Anab. i. 4, § 9. Herod. ii. 98. Thucyd. i. 138.)

Though the Greek form is Λάμψακος, the Latin is sometimes Lamp-sacum, as Cy-zicum for Κύζικος. Cicero (Verr. Act. ii. lib. i. c. 24) says of it, "Oppidum est in Hellesponto Lamp-sacum, inprimis Asiae provinciae clarum et nobile." It was famous for wine.

ὅταν δὲ δόντες] 'but when you have given them a hearing and heard of these their necessities, you acquit them.' By τὰς ἀνάγκας Demosthenes means the want of pay and provisions, which compelled the generals to obtain them as they could.

περίεστι τοίνυν] 'the result then is.'

πρότερον . . . εἰσεφέρετε] 'formerly you made your extraordinary contribution by classes; now you carry on your administration by classes.' The arrangements of the εἰσφορά not being thoroughly understood, we cannot expect to make out a perfect parallelism between the financial and the political συμμορίαί. However, it appears from the Scholiast on this passage, that from B.C. 378—377 (when Pausanias was archon), each of the ten Athenian tribes, selected for purposes of taxation 120 of its wealthiest citizens. These again were arranged in two classes (συμμορίαί) of sixty each, one richer than the other; and whenever the State de-

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμῶν ἐκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι τριακόσιοι

manded the immediate collection of an *εἰσφορά*, the wealthier class was or might be required to make an advance for the other. But a more probable opinion is (Grote x. 160), that the two *συμμορίαι*, or classes of each tribe, not only paid their own quota of taxation, but also superintended the property-register of their *tribe*, and collected the contributions due from its less wealthy and registered members. Again, in the second part of the Scholiast's note (which Böckh supposes to be the work of a later hand), it is stated that the whole body of 1200 was divided into four classes, of 300 each, of which the first or richest were called *ἡγεμόνες συμμοριῶν*, and sometimes pre-eminently *οἱ τριακόσιοι*. But this statement appears to be founded principally upon the text; the comparison contained in which, indeed, if based upon fact, would further indicate that there were two richer bodies of 300 each, one a rival or opponent of the other. Whether this were so or not, it is admitted (Grote x. 160. Böckh ii. 299—300, Engl. Trans.) that the thirty richest men in each tribe (making up the first division of 300) were in any emergency of the State required to advance (*προεἰσφορά*) the whole sum chargeable upon the tribe, and to bear its principal burdens (adv. Phaen. § 33). Amongst them (if not identical with them) were the *ἡγεμόνες συμμοριῶν*: and from the Oration c. Meid. (§ 260), where Demosthenes speaks of himself as having been *ἡγεμὼν συμμορίας* in his tribe for ten years, it would seem that this title was given to the chairmen of the boards or classes in each of the tribes. Connected also with the *Symmoriae* of the trierarchy, and therefore probably with those of the taxes, were the *ἐπιμεληταί*, or curators, but the nature of their duties is not at all known. On the part of the State, the *στρατηγοί* appear to have been entrusted with the collection and management of the tax, and they officiated as *εἰσγωγεῖς* in the courts, where any disputes connected with the *Symmoriae* of the trierarchy were decided (Wolf ad Lept. p. 94 Demos. adv. Lacrit. § 61). Hence perhaps was suggested *στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ*, though not necessary to complete the analogy. See further the Oration *Περὶ Συντάξεως*, and *Περὶ τῶν Συμ-*

μοριῶν, and also *Εἰσφορά* and *Στρατηγός*, in the Dict. of Antiq.

ῥήτωρ ἡγεμῶν] 'there is an orator as leader of each party, and a general under him, and the men to shout (as partizans), 300 of them.' In the ancient time of Athens her commanders were at once statesmen and generals, as Themistocles, Pericles, &c.

Ἀμφότερον θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλιῷ Θεοῷ
Καὶ μουσέων ἐρατὰν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.
(Archilochus.)

The last distinguished man of this class was Phocion (Plut. in vita, c. 7). But in the time of Demosthenes, when Athens employed such persons as the foreigners Chares and Charidemus to command mercenary troops, a separation of the two characters naturally followed; and it became customary for any general on foreign service to retain or attach to himself some leading orator at home who might defend his conduct abroad, and protect him from the accusation and attacks of his opponents at home. Thus (Theopompus apud Athen. xii. 43) Chares used to apply monies which he had received on account of the State, in bribing orators and others who had influence in the political assemblies or were engaged in legal proceedings at Athens (τοῖς τε λέγουσι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφουσι καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς δικαιζομένοις). A similar fact is indicated by οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, c. Phil. iii. § 48. Vömel compares (Aeschin. c. Ctes. § 7) μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἷ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργούντες τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν.

τριακόσιοι] "Legebatur oī triakósioi. Articulus om. codices omnes (etiā S.) nec legitur p. 172. 3." Dindorf. On this passage Böckh (Econ. of Athens, ii. p. 300) observes, "I cannot explain it in any other way than by supposing that two classes of different degrees of wealth were the highest, since the immediate effect of a different scale of property would be to create a spirit of party between them; while the contest which in ancient days always existed between the superior and inferior, the rich and the poor, would necessarily be combined with it, although in a less degree." But the difference in the wealth of the two higher

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσνευέμεσθε οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δὲ ὡς
 30 ἐκείνους. δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπανέντας καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ 25
 νῦν γενομένους κοινὸν καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι
 καὶ τὸ πράττειν ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ τυραν- 27
 νίδος ὑμῶν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε, τοῖς δ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι
 τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, στρατεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι
 κατὰ τούτων μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν συμπονεῖν, οὐχὶ
 γενήσεται τῶν δεόντων ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐν καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ 5
 ἡδικημένον αἰεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει, εἴθ' ὑμῖν τούτους κολάζειν
 31 ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιέσται. λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας
 εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὅσων ἕκαστος ἔχει τὸ ἴσον· πάντας ἐξέίνειν
 κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες στρατεύσησθε· πᾶσι τοῖς
 παριούσι λόγον διδόναι, καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε 10
 αἰρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἂν ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα εἴπῃ. καὶ ταῦτα·
 ποιήτε, οὐ τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον παραχρήμα ἐπαινέσεσθε,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, βέλτιον τῶν ὄλων πραγ-
 μάτων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων.

classes of 300 each, could hardly have been so great as to cause decided antagonism between them in politics, nor need we suppose that by *τριακῶσιοι* Demosthenes means the 300 of the *συμμορίαί*. It may be nothing more than a rough approximation to the number of the principal supporters of the two parties in the State, which were as sharply defined and as systematically organized as the different classes of the property-tax.

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι] 'becoming even now your own masters;' i. e. no longer under the control of others, but independent of them.

κοινόν] 'open to all.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'establish a general liberty of speech, deliberation, and action.'

ὑμῶν] "A *τυραννίδος* pendet, non ab ἐπιτάττειν" (Dindorf). 'As if they were despots over you.' Comp. de Cor. § 80: τί τὴν πόλιν προσῆκε ποιεῖν τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρώσαν ἐαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον.

κατὰ τούτων] Demosthenes means that some members of the community were compelled to perform costly and laborious duties for the State, while the rest only took cognizance of their discharge of such duties, and capriciously condemned them when called to account for it (*τοῖς δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τούτων μόνον*). Hence,

he adds, the State itself suffered, for the parties who were wronged either by the imposition of undue burdens or the verdict of unjust tribunals afterwards failed to do their duty (*τὸ γὰρ ἡδικημένον αἰεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει*).

λέγω δὴ] A less imperative term than *βουλευέω* or *κελεύω*.

μὴ ἂν . . . εἴπῃ] 'not what this man or that man may say;' *ὁ δεῖνα* being used like 'tel' in French, and either for a definite or an indefinite person, as the case may be. It denotes an individual whom a speaker abstains from naming, whether from inability or in the exercise of his discretion. Comp. c. Phil. iii. § 81: *ἔδει τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι*. Hermann (ad Viger. p. 704) observes: "ὁ δεῖνα simul utrumque et certam personam et incertam significat."

ἐπαινέσεσθε] Besides this common form, there is another, *ἐπαινέσω*, of less frequent occurrence. In the Philol. Mus. i. p. 234, is a list of verbs with two active futures, the one ending in *ω*, the other in *ομαι*. Comp. Soph. Elect. 1044,

*ὄτων γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς
 ἤδη βεβήκης, τὰμ' ἐπαινέσεις ἔπη.*

Also Xen. Anab. v. 5. 8: "Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων πόλις ἐπαινέσοντάς τε ὁμᾶς.

III.

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Γ

B.C. 350.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

*Ἐπεμψάν βοήθειαν τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καί τι κατορθοῦν ἔδοξαν δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπηγγέλλετο. ὁ δὲ δῆμος περιχαρῆς, οἱ τε ῥήτορες παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν Φιλίππου. δέδοικε τοίνυν ὁ Δημοσθένης μὴ θαρσύναντες, ὥς τὰ πάντα νενικηκότες καὶ ἱκανὴν βοήθειαν πεποιημένοι τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις, τῶν λοιπῶν ὀλιγορήσωσι. διὰ τοῦτο παρελθὼν ἐπικόπτει τὴν ἀλαζονείαν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς εὐλάβειαν σῶφρονα τὴν γνώμην μεθίστησι, λέγων οὐ περὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τιμωρίας νῦν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων σωτηρίας· οἶδε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Ἀθη- 28 ναῖοι καὶ ἄλλοι πού τινες τοῦ μὲν μὴ τὰ οἰκεία προέσθαι ποιοῦνται φροντίδα, περὶ δὲ τὸ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤττον σπουδάζουσιν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν χρημάτων συμβουλῆς φανερώτερον ἄπτεται, καὶ ἀξιοῖ λυθῆναι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐπιτιθέοντας ζημίαν τοῖς γράψασιν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι στρατιωτικά, ἢν' ἀδεὲς ᾗ τὸ συμβουλευεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. παραινεί δὲ καὶ ὅλως πρὸς τὸν τῶν προγόνων ζῆλον ἀναστῆναι καὶ στρατεῦσθαι σώμασιν οἰκείοις, καὶ ἐπιτιμήσει πολλῇ κέχρηται κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τε ὥς ἐκκελυμένου καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς προοισταμένον τῆς πόλεως.

Οὐχὶ ταῦτ' ἀρίσταταί μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν

*Ἐπεμψάν βοήθειαν] This seems rather to be an inference from the opening matter of the speech than a statement founded upon any historical authority.

μεθίστησι] 'tries to turn their thoughts.'
τὰ οἰκεία] 'their own.'

ἢν' ἀδεὲς ᾗ] An admirable conjecture of Bekker's, for the ἴνα δεήσει of the MSS.

ὅλως] 'generally.'

Οὐχὶ ταῦτ' ἀρίσταταί μοι] 'Not the same are the conclusions which I arrive at;' or, as Mr. Kennedy, 'Not the same ideas, men of Athens, are presented to me when I look at our position.' See an apparently close imitation by Sallust, Catil. c. 52: "Longe mihi alia mens est, P. C., quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum ipse mecum reputo."

πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνόμενους, τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥστε ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθα 5 αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ἧς βουλευέσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὔσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἀμαρτάνειν. ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν ποτ' ἐξῆν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς 2 ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ Φίλιππον τιμωρῆσασθαι, καὶ μάλα 10 ἀκριβῶς οἶδα· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γὰρ οὐ πάλαί γεγόνε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα· νῦν μέντοι πέπεισμαι τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν προλαβεῖν ἡμῖν 29 εἶναι τὴν πρώτην, ὅπως τοὺς συμμαχοὺς σώσομεν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τίνα καὶ ὅν τρόπον τιμωρῆσεται τις ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι, μάταιον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῆς τελευ- 5 τῆς ὄντινούν ποιείσθαι λόγον.

3 'Ο μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴ πέρ ποτε, πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὅ 4 τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν παρόντων συμβουλευσαί χαλεπώτατον ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπορῶ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον, ὃ ἄνδρες 10 Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ, ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύνοιδα, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, οὐ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παρρησίας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν, τοῦτο θεωροῦντας εἰ τὰ 15 ληθῇ λέγω καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένηται· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίου εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα.

δέον] It is by no means certain that there is here an ellipsis of εἶναι, or that δέον is used for δεῖν. It is equally probable that it is a participle dependent upon ὁρῶ by a species of attraction, and therefore regularly in the accusative.

οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο . . . ἀμαρτάνειν] 'those then who speak in this fashion appear to me simply to commit the error of laying before you as the subject of your deliberation what is really not so.' The construction is οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ ἀμαρτάνειν.

τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν . . . σώσομεν] 'now, however, I am persuaded that it is enough

for us to secure this in the first instance, namely, the means of saving our allies.'

εἴ πέρ ποτε] Strictly speaking, this should have been εἴ πέρ τις καὶ ἄλλος.

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὅ τι] 'not that I think it a very difficult question what advice to give about the present state of affairs.'

ἐξ ὧν παρὼν] 'of my own personal knowledge, and by hearsay.'

τὰ πλείω . . . ἐκπεφευγέναι] 'that most of your advantages have escaped you.'

C. R. K.

εἰς πᾶν . . . μοχθηρίας] 'to an utterly wretched state.'

- 5 Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων
 πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι. μέμνησθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 20
 ὅτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν ἐν Θράκῃ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον
 ἔτος τουτὶ Ἑραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν. τότε τοῖνυν μὴν
 μὲν ἦν μαιμακτηριῶν, πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου γιγνο-
 μένου παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα τριήρεις καθ-
 ἔλκειν καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν 25
 6 αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν καὶ τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα εἰσφέρειν. καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα διελθόντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου ἑκατομβαιῶν,
 μεταγειτνίων, βοηδρομιῶν· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μόγισ· μετὰ
 τὰ μυστήρια δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαρί- 30
 δημον καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὥς γὰρ ἡγγέλθη
 Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεώς, ἦλθε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω, οὐκ ἐτι
 καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν νομίσαντες ἡφίετε, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ἀπόστολον. ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός· εἰ 5
 γὰρ τότε ἐκεῖσε ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα, προ-
 θύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἡνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος σωθείς.
- 7 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε πραχθέντα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι· νῦν δ'
 ἑτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἦκει τις, δι' ὃν καὶ περὶ τούτων
 ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτα πάθῃτε. τί δὴ χρυσόμεθα, ὦ 10
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτῳ; εἰ γὰρ μὴ βοηθήσετε παντὶ
 σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, θεάσασθε ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατ-

τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί] 'now three or four years ago,' reckoning inclusively. This Olynthiac was delivered in the latter half of B.C. 350, and Philip was in Thrace about November (Μαιμακτηριῶν), B.C. 352.

Ἑραῖον τεῖχος] Most commentators identify this fort with the Ἑραῖον, πόλις ἢ παρὰ Περὶνθῳ of Herodotus (iv. 90). But Mr. Grote (xi. 428) considers this hypothesis to be open to much doubt, on the ground that Ἑραῖον is not quite the same as Ἑραῖον Τεῖχος, and that Perinthus is not near the Chersonese (Gallipoli), near to which, and in Thrace, it may be inferred from the allusions in the first Philippic, that Ἑραῖον Τεῖχος was situated. Thus we find (§ 20), τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον, . and (§ 47) ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἐν Χερρόνησσι πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοηθεῖν ψηφίσεσθε. Mr. Grote adds, "I cannot think that we know where Ἑραῖον

Τεῖχος was situated." The town of Ἑραῖον is said to have been founded by a colony of Samians, who were devoted to the worship of Hera or Juno.

πολλῶν . . . γιγνομένου] A quasi choriambic line with an extra syllable.

ἑκατομβαιῶν, μεταγειτνίων, βοηδρομιῶν] These three months of thirty, twenty-nine, and thirty days respectively, were the first quarter of the Attic year (July, August, September, B.C. 351), which it is to be observed commenced at the summer solstice.

τὰ μυστήρια] Celebrated at Eleusis in Attica, in honour of Demeter and Persephone. They ended on the 25th or 26th of September. This Charidemus was a native of Oreus in Euboea, and a mercenary leader of mercenaries. See c. Aristoc. (§ 172—§ 258). Also Biograph. Dict. s. v.

καιρὸς ἦκει τις] 'a kind of opportunity is come.'

- 8 ηγηκότες πάντα ἔσεσθε ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. ὑπῆρχον Ὀλυν-
θιοὶ δύνάμιν τινα κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ' οὕτω τὰ πράγ-
ματα· οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάρρει τούτους οὔθ' οὔτοι Φίλιππον. 15
ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς κακεῖνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην· ἦν τοῦτο
ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ δυσχερὲς, πόλιν
μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς διηλλαγμένην πρὸς
ἡμᾶς. ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖν ὠόμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ
παντὸς τρόπον· καὶ ὁ πάντες ἐθρύλουν τέως, τοῦτο πέ- 20
9 πρακται νυνὶ ὅπωςδήποτε. τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἐρρωμένως καὶ προθύμως; ἐγὼ
μὲν οὐχ ὀρῶ· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς περιστάσης ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰσχύ-
νης, εἰ καθυφείμεθά τι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν ὀρῶ τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόντων 25
μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων δὲ χρήμασι
Φωκέων, μηδεὶς δ' ἐμποδὼν ὄντος Φιλίππῳ τὰ παρόντα
καταστρεψαμένῳ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα.
10 ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσῃν τὰ 31
δέοντα, ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν βούλεται τὰ δεινὰ, ἐξὸν ἀκούειν
ἄλλοθι γιγνόμενα, καὶ βοηθοὺς ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν, ἐξὸν νῦν
ἐτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο περιστήσεται
τὰ πράγματα, εἰ τὰ παρόντα προώμεθα, σχεδὸν ἴσμεν 5
ἅπαντες δήπου.
- 11 Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἂν, πάντες ἐγνώ-
καμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δὲ ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε. μὴ τοί-
νυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαυμάσητε, ἂν παράδοξον· εἴπω
τι τοῖς πολλοῖς νομοθέτας καθίστατε. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς 10

οὔτε Φίλιππος] 'Philip did not trust them, nor they Philip.'

ἐπράξαμεν . . . εἰρήνην] 'we and they with us negotiated a peace.' See Introduction, p. 14.

πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν] 'that a great state reconciled to us should be on the watch for opportunities which he might offer.'

ἐκπολεμῶσαι] 'we thought we ought to make the men hostile to Philip,' i. e. we conceived it advisable to make them commit themselves not only to peace with us, but also to an alliance offensive and defensive against Philip. Comp. Olyn. i. § 7: νυνὶ γὰρ, ὁ πάντες ἐθρυλεῖτε, ὡς Ὀλυνθίους ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖ Φιλίππῳ, γέγονεν αὐτόματον, and the note there.

εἰ . . . τῶν πραγμάτων] 'if we surrendered any of our interests.'

οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον] 'nor small is the consequent alarm which I foresee,' or, more literally, 'nor small is the alarm which I foresee, alarm (I mean) as to what will happen next.'

ἀπειρηκότων δέ] 'and the Phocians being exhausted in their resources.'

εἰς τοῦτο] 'if any of you is for delaying to do his duty till then,' i. e. till Philip turns himself to Attica.

καθίστατε] "Ita rescripsi," says Bekker, "pro librorum omnium καθίστατε," and I have no doubt Demosthenes would have agreed with him.

ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις] 'by

νομοθέταις μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα (εἰσὶ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ὑμῖν), ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε.
12 λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὕτως, καὶ τοὺς

means of these nomothetae enact no law.' *θεῖναι νόμον* is used of a statesman who proposes, and *θέσθαι νόμον* of a legislative assembly which passes a law. The regular *νομοθέται* were a legislative committee selected from the *heliastae* by a vote of the popular assembly, for the purpose of revising, altering, and repealing impolitic or unnecessary laws. See Dict. of Antiq. s. v.

λέγω δὲ . . . θεωρικῶν] scil. *χρημάτων*. "Under this term were comprised the monies distributed among the Athenian people for the celebration of festivals and games, either to indemnify them for entrance-money to the theatre, or to enable them to feast more plentifully; they were also in part expended upon sacrifices, with which a public entertainment was always combined" (Böckh i. 11, c. 7, p. 244, trans.). The practice originated in the payment of the entrance-money to the theatre (Liban. Argum.), the seats in which were at first free and open to all the populace. Crowds and tumults were the consequence; and the theatre being only a temporary wooden structure, the scaffolding at last fell in suddenly, when Pratinas and probably Aeschylus were representing their dramas (B.C. 501). A stone theatre was then erected, and the entrance-money fixed at two oboli, the payment of which entitled everybody to a seat. But the theatrical representations at Athens, besides being the source of a refined pleasure to cultivated intellects, were intimately connected with, and indeed formed a part of the common religious worship of the state. High and low, rich and poor, had from the first met together to witness them, in democratical equality and social union, all being, for the time at least, bound together by the sympathies of a common enjoyment, and carrying home from them a livelier feeling, and a deeper consciousness of religious, social, and political communion. Hence it was not possible without a revolution, moral if not material, to exclude the poor; and the *διωβέλια*, as it was called, was gratuitously provided for them, perhaps in the first instance by their richer fellow-citizens, and afterwards by the state. This payment out of the public funds was said to have been introduced by Pericles (Plutarch in Vita, c.

9 and c. 11), with the primary view of rivalling the popularity of Cimon, whose large private fortune was employed in relieving the necessities, and conciliating the good-will of the community. All were entitled to this *διωβέλια* who were on the register of the citizens (*τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*), except those who were absent from Athens, or rather Attica (Harpocration, s. v. *θεωρικὰ*, and Grote xi. 494). Assuming with Böckh (ii. c. 7, p. 299) that the number of recipients was 18,000 (in the translation 8000 by some error; for $18,000 \times 2 = 1 \times 60 \times 100 \times 6$), the *διωβέλια* for one day amounted to a talent, and if paid for twenty-five or thirty days in a year the annual charge was twenty-five or thirty talents for this expense alone. But the application of the *θεωρικὰ* was not confined to dramatic representations (Libanius, Argum.). It was extended to religious festivals in general, and distributions of money (*διανομαί*) were made to enable all the community to participate in them. In all these, however, whether dramatical or processional, there were objects of display, and so the name of *θεωρικὰ* was still given to all the allowances in question. The amount was not fixed, and propositions to augment it were in the latter days of Athens, and with incapable or unprincipled statesmen, favourite means of ingratiating themselves with the public. Indeed, the vague and undefined extent of the fund available for such expenditure was a direct and constant temptation to its increase. For in the age of Demosthenes all the surplus monies of the administration (*τὰ περιόντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως*) were thus applicable, though as is stated in the Oratio c. Neaer. § 7, the law had provided that in time of war this same surplus should be devoted to war purposes (*στρατιωτικὰ εἶναι*). This statement, however, would appear to be unfounded, from the fact that the senator Apollodorus was fined a talent on a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, for having (B.C. 349) proposed and successfully carried a motion both in the senate and before the people, that the surplus in question should be devoted to the pay and other wants of the soldiers (Grote xi. 485). It is even added by Ulpian (an insufficient authority), or whoever else

περὶ τῶν στρατευσάντων ἐνίοις, ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικὰ, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀτακ- 15 τοῦντας ἀθροὺς καθιστᾶσιν, εἴτα καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέοντα

may be the Greek commentator on the first Olynthiac, that, after this fine, Eubulus carried a law enacting the punishment of death against any one who might propose to divert the theoric fund to any other object. However this may be—and this same Eubulus, in B.C. 346, suggested its application (F. L. § 333) to war purposes—the fine imposed upon Apollodorus was sufficient to deter Demosthenes from incurring a similar penalty; and therefore, instead of a direct proposition, he contented himself with advising rather than proposing the application of the surplus revenue to military purposes. His fellow-citizens, however, resolved to apply it for their festive enjoyments (ὁμοῖς οὕτω πῶς ἔθεν πραγμάτων λαμβάνετε εἰς τὰς ἐορτάς): and therefore the only alternative was the *εἰσφορὰ*, or property-tax, a burden which the rich would be anxious to shirk, and the poor to impose upon them. But manifestly the first duty of a patriotic citizen was to maintain the independence of the state, and its security from foreign aggression, without which its political existence was a nullity, and social enjoyments a selfish indulgence. And though, as Demades urged (Plutarch, Quaes. Platon. p. 1011), the theoric expenditure was the cement of the political system (κόλλαν ὀνομάζων τὰ θεωρικὰ τοῦ πολιτεύματος) at home and in peace: yet surely when the state itself and its political system were menaced from abroad, these funds should have been employed in averting the danger. Besides this, as Mr. Grote (xi. 498) well observes, “under such military necessities, the theoric expenditure became mischievous, not merely because it absorbed the public money, but also because it chained the citizens to their home, and disinclined them to active service abroad.” Seeing and feeling all this, Demosthenes urged upon them the necessity for sacrifices of every kind; personal services, war-taxes, and a military application of the theoric funds. As he plainly told them (Olyn. iii. § 38), it was their bounden duty to apply their home surplus (ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἴκοι ταύταις) for foreign advantages (ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν), instead of applying it to purposes which conferred upon themselves no corresponding benefit, but prevented them from attending to any thing else,

and increased the indolence and remissness of every body (τὴν ἐκάστου βραθυμίαν ὁμῶν ἐπαυξάνοντα). Still, as before, the surplus revenues continued to be appropriated to festivals and theatrical expenditure; nor was it till just before the battle of Chaeroneia, and twelve years after the suggestions of Demosthenes in the Olynthiacs, that on his motion it was made applicable to war purposes (Dion. Halic. c. xi. p. 742). But the change was then too late for good. Philip was already fortifying Elateia on his advance to the south of Greece; and his victory at Chaeroneia (B.C. 338) over the combined forces of the Athenians, Thebans, and other Greeks, at once established his supremacy over the whole of Greece, and was immediately followed by a peace with the Athenians, which allowed them to expend their surplus revenue as before, and as they pleased. Nay, we are even told, that on a subsequent occasion they deliberately and formally resolved to spend it on their festive pleasures, rather than on their own political interests and for the welfare of Greece. For being anxious to despatch some vessels to the aid of those who had revolted from Alexander (B.C. 331), they called upon Demades (ὅτε τὰς προσόδους εἶχεν ὁφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως) to provide the requisite funds (Plutarch, Praecep. Reip. Geren. 25). His reply was, “Money you certainly are provided with, for I have so arranged it that each citizen should receive half a mina at the Choëis, but if you prefer applying it to this purpose, make what use you please of your own property.” They preferred applying it to their own pleasures, and no fleet was despatched at all (Böckh ii. 6. Translation, i. p. 227. Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *εἰσφορὰ*. Grote xi. pp. 492—499).

σφῶς οὕτως] ‘thus explicitly.’ He had spoken more guardedly and indirectly in Olynthiac I. The greater urgency of the case may now have emboldened him to speak out more plainly and without reserve.

ὧν οἱ μὲν . . . θεωρικὰ] ‘of which the former distribute the military funds among those who stay at home as show-money.’

τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας] ‘those who desert their post.’

- ποιεῖν βουλομένους ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν παράσχητε ἀσφαλῆ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν γράψοντα ἅ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι
- 13 συμφέρεи ζητεῖτε. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε τίς 20 εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτιστα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσετε, ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι μέλλοντος, παθεῖν ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα καὶ γράψαντα, μηδὲν δὲ ὠφεληῖσαι τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτι ἢ νῦν τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα 25
- 14 λέγειν φοβερώτερον ποιῆσαι. καὶ λύειν γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς νόμους δεῖ τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀξιούν οἷπερ καὶ τεθείκασιν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἢ πᾶσαν ἔβλαπτε τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς τότε θείσιν ὑπάρχειν, 32 τὴν δ' ἀπέχθειαν, δι' ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πράξαιμεν, τῷ
- 15 νῦν τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι ζημίαν γενέσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδέν' ἀξιούτε τηλικούτον εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν ὥστε τοὺς νόμους τούτους 5 παραβάντα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, μηδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον ὥστε εἰς προὔπτον κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν.
- 16 Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γ' ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψήφισμα οὐδενὸς ἀξιόν ἐστιν, ἂν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε δόξαντα προθύμως ὑμᾶς. εἰ 10 γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματα ἦν ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν ἅ προσήκει πράττειν ἢ περὶ ὧν ἂν γραφῇ διαπράξασθαι, οὐτ' ἂν

ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε] It is remarkable that *θέσθαι*, not *θεῖναι νόμον*, is used of a people passing a law, and *λύσαι*, not *λύσασθαι*, of persons abrogating a law or breaking a truce. This is the regular usage with Attic writers, and perhaps it is to be explained by the consideration, that in the latter cases the law repealed and the truce repudiated are no longer regarded as matters belonging to or concerning the parties who originally adopted them.

μὴ σκοπεῖτε τίς] - 'look not out for some one who.' 'Do not expect to find any one.'

ἄλλως τε καί] 'especially as this alone is likely to be the result, viz. for the adviser and mover of such measures to suffer wrongfully some mischief, and instead of

serving your interests at all, to make the giving of the best advice still more dangerous for the future too than it is now.'

καὶ τεθείκασιν] This καὶ merely gives additional emphasis. Translate, 'And you indeed should call upon the same men to repeal the laws who have in fact introduced them.'

τὴν δ' ἀπέχθειαν] 'and that the odium, through which we might all become more prosperous, should prove an injury to the man who may now give the best advice.'

μηδέν' ἀξιούτε τηλικούτον] 'do not expect any one to be so powerful with you as to transgress those laws with impunity.'

ἢ . . . διαπράξασθαι] 'or to accomplish the objects for which they are proposed.'

- ὑμεῖς πολλὰ ψηφίζόμενοι μικρὰ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲν ἐπράττετε
 τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ὑβρίζει χρόνον· πάλαι
 17 γὰρ ἂν ἐνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων ἐδεδώκει δίκην. ἀλλ' οὐχ 15
 οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτο-
 νεῖν ὕστερον ὢν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖτ-
 τὸν ἐστίν. τοῦτ' οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὑπάρχει·
 καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ 20
 ῥηθέντα, καὶ πρᾶξαι δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς ποιῇτε.
 18 τίνα γὰρ χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρὸν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ
 παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πότε ἂ δεῖ πράξετε, εἰ μὴ
 νῦν; οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν προείληφε τὰ χωρία ἄνθρωπος,
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων 25
 αἰσχιστά πεισόμεθα; οὐχ οὖς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἐτοίμως
 σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν πολεμοῦνται; οὐκ 33
 ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ ὅ τι
 19 ἂν εἴποι τις; ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πάντα ἐάσαντες καὶ μόνον
 οὐχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ, τότε τοὺς αἰτίους οἷτινες
 εἰσι τούτων ζητήσομεν; οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ γ' αἴτιοι φήσομεν 5
 εἶναι, σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέ-
 μου κινδύνοις τῶν φυγόντων οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ,
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν πλησίον καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον,
 ἡττηνται δ' ὁμως διὰ πάντας τοὺς φυγόντας δῆπου· μένειν

πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐνεκά γε] 'for long ago, so far at least as resolutions avail, would he have suffered punishment.'

εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα] 'to advise what is needful.' C. R. K.

καὶ γνῶναι . . . τὰ ῥηθέντα] 'and you are the quickest of all men in understanding what is spoken.'

καὶ πρᾶξαι δέ] 'and now you will be able to carry it into effect also if you act rightly.' Observe that δέ connects the two clauses of the sentence, καὶ being united to πρᾶξαι, and giving it greater emphasis. A similar usage and collocation of καὶ δέ is very frequent in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

οὐ βάρβαρος] So, too, in c. Phil. iii. § 40, Demosthenes speaks of Philip as ὁ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ'

ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας. We must then either suppose that he speaks rather with reference to the Macedonian nation than to the Macedonian kings, or with a bold disregard of historical authorities, such as Herodotus and Thucydides, the latter of whom (ii. 99 and v. 80) states explicitly that the ancestors of the Macedonian king, Perdiccas, were of Argive origin (οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες). Herodotus also (v. 22; viii. 137) expressly asserts that they were of Hellenic blood, and quotes a formal decision of the Hellenodicae at Olympia to the same effect.

ἐάσαντες . . . συγκατασκευάσαντες] 'having allowed him, and almost helped him to accomplish all this, shall we then inquire who are to blame for these things?' Τότε is here synonymous with εἴτα.

ἡττηνται δ' ὁμως . . . δῆπου] 'though

- γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει 10
 20 ἕκαστος, ἐνίκων ἄν. καὶ νῦν οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα·
 ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω. ἕτερος λέγει
 τις βελτίω· ταῦτα ποιεῖτε ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδέα
 ταῦτα· οὐκέτι τοῦθ' ὁ λέγων ἀδικεῖ, πλὴν εἰ δέον εὖξασθαι
 παραλείπει. εὖξασθαι μὲν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ῥάδιον, 15
 εἰς ταῦτ' ὅσα βούλεται τις ἀθροίσαντα ἐν ὀλίγῳ·
 ἐλέσθαι δὲ, ὅταν περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῇ σκοπεῖν, οὐκέθ'
 ὁμοίως εὐπόρον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὰ βέλτιστα ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδέων, ἂν
 21 μὴ συναμφοτέρα ἐξῇ, λαμβάνειν. εἰ δέ τις ἡμῶν ἔχει καὶ
 τὰ θεωρικὰ ἔαν καὶ πόρους ἑτέρους λέγειν στρατιωτικούς, 20
 οὐχ οὗτος κρείττων; εἴποι τις ἄν. φήμ' ἔγωγε, εἴπερ
 ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω εἴ τῷ ποτε ἀν-
 θρώπων ἢ γέγονεν ἢ γενήσεται, ἂν τὰ παρόντα ἀναλώσῃ
 22 πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορήσαι πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. ἀλλ'
 οἶμαι, μέγα τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρχει λόγοις ἢ παρ' ἑκάστου 25
 βούλησις, διόπερ ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ἐξαπατήσαι·
 ὁ γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ' ἕκαστος καὶ οἶται, τὰ δὲ πράγματα 34
 πολλάκις οὐχ οὕτω πέφυκεν. ὁρᾶτε οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅπως καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδέχεται καὶ
 23 δυνήσεσθε ἐξιέναι καὶ μισθὸν ἔξετε. οὗ τοι σωφρόνων
 οὐδὲ γενναίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλλείποντάς τι δι' ἔνδειαν 5
 χρημάτων τῶν τοῦ πολέμου, εὐχερῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειδῇ
 φέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους καὶ Μεγαρέας ἀρπάσαντας

sure enough the defeat is owing to all the runaways.' C. R. K. Rather perhaps 'to every one of the runaways.'

καὶ νῦν . . . βέλτιστα] This and the two following clauses may either be taken as suppositions or interrogations; a rapid speaker would probably make them hypothetical.

ταῦτα . . . τύχῃ] 'do this and may you have success in it.'

οὐκέτι . . . ἀδικεῖ] 'well, in that case the proposer of the measure is not in fault, except if, when he ought to offer up a prayer, he omits it.' Demosthenes here seems to be ridiculing the practice of introducing formal prayers into public speeches, and perhaps there is a covert sneer against some one who had censured him for omitting the usual invocations, and confining himself to the

discussion of what was the best policy for the state.

ὅταν . . . προτεθῇ σκοπεῖν] 'when it is proposed to consider about measures.'

οὐχ οὗτος κρείττων;] 'is he not the cleverer?' C. R. K.

θαυμάζω εἴ] 'I wonder if it ever has happened or ever will happen to any man after spending his ready money on useless objects, to have a good supply of what is gone for necessary purposes.'

μέγα . . . λόγοις] 'is a great help to such arguments.'

ὁρᾶτε οὖν . . . ἔξετε] 'look then upon these things in the light in which realities allow you, and so that you may both be able to serve and to have pay.'

εὐχερῶς . . . φέρειν] 'to submit with indifference to such imputations.'

Κορινθίους] It is impossible to say

τὰ ὄπλα πορεύεσθαι, Φίλιππον δ' ἔαν πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας
ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δι' ἀπορίαν ἐφοδίω τοῖς στρατευομένοις.

- 24 Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐχ ἔν' ἀπέχθωμαί τισιν ὑμῶν, τὴν ἄλλως 10
προήρημαι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχής εἰμι
ἐγὼ ὥστε ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βούλεσθαι μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν νομίζων
ἀλλὰ δικαίου πολίτου κρίνω τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν
25 ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν χάριτος αἰρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ
τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἀκούω, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ 15
ὑμεῖς, οὓς ἐπαινοῦσι· μὲν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες, μιμούνται
δ' οὐ πάνν, τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας

with certainty to what events Demosthenes here alludes, but we must suppose them to have been well known to his hearers, nor need we conclude that his contemporaries were engaged in them. It is therefore not improbable that in speaking of the Corinthians he alludes to the famous expedition of B.C. 458; for in that year the Corinthians invaded Megaris, then in alliance with Athens, presuming that the Athenians would not be able to assist their allies, because they had one part of their forces then occupied in Aegina and another in Egypt. But without recalling either, the old men and youths left in the city, hastily (*ἀπράσαντες τὰ ὄπλα*) set out under Myronides, and defeated the Corinthian invaders. This was always considered a brilliant exploit by the Athenians, and a well known inscription in the Louvre records the names of the Athenians who fell in it. Arnold on Thucyd. i. 104. Diod. xi. 79.

Μεγαρέας] The Corinthians and Megarians were probably associated in the Athenian mind by reason of the violent and notorious hatred (*τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος*) which the former bore to the latter in consequence of their having called in the aid of the Athenians (Thucyd. i. 103), and surrendered their harbour of Pegae to them when (B.C. 460) pressed by the Corinthians in a boundary dispute (*περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον*). But fifteen years afterwards, when the Peloponnesians invaded Attica, and Euboea revolted from Athens, the Megarians revolted also, and treacherously put to death several of the Athenian garrison (Thucyd. i. 114). Bitter hatred was the natural result, and probably a hasty invasion of the Megarid. Further aggravation arose by the Megarians cultivating the consecrated land, "not yet di-

vided by landmarks (*ἄδριστος*), on the frontiers, and harbouring runaway slaves." (Thucyd. i. 139.) The Athenians retaliated and excluded them from the Athenian harbours and market by the famous decree (*τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα*), their refusal to rescind which was alleged as the principal reason for the declaration of war by the Lacedaemonians, B.C. 432. Possibly in this state, and from indignation at these transactions, the Athenians made sudden inroads into Megaris. At any rate, in the first year of the Peloponnesian war they ravaged the country with a large army, assisted by their fleet, and invaded it each following year with infantry and cavalry till they finally captured Nisaea. Thucyd. ii. 31. Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. Appen. viii. p. 254.

οὐχ ἔν' ἀπέχθωμαι] 'I have not had the idle purpose of saying these things with the view of giving offence to any of you.' *Τὴν ἄλλως*, or *την ἄλλως* in one word, must originally have meant, 'in the manner different from what was right or naturally expected,' hence 'perversely,' 'idly,' or 'wantonly.' Thus, F. L. § 27: *ἄχλος ἄλλως καὶ βασκανία κατεφάνετο*, and adv. Lacr. § 29: *ἡγοῦντο εἶναι τὴν συγγραφὴν ἄλλως ὕβλον καὶ φλυαρίαν*. Also Thucyd. i. 109: *τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο*, on which Arnold observes, "Otherwise than for any good, i. e., in vain. Such is the sense of *ἕτερος* in the compound verbs *ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω*, *ἑτεροδοξέω*, as used by later writers." A better illustration is furnished by the Platonic *θάτερον πλεόν ἀπεργάζεσθαι*, 'to make bad worse.'

ἀτυχής] 'Dis natus iniquis.'

τῷ ἔθει] Comp. § 30: *τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἔθει*.

χρῆσθαι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐκείνουν, τὸν Νικίαν, τὸν ὁμώνυ-
 26 μόν ἐμαυτῷ, τὸν Περικλέα. ἐξ οὗ δ' οἱ διερωτῶντες ὑμᾶς
 οὔτοι πεφήνασι ῥήτορες "τί βούλεσθε; τί γράψω; τί-20
 ὑμῖν χαρίζωμαι;" προπέτοται τῆς παραντίκα χάριτος τὰ
 τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ τοιαυτὴ συμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν
 27 τούτων πάντα καλῶς ἔχει, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα αἰσchrῶς. καίτοι
 σκέψασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ τις ἂν κεφάλαια εἰπεῖν
 ἔχοι τῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῶν. 25
 ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο- 35
 τρίς ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν, ἀλλ' οἰκείοις, ὦ
 28 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι. ἐκείνοι
 τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρίζονθ' οἱ λέγοντες οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς
 ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς οὔτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη 5

τὸν ὁμώνυμον] The Demosthenes who distinguished himself in the Peloponnesian war, and took Pylus from the Spartans. He afterwards perished in the Athenian expedition against Syracuse.

τί ὑμῖν χαρίζωμαι;] 'in what should I oblige you?'

προπέτοται] 'the interests of the city have been given away for momentary popularity.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'the public welfare is complimented away for a moment's popularity.' On this phrase Ulpian wrote, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ προπίνειν ἐν συμποσίοις, ὅταν τις χάριν ὁμολογῶν τιμῇ, δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν τῷ πόματι, μετὰ τοῦ πότου χαρίζηται αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ὃν ἢ χρυσοῦν. Similarly another Scholiast, προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἅμα τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι. Compare also Pind. Olymp. vii. 1,

Φιδλαν ὡς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλὼν

ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζοισαν δρόσφω δαρήσεται

νεανίᾳ γαμβρῷ προπίνων οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε πάγχρυσον

κορυφὰν κτεάνων,

συμποσίου τε χάρην κᾶδός τε τιμᾶσαις ἑόν, ἐν δὲ φίλων

παρόντων θηκὴ μιν ἑλωτὸν δρόφρονος εὐνῆς. (Dissem.)

Hence it appears that the phrase in the text originated in a practice which prevailed at splendid entertainments and festivals in ancient Greece. On such occasions the wealthy host who wished to pay an especial compliment to a guest (as the

father to his future son-in-law in the Olympian ode), would pledge him by name with a costly cup (*gravi gemmis auroque*) full of wine, which, after first drinking himself (*προπεπωκώς* = *cum prae-libasset*), he presented to his friend to carry home with him as a gift. Compare Xen. Hell. i. 5, 6: μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπίνων ὁ Κύρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, and Anab. vii. 3, 26: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προὔχρει ὁ πότος εἰσ-ἤλθεν ἀνὴρ Ὁράξ ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν εἶπε· Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς αἰρήσεις, καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείξης τὸν πολέμιον. Ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσαγαγὼν οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. Καὶ Τιμασίων προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ τάπιδά ἄξιαν δέκα μῶν.

τοιαυτὴ συμβαίνει] 'there are corresponding results.'

ἃ τις ἂν . . . ἔχοι] 'what a man would describe as the principal of the achievements in the time of your ancestors and yourselves.'

ἔσται δὲ βραχύς] 'and the story shall be brief and familiar to you.'

οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς] 'nor did they caress them.' Observe the change from the relative in οἷς ἐχαρίζοντο to the demonstrative αὐτούς. Dobree compares Aristoph. Equit. v. 845: οὐ γὰρ σ' ἐχρῆν εἶπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, κ.τ.λ.

πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα] These forty-five years comprise the interval from B.C. 478, when the maritime allies, disgusted with the conduct of the Spartan

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἐκόντων, πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια τάλαντα
 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον, ὑπήκουε δὲ ὁ ταύτην τὴν
 χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προσήκον βάρ-
 βαρον Ἑλλησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμα-
 χοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαια αὐτοῖς στρατευόμενοι, μόνοι δὲ 10
 ἀνθρώπων κρείττω τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθο-
 29 νούντων κατέλιπον. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν
 τοιούτου· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθε ὅποιοι
 ἐν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖνυν
 οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατεσκευά- 15
 σαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων ὥστε
 30 μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ δ'
 οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας
 ἥθει μένοντες ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου
 καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἄρα οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὅποια 20
 ποτ' ἐστὶν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὔσαν·
 οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν ἐπράττετο αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξιν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὰ
 μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς, τὰ
 δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν μεγάλην εἰκότως ἐκτήσαντο 25
 31 εὐδαιμονίαν. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ

Pausanias, placed themselves under the supremacy of Athens, to B.C. 432, the year before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. Appen. vi. p. 248.

πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια] In B.C. 431 Pericles informed his countrymen that they had 6000 talents of silver coin in their treasury (i. e. in the Parthenon on the Acropolis), besides the uncoined gold and silver of the offerings in the various temples, and of the *ιερά σκεύη* used on public festivals and religious ceremonies. But not long before, as Thucydides (ii. 13) informs us, the maximum amount in the treasury had been as much as 9600 talents, so that Demosthenes is justified in his statement in the text.

ὑπήκουε δὲ ὁ ταύτην] This is an exaggeration, or rather an untruth, for which there is no historical warrant. If such a statement could have applied to any king of Macedonia it would have been to Perdiccas II., who reigned from

B.C. 455 to B.C. 414. But it certainly was not true of him. There is a similar assertion (ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν ἡ Μακεδονία) in the De Halon. (§ 12), but it was only true of some few cities principally on the coast. Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. Appen. iv. p. 222.

βάρβαρον] Comp. Eurip. Iphig. in Aulid. v. 1266: βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλλήνας ἄρχειν εἰκός.

κρείττω τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις] 'left the glory of their achievements superior to envy.'

δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖνυν] 'well then, in public they completed for us edifices and ornaments of such beauty and magnitude in temples and the offerings in them, that no one of their posterity have now the means of surpassing them. While in private, they were so modest and so thoroughly constant to the principles of the constitution.'

εἰς περιουσίαν] scil. χρημάτων. 'The affairs of the state were not managed by them for their aggrandizement.'

πράγματα ἐκείνοις, χρωμένοις οἷς εἶπον προστάταις νυνὶ
 δὲ πῶς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν τὰ πράγματα
 ἔχει; ἄρά γε ὁμοίως καὶ παραπλησίως; οἷς—τὰ μὲν 36
 ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅσης ἅπαντες
 ὁρᾶτε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἀπο-
 λωλότων, Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
 οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀξιώχρεω περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἡμῖν ἀντι- 5
 τάξασθαι, ἐξὸν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν
 32 καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν, ἀπεστερήμεθα μὲν
 χώρας οἰκείας, πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα
 ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμ-
 μάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀπολωλέκασιν οὔτοι, 10
 ἐχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικούτον ἡσκήκαμεν. ἡ
 φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθὼν, πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς
 33 γέγονεν ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Φίλιππος. ἀλλ' ὦ τᾶν, εἰ
 ταῦτα φαύλως, τὰ γ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει.
 καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἃς κοινώμεν, καὶ 15
 τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν, καὶ κρήνας, καὶ λήρους;
 ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ
 μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων

ὑπὸ . . . τῶν νῦν] 'by the worthies of the present day,' of course ironically.

οἷς—τὰ μὲν] If Demosthenes really wrote οἷς, I agree with Dindorf in thinking that it refers to ἡμῖν, and that the sentence of which it was intended to form a part was broken by the insertion of τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ. Such a sentence might have been οἷς ἐξὸν τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν. Translate, 'To whom—, but I will say nothing about other things, though I could find much to say.' But Dindorf in his Leipzig edition (1855) reads, οἱ . . . τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, making it the subject of ἀπεστερήμεθα below.

ὅσης . . . ἐπειλημμένοι] 'having the advantage of such an absence of competition as you all see.'

ἀπολωλότων] After Leuctra (B.C. 371) and Mantinea (B.C. 362).

ἐξὸν ἡμῖν] It may be that Demosthenes here expresses what he had intended to have made dependent upon οἷς, though Dindorf believes that the clause arose from οἷς, as a subject to ἀπεστερήμεθα.

ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν] 'to arbitrate on the rights of others.'

ἐχθρὸν δ' . . . ἡσκήκαμεν] 'and we have trained up an enemy against ourselves, to his present height of power.' Τηλικούτον seems to stand for ὥστε τηλικούτον γενέσθαι.

ἀλλ' ὦ τᾶν] 'but, my good sir, if these matters are bad, at any rate things in the city itself are better now.' Demosthenes supposes that some one of his hearers replies thus to his censures of his political opponents.

κρήνας, καὶ λήρους] 'fountains and fooleries.' C. R. K. Comp. Περὶ Συντ. § 33: δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἢ πόλιν ἡμῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀγαπᾷ κατασκευάζουσα καὶ κρήνας καὶ κονιάματα καὶ λήρους. Also Plato, Gorg. § 100: Περὶ σιτία σὺ λέγεις, καὶ ποτὰ, καὶ λατροὺς, καὶ φλυαρίας; and in § 157 of the same dialogue: λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τευχῶν καὶ φόρων καὶ τοιούτων φλυαρίων ἐμπεπλήκασι τὴν πόλιν.

τοὺς ταῦτα πολιτευομένους] 'who direct their statesmanship to these objects.'

- ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι, ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ 20 τῆς πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονε, τόσούτῳ τὰ τούτων ἡϋξήται.
- 34 Τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἷτιον τούτων, καὶ τί δήποτε ἅπαντ' εἶχε καλῶς τότε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς; ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν καὶ κύριος αὐτὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 25 καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστῳ καὶ 35 τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλαβεῖν· νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον κύριοι μὲν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ διὰ 37 τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος ἐκνευρισμένοι καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα καὶ συμμαχους ἐν ὑπέρτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγέννησθε, ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν ἢ βοῖδια πέμψωσιν οὔτοι, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀναν- 5 δρότατον, τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καθείρξαντες ὑμᾶς ἐπάγουσιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ

ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον] Dindorf and Sauppe read *πρότερον*, supposing it to be in contrast with *νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον*. But there is no MS. authority for the correction, and it is not likely, had *πρότερον* been the original reading, that a transcriber would have altered it to *πρῶτον*. Translate, 'In the earliest times indeed, not only had the people the resolution to serve abroad themselves, whereby they were masters of the public officers, and had the disposal of all emoluments themselves, but also every one of the rest was contented to receive from the people a share both of honour and office, and any emolument.'

ἐκνευρισμένοι] 'with your sinews drawn.' Dobree compares (Plutarch ii. 75d) ἡ πόλις ἐκνεύριται, and (Plato, Resp. iii. § 18) ἕως ἂν ἐκτῆξῃ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἐκτέμῃ ὥσπερ νεῦρα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

ἐν ὑπέρτου . . . γεγέννησθε] 'have taken the place of a helper and a hanger on.' Literally, *προσθήκη* is a makeweight or adjunct, as in Olyn. ii. § 14.

βοῖδια] 'miserable beasts,' instead of fat oxen, supplied to the people or provided for sacrifices on certain festival occasions out of the public funds by the public officers, called *βοῶναι*. Harpocration (s. v.) says, ὅτι λαμπρὸς ἦν ὁ βοῶνης

καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐχειροτονοῦντο. Comp. c. Meid. § 216. But there is another reading *βοηδρόμια* in some MSS. which Sauppe and Dindorf adopt, the former observing, "*βοηδρόμια πέμπειν* est Boedromia celebrare pompam ducenda." But I doubt about such a phrase being admissible in such a sense, and *βοῖδια πέμπειν* seems more naturally associated with *μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν*. So Jacobs: "zufrieden wenn Euch Jene an den Theatergelden nehmen lassen, oder Euch armselige Rinder austheilen."

ἀνανδρότατον] The Codex S has *ἀνδρείδατον* which Dindorf adopts, understanding it ironically. But the whole context is perfectly grave and serious.

καθείρξαντες . . . ποιοῦντες] 'cooping you up in the city itself, they lead you to these attractions, and keep you tame, and make you submissive to themselves.' Demosthenes compares the management of the Athenian people by their leaders to that of a wild beast able to help and support itself, but kept quiet and submissive in confinement, by the judicious supply of as little food as possible. Observe *χειροθήης* = 'mansuetus.' Comp. Aeschyl. Agam. 730, where the young lion is described as *φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα, σάλων τε γαστρὸς ἀνδ' αἰκίας*.

- 36 τίθασεύνουσι χειροήθεις αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. ἔστι δ' οὐδέ-
ποτ', οἶμαι, μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μικρὰ καὶ
φαῦλα πράττοντας· ὅποι' ἅττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα 10
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾗ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν.
- 37 ταῦτα μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι, εἰ μείζων
εἰπόντι ἐμοὶ γένοιτο παρ' ὑμῶν βλάβη τῶν πέποιηκότων
αὐτὰ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ παρρησία περὶ πάντων αἰεὶ παρ'
ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονε θαυμάζω. 15
- 38 Ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἔτι ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων τῶν
ἐθῶν ἐθελήσητε στρατεύεσθαι τε καὶ πράττειν ἀξίως
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἴκοι ταύταις
ἀφορμαῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρήσησθε, ἴσως
ἂν, ἴσως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τέλειόν τι καὶ μέγα κτή- 20
39 σαισθε ἀγαθόν, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε
ἃ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις
ἔοικε. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα οὐτ' ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησιν οὐτ' ἀποθνή-
σκειν ἔᾶ· καὶ ταῦτα, ἃ νέμεσθε νῦν ὑμεῖς, οὔτε τοσαυτά
ἐστίν ὥστε ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν τινὰ διαρκή, οὐτ' ἀπογόνον- 25
τας ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἔᾶ, ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα τὴν ἐκάστου

ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι] 'and never is it possible, as I think, to form a high and noble spirit while engaged in mean and paltry actions.' *Νεανικόν*, 'what is characteristic of youth'; hence 'generous,' 'unselfish,' or 'noble.' So *νεανικὸν κρέας*, a piece of flesh suited for a young man's appetite; hence 'large' or 'inordinate.' Statius (*Silv.* i. 4. 61) seems to have used '*juvenilis*' in the same sense: "*Ipsa etiam cunctos gravis inclementia fati Terruit, et subiti praeceps juvenile pericli*," i. e. the great peril of the sudden danger. See Mr. Maclean's note on Juvenal x. 107.

ταῦτα . . . γένοιτο] 'by Demeter, I should not be surprised if I for mentioning these things were to suffer more from you than those who have brought them to pass;' as if τῶν πέποιηκότων were ἡ τοῖς πέποιηκόσι, a common variation of expression. But the codex F has βλάβη ἡ τῶν; a reading which Rüdiger adopts.

Ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἔτι] An abbreviation for ἔάν οὖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ᾗθελήσατε, ἀλλὰ νῦν . . . 'If, then, though never before, yet now at any rate after all you will,' &c. So (*c. Phil.* i. § 9) we

find, ἂν τοίνυν, . . . καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . ἐθελήσητε νῦν . . . ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον.

ταῖς περιουσίαις . . . χρήσησθε] 'if you would use these your superfluities at home, as means of gaining advantages abroad.'

λημμάτων] The petty advantages derived from the distribution of the surplus revenues of the State, after providing for the civil administration (τὰ τῆς διοικήσεως). Compare with this passage the Προίμια δημηγορικὰ (as they are called), i. p. 1460: νῦν δὲ δραχμῇ καὶ χοῖ καὶ τέτταρσιν ὀβολοῖς ὥσπερ ἄσθενοντα τὸν δῆμον διάγουσιν, ὁμοιάτα, ὦ ἄ. Ἀ., τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις διδόντες ὑμῖν.

σιτίοις] 'delicacies.'

ὥστε . . . διαρκή] 'so as to render you any substantial benefit.'

ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα τήν] Dobree proposes ταῦτα τὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ῥαθυμίαν, though the MSS. have simply ταῦτα τήν. In support of his view he quotes Pro Megal. § 28, τοῦτο τὸ λυμαινόμενον πάνθ' εὐρήσομεν: and F. L. § 21, τὰ γὰρ πάντα τὰ πράγματα λυμηνόμενα ὑμῶν . . . ταῦτ' ἐστίν. But these passages are not altogether analogous to that in the text, nor

- 40 ῥαθυμίαν ὑμῶν ἐπαυξάνοντα. οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν 38
λέγεις; φήσει τις. καὶ παραχρῆμά γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν
ἀπάντων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ
μέρος λαμβάνων, οὗτο δέοιτο ἢ πόλις, τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι.
41 ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν· οἴκοι μένων βελτίων, τοῦ δι' 5
ἐνδειαν ἀνάγκη τι ποιεῖν αἰσχροὺς ἀπηλλαγμένους. συμ-
βαίνει τι τοιοῦτον οἶον καὶ τὰ νῦν στρατιώτης αὐτὸς
ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ
δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἔστι τις. ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας
ὑμῶν· ὅσα οὗτος ἀτάκτως νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτ' 10
42 ἐν ἰσῇ τάξει λαμβάνων πάντ' ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν ἃ χρὴ
πράττεσθαι. ὅλως δὲ οὐτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτε προσθεῖς, πλὴν

does the orator view his subject in the same light in the different cases. In those quoted, he assumes the existence of a certain well-known effect, and then declares the causes of it. In the present case he assumes the existence of certain well-known causes, and then shows what are the effects produced by them. Accordingly, there is a different collocation of ταῦτα and ἐστίν, implying a difference of emphasis and meaning in the two cases. Nor is ἔστι ταῦτα ἐπαυξάνοντα quite the same in force or meaning as ταῦτα ἐπαυξάνει. It is more full and emphatic, and may be translated, 'they operate, these things do, to increase'; literally, 'they exist in or by doing it.'

οὐκοῦν . . . λέγεις]. 'well then, do you propose the receipt of pay?' i. e. from the funds applied as θεωρικά, and for similar purposes.

καὶ παραχρῆμά γε] 'yes; and immediately, too, (do I advise that there be) the same system for all, that each receiving his share of the public revenues may be whatever the state may require;' i. e. may perform such duties as the State requires of him.

ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν] From here to: ἃ χρὴ πράττεσθαι, I have, after much consideration, adopted the reading of Dindorf's 3rd edition (Leipzig, 1855) with the following meaning and connexion, "Under my system (says Demosthenes) every one might be what the state requires him to be: if we are at peace, remaining honourably at home; if at war, serving in person; and if too old, why then instead of receiving money irregularly for nothing, receiving it on a fair

system for superintending and administering every thing necessary to be done."

οἴκοι μένων] Bekker and Dindorf in his first edition read οἴκοι μένων εἰ βελτίων. But the best MSS., namely S and F, omit the εἰ, nor is it likely that Demosthenes changed the subject from ἕκαστος in the third person to εἰ in the second. As for βελτίων, all the MSS. retain it, and it may be interpreted 'a more honourable man,' or 'a better citizen than before.' But certainly it is unnecessary, and οἴκοι μένων without it contrasts better with στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων. However, I defer to the MSS. and retain it. Dindorf (ed. 3) brackets it.

στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων] 'serving in person as a soldier (paid) by the very same allowances as you now receive for theatrical and other entertainments.'

ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας] 'for military service,' i. e. over forty-five years of age.

ἐν ἰσῇ τάξει] 'by a fair arrangement.' λαμβάνων] This is the reading of the best Codices B, F, S, adopted by Dindorf in his last edition. The other MSS. followed by Bekker have λαμβανέτω, a reading much less likely to have been changed, if the original one, than λαμβάνων. This construction corresponds with οἴκοι μένων, and the sense must be completed by a reference to the foregoing, οὗτο δέοιτο . . . τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι.

ὅλως δέ] 'and generally without taking from or adding to, but only in a small degree removing irregularity, I bring the state to order, by establishing a uniform system for receiving (pay), for serving in war and on juries, for doing whatever each can according to his age and what-

- μικρὸν τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελών, εἰς τάξιν ἡγαγον τὴν πόλιν
τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι, τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ
ποιεῖν τοῦθ' ὃ τι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ ὅτου 15
καιρὸς εἴη, τάξιν ποιήσας. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μηδὲν ποι-
οῦσιν ἐγὼ τὰ τῶν ποιησόντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμευν, οὐδ'
αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ὅτι δὲ οἱ
43 τοῦ δεῖνος νικῶσι ξένοι, ταῦτα πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα γὰρ
νυνὶ γίγνεται. καὶ οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν ποιοῦντά τι τῶν 20
δεόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ
πράττειν ταῦτα· ἐφ' οἷς ἐτέρους τιμᾶτε, καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν,
ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς
ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι
κατέλιπον. 25
- 44 Σχεδὸν εἴρηκα ἃ νομίζω συμφέρευν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐλοισθε ὅ
τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοῖσεν ὑμῶν μέλλει.

ever there may be occasion for.' The words τὴν αὐτὴν before τοῦ λαβεῖν are to be taken with τάξιν ποιήσας.

τὰ τῶν ποιησόντων] 'what should be given to those who are ready to work.'

οὐδ' αὐτοὺς] 'nor that you yourselves should be idle and unemployed, and at a loss to know how to act, while you hear this, that such a one's mercenaries are

victorious.' Those of Charidemus, e. g., or of Chares.

μὴ παραχωρεῖν] 'and that you should not abandon that post of honour which your ancestors won with many and glorious dangers; and bequeathed to you.' But τῆς τάξεως may depend on ἦν (τάξιν), as we might say in Latin, "neque ab eo desciscere loco quem locum honoris."

EXCURSUS

ON THE

ORDER OF THE OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS.

THE true chronological order of the Olynthiacs was a matter of doubt even in ancient times, and still continues a question, which from want of data it is impossible to determine with certainty.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ad Amm. vi. 726), citing them by their opening words, places them in a different order from the generally received arrangement, making the second first, the third second, and the first third.

The speeches therefore which stand in the edited order as I. II. III. are in that of Dionysius II. III. I. The order of the editions as here given, is however that which is adopted by the majority of modern critics, as by Petrenz in his dissertations of 1833 and 1834, which Dindorf (v. pp. 8—24) considers conclusive, and prefixes a summary of their arguments to his notes on the Olynthiacs. The same view is taken by Böhnecke (*Forschungen*, p. 151), and also, though with some hesitation, by Mr. C. R. Kennedy (*Translation*, p. 38). Westermann (*Quaest. Dem.*) maintains the same opinion in an elaborate treatise of eighty-four pages (1—84), in which he specifies the various writers on the subject, and urges (inter alia) very forcibly, that the usual order is that of the MSS., and defended by the authority of all the ancient Rhetoricians and Scholiasts; a consideration which is certainly entitled to some weight. On the other hand, Flathe (*Geschichte Macedoniens*, pp. 183—187), and Bp. Thirlwall (*Greece v. Appen.*) support the order of Dionysius; Mr. Grote (xi. 500), though he agrees with these authorities in believing the second Olynthiac (as edited) to have been really the first, and the first (as edited) to have been the second, yet, concurs with the edited order

in placing the third last. He states that this conclusion was deduced by himself, from an attentive study of the speeches, and before he knew it had been advocated by Stueve, in a dissertation which he had not seen. Now it is manifest that the only means of arriving at a probable conclusion on such a question, is by an examination of the internal evidence of the speeches, combined with such information as contemporary authorities may furnish. But unfortunately we have no such independent testimony to assist us, and failing this, we must refer to the speeches themselves, which, as it seems to me, justify Mr. Grote's opinion.

For, starting from the admitted fact that the first of them was occasioned by the embassy which the Olynthians sent to solicit the alliance and co-operation of Athens against Philip, we have to consider which of the three seems most adapted to such a contingency. Further, we have to remember that the Olynthians had not long before been actually at war with Athens, and had recently declined the overtures of Athens for a close alliance with herself. (Grote xi. 448.) The question, then, which the Athenians had to determine was, whether this alliance was to be accepted or rejected, and whether or not a new line of policy was to be adopted in regard to Philip and Olynthus. To this question, as it appears to me after repeated perusal of the Olynthiacs, does Demosthenes address himself in the *second*, without any reference to the critical position of Olynthus, or her urgent need of assistance, or the danger to Athens from her overthrow. What he tells his countrymen is, that the new contingency was one for which they had reason to thank the gods. And he exhorts them to show themselves worthy of the opportunity presented by the accession of allies whose position and power were formidable to Philip, and whose interests, sympathies, and animosities would make them firm friends to Athens and unrelenting enemies of Philip. But an alliance with his actual and bitter enemies would, it might be urged, bring upon themselves the increased hostility of Philip, and accordingly Demosthenes proceeds to prove that his power did not rest upon any stable foundation—that he had exhausted all his means of aggrandizement, and all the artifices by which he rose—that he had at last been found out, and would now fall by the same instruments by which he had risen (§§ 5, 6, 7). He supports these his views by following out in detail the general reflection, that a power founded by fraud and force could not be permanent, but would, upon the first shock and least disaster, fall to pieces and go to ruin. After this opening he then recommends, but briefly and tamely, that aid should be sent to Olynthus, “and the more promptly and effectually the more would he be pleased.” But this passing exhortation is all.

As Mr. Grote observes (xi. 457), "This recommendation is contained in a single sentence in the middle of the speech; it is neither repeated a second time, nor emphatically insisted upon, nor enlarged by specification of quantity or quality of aid to be sent. No allusion is made to the necessities or danger of Olynthus, nor to the chance that Philip might conquer the town; still less to ulterior contingencies, that Philip, if he did conquer it, might carry the seat of war from his own coasts to those of Attica." Nor indeed does Demosthenes even urge the *necessity* for *immediate* aid, though in Olynthiac I. (§ 2), he proposes emphatically, and in his very opening, *ψηφίσασθαι ἥδη τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην*, and shows the injurious effect of the Athenians being absent from the scene of warfare. On the contrary (in Olynthiac I.), after his brief and parenthetical allusion to Olynthus, he passes on to Macedonia, insists upon its inherent weakness as a state, exaggerates the unfriendly relations between Philip and the majority of his own subjects, and disparages the character of his companions, his courtiers, and his guards. All this had nothing to do with Olynthus in particular, though it was directed against Philip as the enemy of Athens. Its drift and object were rather to excite and exasperate the Athenians against their foe than to stimulate them in behalf of an ally—to show the prospects not of a defensive war *for* Olynthus, but of an aggressive war against Philip, by exhibiting "the vulnerable as well as the odious points of his character."

The previous good fortune of Philip is then discussed, which, as Demosthenes alleges, need not alarm the Athenians, if only they would do their duty, and this, as he demonstrates in detail, they had not yet done. What that duty was he proceeds to show, without reference to Olynthus, but with a special denunciation of their policy and party spirit at home. And he concludes with a corresponding recommendation: *λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον πάντας εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχει τὸ ἴσον πάντας ἐξίέναι κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες στρατεύσησθε πᾶσι τοῖς παριούσι λόγον δίδόναι, καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε αἰρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἂν ὁ δεῖναι ἢ ὁ δεῖνα εἴπῃ. κἂν ταῦτα ποιήτε, οὐ τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον παραχρῆμα ἐπαινέσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, βελτίον τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων*. Now in these observations there is no appeal to the urgent wants or the pressing danger of Olynthus, but the oration was just such an one as a patriotic statesman might have delivered, who anxiously wished his country to enter upon a new career, and to adopt a fresh policy demanded by her altered relations with foreign states, and the opportunities which that alteration afforded her. In fact, the offer from Olynthus was simply the peg to hang other and more general questions upon; and as even Bp. Thirlwall remarks, "the second Olynthiac (as edited) so far as it contains

an estimate of Philip's power, which is the subject of nearly the whole, is evidently of a more *general* nature than either of the two others."

Such then is the scope and character of Olynthiac II., from which, as it seems to me, the inference is unavoidable that it was delivered before Olynthiac I.

Moreover, this inference is confirmed by the fact that it makes no allusion to the Theoric Fund, whereas in Olynthiac I. this subject is manifestly referred to, and in Olynthiac III. Demosthenes forcibly urges the necessity of appropriating the fund to war purposes. This it would seem, is best explained by the supposition, that after the delivery of the second Olynthiac, the exigencies of the case became more and more urgent, till at last he was encouraged to propose distinctly what he had at first only cautiously hinted at.

Turning now to Olynthiac I. (as edited) we find that it is much more urgent in tone than the second, and that instead of discussing general topics, and the chances of war with Philip, it relates for the most part to Olynthus itself, and dwells almost exclusively upon her critical position, and the duty of Athens to assist her. An alliance offensive and defensive had it is true been made, but probably nothing more had been done. Philip, meanwhile, had pushed his conquests, and as it would seem taken advantage of the absence of the Athenians (*ἡμᾶς διαβάλλων καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν*) to represent their inability or unwillingness to aid their new allies. Bp. Thirlwall (v. 310), however, supposes that in the interval a force of 2000 mercenary Peltasts had been despatched under Chares, referring to this date, the expedition mentioned by Philochorus (Dion. Hal. ad Amm. i. c. 9), and not to the following year, as Mr. Grote does (xi. 467). However this may be, nothing effectual was done, and the Olynthians being in greater need and danger, Demosthenes assumes a more urgent and energetic tone. To Bp. Thirlwall (Appen. v. 380) indeed "it appears evident that the Oration I. (as edited, which in order of time seems to be the second) is that which represents the danger as *most* pressing, and *most* emphatically declares the safety of Athens herself to be involved in the event of the struggle. For instance, there is a sentence both in III. (II. D.) and in I. (III. D.) beginning with the words, 'Ο μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. The description of the *present juncture* which follows in the first passage is, εἴπερ ποτε καὶ νῦν πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται. The second proceeds with the words μονονουχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς, ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῶν ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπτέον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν¹ φροντίζετε. This

¹ Another reading is αὐτῶν.

last was surely the critical or the more alarming emergency. So again in both these orations there is mention of the danger which threatened Attica itself from Philip's arms. In the first it is thus noticed, *χωρὶς τῆς αἰσχύνης . . . οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον μικρὸν ὄρω τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα*. In the second, *νῦν αἴρεσις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, πότερον ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ χρὴ πολεμεῖν, ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκείνον*,—and further on, the object of the proposed succours is described as being *ἀπωθεῖν ἐκέισε τὸν πόλεμον*." In these observations there is certainly much force, but in order to appreciate them as well as the reasons for dissenting from the conclusion to which they point, we must analyze *the whole* Oration (No. I.), and compare it as a *whole*, not *partially*, with the other two.

Its first remark then is that "*the present juncture* (*ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς*) all but proclaims aloud that the Athenians must themselves take in hand the Olynthian affair, if they cared for its success." Demosthenes next calls upon them to vote an expedition *at once* (*ἤδη*), and to make preparations as quickly as possible; advice which may be contrasted with his less urgent expressions in Olynthiac II. § 11. He proceeds to observe that the Olynthians were well aware that the war had now become a struggle of life and death, and that they were fighting to save their country from ruin. He tells them that if they abandoned Olynthus, and Philip consequently subdued it, there was nothing to hinder his march against and to Athens itself, and that assuredly the war would be transferred from Chalcidice to Attica. Accordingly he exhorts them to a vigorous and two-fold effort, advising them to send out one expedition to save Olynthus, and another against Philip's own territory, with the view of making a diversion by attacking it. As for the financial arrangements, he contents himself with *hinting* at the Theoric Fund, but assuming at the same time that it will *not be appropriated to war purposes*, he declares that the only alternative is a property-tax. He then describes, but almost parenthetically, Philip's position, and his relation with his own subjects and others, with the view of showing that they afford ground for hope, if only the Athenians would prove themselves equal to the crisis. In conclusion, he forcibly reiterates his conviction that a war in Attica would be the inevitable result of the overthrow of Olynthus, and warns his countrymen that they have to choose whether they would carry on a war there or at their own doors. He details the serious consequences of the latter, and after the repeated warning that the fate of Athens was involved in that of Olynthus, he appeals to all classes of the state, some by one motive, and some by another, to exert themselves, one and all, in order to confine the war to Olynthus (*ἀπωθεῖν ἐκέισε τὸν πόλεμον*) and keep it from Attica.

In all this, as Mr. Grote observes (xi. 462), "we have not a Philippic, but a true Olynthiac. Olynthus is no longer part and parcel of a larger thème, upon the whole of which Demosthenes intends to discourse, but stands out as the prominent feature and specialty of his pleading."

In fact, as before remarked, Bp. Thirlwall conceives that the tone of this Olynthiac is so pressing, and the emergency which it represents so critical, that it must have been the last of the three. But notwithstanding all this, and the tamer clause *εἴπερ ποτέ . . . βουλῆς δαίται*, which in Olynthiac III. follows *ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς*, contrasted with the more energetic *μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφίεις . . . εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν* (or *αὐτῶν*) *φροντίζετε*, in Olynthiac I., still the third Olynthiac appears to have been the last of all. According to Libanius (Argum.), it was delivered after Athens had already despatched some assistance (mercenaries it would seem, § 43), and after the intelligence of some partial successes gained by them. The consequence was that the Athenians were unduly elated, as if some great result had been achieved; and instead of following up the advantage by further reinforcements to Olynthus, they talked of punishing Philip for his aggressions (*τοὺς λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους*). In this state of feeling Demosthenes, we are told, came forward to check the presumption of his fellow-citizens, to correct their exaggerations, and abate their ill-founded confidence. But if this was the case, and internal evidence as well as the authority of Libanius suggests that it was, then the scope and drift of the third Olynthiac, its tone, arguments, and character are quite consistent with its cause and occasion. For Demosthenes tells his fellow-citizens that it was quite idle to talk of punishing Philip till the safety of their allies was secured; that this was their first and primary object, the other the distant end of their operations. The crisis, he adds, was one (*εἴπερ ποτέ*) for much care and forethought; terms in which he might well describe it, though the Olynthians had gained some successes, and the tone of which, if less urgent than that of the former oration, is yet easily explained by the fact that some success had been gained, so that the emergency did not *seem* so critical as before. The same remark applies to the other passages which Bp. Thirlwall quotes as showing, by their comparatively subdued expressions, that Olynthiac III. was not the last. Nevertheless, after taking a review of the past errors and shortcomings of his countrymen, by way of warning for the present and the future, Demosthenes does impress upon them the duty and necessity of sending further aid to their allies. He then gives some advice as to the Theoric Fund, which furnishes a very strong reason

for believing that this Olynthiac is posterior to the first (as edited), and the last of all. He repeatedly and forcibly insists upon the appropriation of that fund to the purposes of war; a fact which, in connexion with the guarded allusion in Olynthiac I. (§ 19), can only be explained, as we have already stated, by the supposition that the continuance and increased expenses of the war manifestly demanded a change in financial policy, and encouraged Demosthenes to insist upon it. But resolutions, he adds, were of no avail without action, and to this Demosthenes urges his countrymen thus emphatically: *τίνα γὰρ χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρὸν, ὦ ἄ. Ἀ., τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πότε ἂ δεῖ πράξετε, εἰ μὴ νῦν; οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν προεῖληφε τὰ χωρία ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων αἰσχίστα πεισόμεθα; οὐχ οὖς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἐτοίμως σῶσιν ὑποσχομένθα, οὗτοι νῦν πολεμοῦνται; οὐκ ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος;*

Such an appeal is surely suited to the crisis of any emergency, and is not less emphatic than any of the exhortations in Olynthiac I. To this it may be added, that in the third Olynthiac the necessity of personal service is urged more emphatically than in the other two, as if additional proof had been given of the inefficiency of the mercenaries previously despatched. In conclusion, Demosthenes reverts to the necessity of a change with regard to the Theoric Fund, recapitulates the main points of his own proposals, and calls upon the Athenians to prove themselves worthy of the position, which, not without many and great dangers, their forefathers had won for and bequeathed to them.

Putting all these considerations together, I agree with Mr. Grote in thinking that the scope and drift of Olynthiac III., as explained by Libanius, are consistent with the supposition that it was delivered after the other two, and that the true chronological order of all three is that proposed by Stueve, viz. II. I. III. These numerals indicate of course the order in which the Olynthiacs are generally published, and in this edition also. The expeditions mentioned by Philochorus (Dion. Hal. vi. 734) in his Atthis as having been despatched by Athens to Olynthus, may be, and are by Mr. Grote, referred to the year B.C. 349, the next after that when the Olynthiacs were spoken. It has already been stated that in all the MSS. hitherto examined (A. G. Bekker, Demosthenes als Staatsbürger, p. 75), the three Olynthiacs come before all the other orations; an arrangement which has been adopted from the most ancient times, and in the oldest editions. But this fact is not conclusive as to the order of delivery, the first Philippic having (as we shall see) manifestly been spoken before the Olynthiacs, though placed after them.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC I.

THIS Oration is generally supposed (as indeed it appears) to have been delivered in B.C. 352—351; so that although in the ordinary arrangement of the speeches of Demosthenes it comes after the Olynthiacs, it was in reality delivered before them. It was his earliest public harangue to the Athenians in reference to their war with Philip, delivered when he was only about thirty years old, and occasioned by the following circumstances. After Philip had secured his hereditary kingdom from the aggressions of the neighbouring nations, he commenced that career of conquest and aggrandizement which was consummated by the battle of Chaeroneia (B.C. 338), and terminated in his undisputed supremacy over Greece. And it so happened that his earliest acquisitions were either made at the cost of Athens, or menaced her possessions and endangered her interests. Amphipolis, as we have already seen (Introd. to the Olynthiacs), an ancient settlement of the Athenians, was soon conquered by him (B.C. 358), and thus his communications were opened towards Thrace and the gold-mines of the Mons Pangæus (τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια, Xen. Hell. v. 2. 17), while he secured the most valuable maritime station in Thrace itself. The Athenians, though solicited by an embassy from Amphipolis, sent no aid, for Philip had beguiled their love of ease and inaction with promises which he never kept (Olyn. i. § 8). His next step was to ally himself with the Olynthians, to whom he ceded Anthemus on the Thermaic Gulf, and then he took Pydna, a sea-port of Macedonia, which Timotheus, the great Athenian general, had formerly acquired for Athens (Thucyd. i. 61. Isoc. de Antid. c. 114). No relief appears to have been sent, though several Athenian citizens were captured in it (Dem. adv. Lept. § 71). Perhaps, as Mr. Grote suggests, the Social War, in which the Athenians were then engaged, prevented them from despatching assistance. Potidaea, for which the Athenians had struggled so hard, and spent so much in the Peloponnesian war, was then

besieged by Philip and the Olynthians (Olyn. ii. § 14). There was a body of Athenian settlers in it (c. Phil. ii. § 22); but still no effectual aid was sent, and so it was taken, and given by Philip to the Olynthians, whereby they gained a complete mastery over the Isthmus of Pallene, and Athens lost an important station in the Thermaic Gulf. But Philip's activity and ambition were displayed in other quarters also. To the east of Amphipolis, and opposite the island of Thasos, lay a city called Crenides, recently founded by the Thasians. This he augmented with a large accession of settlers, and changing the name to Philippi, he was enabled to work the neighbouring mines so successfully, that according to Diodorus (xvi. 8) he obtained from them a revenue of not less than 1000 talents a-year. These operations would naturally irritate and alarm the neighbouring Thracians, and we find that with the Illyrians and Paeonians (τὴν αὐξήσιν ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ Φιλίππου) they rose against him, but were defeated and overpowered by himself and his general Parmenio (Diod. xvi. 22. Plutarch, Alex. c. 3. Olyn. i. § 24). A few years afterwards (B.C. 354) he appears to have attacked Methone, the only remaining possession of Athens on the Thermaic Gulf. Its position made it of great importance, for it not only commanded the coasting traffic of Macedonia, but of Chalcidice also, while Potidaea and Olynthus might easily be attacked from its neighbourhood. Accordingly aid was despatched from Athens, but it arrived too late (c. Phil. i. § 40. Olyn. i. § 9), and Methone surrendered after a gallant resistance (Diod. xvi. 31. 34). Then we read of his (B.C. 353—352) assailing Maroneia on the coast of Thrace, and threatening the Athenian possessions in the Chersonese (Grote xi. 363. Diod. xvi. 34, and Dem. c. Aristoc. § 219), and almost immediately afterwards operating in Thessaly. It would indeed appear that he had already interfered in this country so early as B.C. 357—356, but with no important results, and now his aid was again solicited for the same purposes and by the same parties as before, viz., by the great family of the Aleuadae of Larissa against Lycophron the cruel tyrant of Pherae. At the same time, what was called the Second Sacred War (B.C. 356—346) was raging between the Thebans and the Phocians, and Lycophron in his turn obtained the assistance of the latter against Philip and his allies. At first Onomarchus the Phocian general was decidedly successful, defeating Philip in two actions, and compelling him to retreat into Macedonia (Diod. xvi. 35). But Philip soon returned with a fresh army, gathered the Thessalians round his standard, and defeated Lycophron and his Phocian allies in a great battle, which must have been fought somewhere on the southern coast of Thessaly, for Diodorus says that Chares was at the

time accidentally sailing by with several triremes. More probably he had been purposely sent from Athens to co-operate, if possible, with the Phocians, for some of them endeavoured to make their escape to his ships. This was an important victory, and Philip turned it to good account. He immediately took Pherae, and then laid siege to Pagasae its port. The Athenians naturally wished to prevent his occupation of a maritime station so near to themselves, and they despatched an expedition for its relief, which arrived too late (c. Phil. i. § 40). Pagasae was obliged to surrender; Philip became master of Thessaly, fortified Magnesia (Olyn. i. §§ 9. 13. 23), and consolidated his power in every possible way. Nor did he rest here. The Phocians had opposed him in Thessaly, and he marched towards Thermopylae, proclaiming his intention to liberate the temple of Delphi from their unlawful possession, and to punish them for its spoliation. Strong as was the pass, the Phocians did not feel themselves able to hold it against him (*τὴν οἰκίαν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες φυλάττειν*), and sent word to Athens of their danger. On this occasion the Athenians were alive to the perils which threatened themselves (F. L. § 94) from the march of Philip towards the south, and they exerted themselves with a vigour and energy worthy of their best times. A large Athenian force was at once despatched, which reached Thermopylae in good time, and presented such a front that Philip did not even attempt to force the pass, and for once was baulked of his expected prey (F. L. § 366. Diod. xvi. 38). But his power and prestige were materially increased by his recent successes, and the fact of Macedonian pre-eminence was established amongst the Greeks. As Mr. Grote writes (xi. 423), "The king of Macedon had become the ascendent soldier and potentate, hanging on the skirts of the Grecian world, exciting fears or hopes, or both at once, in every city throughout its limits." Even Demosthenes admitted (c. Phil. i. § 26) that the Athenians could not raise a force sufficient to meet him in the field, and his conquest of Pherae and Pagasae appears to have facilitated his acquisition of an efficient fleet. His ships, we are told (§ 38), plundered the merchantmen of the Athenian allies, landed his troops on the Athenian islands of Lemnos and Imbros, and carried off Athenian citizens as prisoners. They even sailed so far south as Geraestus in Euboea, captured some Athenian vessels which they fell in with, and were bold enough to carry off one of the sacred triremes from the bay of Marathon. All this naturally excited alarm, indignation, and discontent at Athens, but nothing effectual was done to protect her interests, and Philip after his successes in Thessaly hurried into Thrace. Here, as we are told, he set up one prince and expelled another, of course as his interests

dictated (Olyn. i. § 13), and commenced the siege of Heraeon Teichos (Olyn. iii. § 5), a place so near the Chersonese that the Athenians on hearing of it were alarmed for the safety of their possessions there (c. Philip. i. § 20 and § 47). This was in November B.C. 352, and an expedition was immediately voted. But news arrived of Philip's illness or death, and this was sufficient to make the Athenians delay or abandon their intended operation, so that no force was despatched till more than nine months afterwards, and then only a feeble armament of ten triremes, without soldiers, under the mercenary leader Charidemus (Olyn. iii. § 6). That no advantage resulted is clear from the fact that Philip on his recovery attacked the dependencies of Olynthus without molestation. Still we cannot doubt that even before this, Philip's operations and the necessity of energetic measures against him were matters of anxious reflection to every honest and far-sighted Athenian. Discussions and debates were frequent on the subject, as Demosthenes expressly tells us (§ 1). But in his judgment the recognized leaders of public opinion—the senior speakers, such as Eubulus and Phocion—were unequal to the emergency, and failed to impress upon their fellow-citizens the necessity for personal service abroad, and increased and systematic taxation at home. In this crisis Demosthenes came forward himself and delivered his first Philippic, in which he proved himself the honest patriot, the far-sighted statesman, and the wise counsellor. Nevertheless his advice was not followed, nor does it even appear that any immediate effect was produced by his oration, for though delivered in the first half of B.C. 351, Charidemus with his five talents and his miserable expedition did not set sail till the following September (Olyn. iii. § 6). Doubtless, as Mr. Grote (xi. 443) observes, the young orator was openly opposed or covertly thwarted by his older rivals, who either did not see or did not feel as himself, or who might have been influenced by jealousy. Even then, as he distinctly informs us (§ 21), there were active partizans of Macedon at Athens who were sure to oppose him in his efforts to rouse his countrymen against Philip.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

B.C. 351.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνελήλυθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. ὁ τοίνυν ρήτωρ τὴν τε ἀθυμίαν πειράται παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες κεκράτηνται, καὶ εἰσηγείται πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. κελεύει δὲ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, πολιτικὴν, ἣτις οἴκοι μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρείας ἑτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐλάττω, ξένων ὄντων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμειγμένων δὲ καὶ πολιτῶν, κελεύει μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεισθαι πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιαλείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτῆσι πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἥνίκα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν, ἐπιχειρῇ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων κρατῇ, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προϋτίθετο, ὧ 40
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλεῖστοι
τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε τί μοι

κατὰ καιρὸν χρείας] This is the reading of the codex S, and Dindorf retains it. Bekker reads πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπικαίρων χρείας, which I hardly think good Greek. τὰς βοηθείας] 'its expeditions.'

ἐπιχειρῇ τοῖς πράγμασι] 'seize upon his opportunities.'

Εἰ μὲν περ] This opening is imitated in or from the Προοίμια δημογορικὰ, i. p. 1418.

τῶν εἰωθότων] According to the institutions of Solon, those persons who were above fifty years of age ought to have been called upon to speak first in the assemblies of the people (Aesch. c. Ctes. § 4). But even in the time of Aristophanes (Acharn. v. 43. Dem. De Cor. § 220) this regulation had become obsolete. Still, as a matter of good feeling and decorum, the older men would,

τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ρηθέντων ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότ'
 2 ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γινώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν 5
 πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ
 σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώ-
 μης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ
 δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βου-
 λεύεσθαι.

10

3 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάννυ φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ.
 ὁ γὰρ ἐστὶ χεῖριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου,
 τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστὶ
 τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποι- 5
 ούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι εἰ πάνθ' ἃ
 προσήκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ
 4 βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκού-
 ουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκομένοις, ἡλικίην ποτ'
 ἔχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολλὺς, 20
 ὥς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε
 τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς
 5 ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτε,

under ordinary circumstances, naturally be called upon to speak first.

ἡγοῦμαι . . . ἀναστὰς] 'I think that even though the first to rise, I may with reason be granted some indulgence.'

χεῖριστον αὐτῶν] 'what is worst in them as regards the past.' Comp. Philip. iii. § 8, τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι.

ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον] 'then you should reflect, both learning it from others, and those who personally had knowledge of it recalling it to memory, how great was the power which the Lacedaemonians once had, no long time ago, and yet how nobly and becomingly you did nothing unworthy of the city.'

τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους] In b.c. 382, the Spartan general Phaeidas, while on his way to reinforce Eudamidas, then besieging Olynthus, seized the citadel of Thebes and placed in it a Lacedaemonian garrison, whereupon Pelopidas and other exiles withdrew to Athens. In b.c. 379

they returned, and, aided by some Athenian volunteers, compelled the garrison to capitulate. War followed, in which Athens assisted the Thebans against Sparta; and when in b.c. 378 Agesilaus invaded Boeotia, he thought it prudent to retreat before the combined forces of the Thebans and Athenians, commanded by Gorgidas and Chabrias. These events and their consequences would doubtless be in the recollection of many of the hearers of Demosthenes, when twenty-seven years after (ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολλὺς) he delivered his first Philippic. Xen. Hell. v. 2. 24. Diod. xv. 20. 32. Plutarch, Pelop. c. 14.

ἵν' εἰδῆτε] Demosthenes here uses two words of kindred meaning where one would suffice; and it is observable, that the persons whom he addresses are appealed to by name (ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι) between the two almost synonymous terms. This it may be seen is a frequent practice with him.

ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσθηθε ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττο- 41
 μένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγωρῆτε, τοιούτων
 οἷον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ τότε
 ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν
 τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν 5
 6 ταραττόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρῆν. εἰ δέ τις
 ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἰεται τὸν Φίλιπ-
 πον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ
 δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει,
 ὀρθῶς μὲν οἰεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἴχομέν 10
 ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ
 Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τούτου οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ
 πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα
 καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν
 7 οἰκείως ἢ κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε 15
 τὴν γνώμην, ὥς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι
 τοσαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα
 συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποιήκειν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ
 τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα 20
 τὰ χωρία ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ'
 ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι
 8 πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι

οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις] 'neither if you take precautions is there any thing to be feared by you, nor if you are negligent does any thing go on as you would wish.'

ἐκ τοῦ μηδέν] 'from our caring nothing for what we ought.' Comp. Olyn. i. § 2: εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν φροντίζετε. So also c. Meid. § 48: οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων φροντίσας.

τό τε πλῆθος] 'both the magnitude of his present power and the loss of all its positions by the State.'

καὶ πάντα . . . κύκλῳ] 'and all that region round about our own.'

ἢ κείνῳ] On this Bekker remarks, "κείνῳ S, quae est perpetua hujus pronominis in bonis libris vel elisio vel crasis: caeteri ἐκείνῳ." But Dindorf observes, "ἡκείνῳ S, hic et alibi, ommissa constanter conrione."

ἐπιτειχίσματα] 'having so many fortresses threatening his own country, while he himself was destitute of allies.' Towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedaemonians built against Athens such an ἐπιτειχίσμα at Deceleia, about fifteen miles distant. From it the garrison made attacks upon the Athenian territory, cutting off the supplies of the city, and harassing the inhabitants in every possible way. So important were the results, that the concluding portion of the Peloponnesian war was known as ὁ Δεκελαικός, otherwise ὁ δεκαετὴς πόλεμος. Thucyd. v. 25; vii. 19.

ταῦτα . . . ἐν μέσῳ] 'he saw that all these positions are as prizes of war lying open to either party.' An idea suggested by the practice of exhibiting the prizes for which combatants contended, in the arena of the contest or near to it.

ταύτη χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα 25 καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν 42 τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὁρώσι παρ- 9 εσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή. ἂν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος 5 ὑμῶν, οὐ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφείδς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἔτοιμος πράττειν 10 ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς, ἣν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν 10

τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλών] 'some of them as a man would hold what he has taken in war and others as allies, and after making them his friends.'

καὶ προσέχειν ... ἅπαντες] These words make one hexameter.

ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης] 'if you too are willing to act upon the corresponding principle, or conviction,' i. e. if you would act upon the same principle as Philip does.

ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, οὐ δεῖ] 'and if every one of you, where he ought, and when he can render himself useful to the State, would, giving up all evasion, be ready to act; those that have money to contribute, and those that are of age to serve in the army, and in a word plainly, if you would depend on yourselves alone.'

εἰρωνεῖαν] Quintilian (Inst. vi. 11) classes *εἰρωνεῖα* amongst the oratorical "virtutes simulationis, satisfaciendi, rogandi," and defines it as that "quae diversum ei quod dicit intellectum petit." Again (viii. 6) he observes, "In eo vero genere quo contraria ostenduntur Ironia est: Illusionem vocant quae aut pronuntiatione intelligitur aut persona aut rei natura, nam si quae earum verbis dissentit, apparet diversam esse oratoris voluntatem." To the same effect Cicero (de Orat. ii. 67) observes, "Urbana etiam dissimulatio est, quum alia dicuntur ac sentiuntur, quum toto genere orationis severe ludas, quum aliter sentias ac loquar." In his *Academics* (ii. 15), quoting Socrates as a well-known example of its use, he says, "Socrates de se ipse detrahens in disputatione plus tribuebat iis

quos volebat refellere. Ita quum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est ea dissimulatione quam Graeci *εἰρωνεῖαν* vocant." So Plato also in his *Republic* (i. § 11) makes one of the speakers address Socrates thus: αὕτη ἐκέλευε ἡ εἰρωνεῖα *εἰρωνεῖα* Σωκράτους, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἤδη τε καὶ τούτοις προύλεγον, ὅτι σὺ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, εἰρωνεύσοιο δὲ καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ποιήσοις ἢ ἀποκρινοῖο, εἴ τίς τί σε ἐρώτῃ. It appears then that *εἰρωνεῖα* generally signified 'to say one thing and mean another,' to depreciate one's own claims and pretensions, and professedly to admit, while really denying or resisting those of others; in fact, to 'confess and avoid' with dissimulation and evasion. The use of the word then by Demosthenes is peculiarly appropriate, and the Athenians would at once understand by its marked contrast with *πράττειν*, that he meant to rebuke them for making loud professions and ready acknowledgments of their duty, which nevertheless were nothing but substitutes for, and evasions of, the discharge of it. It may be added that *εἰρωνεῖα* is opposed to *ἀλαζονεῖα*, and *εἰρων* 'the dissembler' to *ἀληθής* by Aristotle (*Ethics* ii. 7. 12). The latter contrast and the usage of *εἰρωνεῖα* as already explained, are both readily accounted for by the original meaning of *ὁ εἰρων*, 'the talker,' for τὸ εἰρεῖν, λέγειν ἐστίν, as Plato (*Cratyl.* § 34) tells us. Theophrastus (*Charac.* i.) defines *εἰρωνεῖα* as *προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον πράξεων καὶ λόγων*, a notion different from that illustrated above, but connected with it as 'simulatio' is with 'dissimulatio.'

ἕκαστος ποιήσῃ ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς
 11 θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατερραθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κἀκείνον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγῆναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκείνον 15 καὶ δέδιεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάντων νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρή νομίζεν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ 20
 12 ῥαθυμίαν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη. ὁράτε γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πᾶγμα, οἱ προεβλήθητε ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπου, ὃς οὐδ' αἶρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἔχων ἅ κατέστραπται 25 μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ 43 κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περι-

α. καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν] '(why then), you will both, by God's help, recover your own, and get back again what has been thrown away by neglect, and punish him.' The long sentence beginning ἂν τοῖσιν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐβλήθητε, has its apodosis in καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κομιεῖσθε, κ.τ.λ. Observe the contrast between the κατὰ in κατερραθυμημένα and the ἀνά in ἀναλήψεσθε.

καὶ μισεῖ τις] 'and there are some that both hate, and fear, and envy him, even of those who now seem to be very friendly to him.'

κατέπηχε] 'but all these are now cowed, having no place of refuge.' Suidas says, κυρίως δὲ πησσειν, ἐστὶ τὸ φεύγειν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι. It is especially applied to timid animals, crouching in their lair or form, and accordingly sometimes called πῶκες, as in Aesch. Eumen. 315, τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος πῶκα, where the word is used metaphorically of a suppliant flying to an altar as an inviolable place of sanctuary.

ἤδη] 'immediately.' Observe the emphatic position at the end of the sentence. So in Quintilian: "Nihil rerum ipsa natura voluit magnum effingi cito." Dr. Kennedy's Grammar, p. 317.

οὐδ' αἶρεσιν . . . δίδωσι] 'who does not even offer you a choice.'

οὐχ οἷος . . . ἐπὶ τούτων] 'and is unable while keeping the conquests which he has made to rest satisfied with them.'

αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται] 'he is always surrounding himself with some new acquisition, and while we delay and do nothing, he keeps hemming us in all round on every side.' The phrase περιστοιχίζεται is suggested by the practice of hunters, who fix poles or stakes (στοίχῃ) in the ground, and then stretch their nets upon them to prevent the escape of the wild beasts they are pursuing. The metaphorical usage of προσπεριβάλλεσθαι is apparently borrowed from a person wrapping a mantle or cloak round himself. Herodotus uses the simple word περιβάλλεσθαι in the sense of 'appropriating' and 'securing.' Thus vii. 190: χρύσεα ἄφατα χρήματα περιβάλλετο, and viii. 8: πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιβάλλετο. Compare also vi. 24, and ix. 39. So too Xenophon (Hell. iv. 3. 18): ἐπεμψεν ἱππέας ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὅτι δυναῖντο. Hence (vii. 1. 40) περιβολὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς is 'an attempt to gain the sovereignty.'

- 13 στοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἂν χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δι' ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ. νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἥ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περι-
 14 ιόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι [κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν]. λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίου καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; 10
 14 τέθυγκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δι', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ. τί δ', ὑμῶν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηρύξεται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι καὶ 15
 15 τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθῃ καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῶν ὑπάρξαι, ἥπερ αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπανσιν ἂν τοῖς

πότε ἂν χρὴ πράξετε:] 'when will you perform your duty? after what event?' C. R. K.

ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι] 'I indeed conceive that to freemen the greatest compulsion is the disgrace which hangs over their conduct.'

αὐτῶν . . . τι καινόν] 'to ask one another, Is there any news?' Αὐτῶν is here used as if for ἀλλήλων, as in De Cor. § 23, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν stands for πρὸς ἀλλήλους. So c. Phil. iii. § 17, στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Longinus (c. 18) quotes the passage with ἀλλήλων thus, 'Ἡ βούλεσθε ἀλλήλων πυνθάνεσθαι, —λέγεται τι καινόν; It should be noticed also, that he omits after πυνθάνεσθαι, the words κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, which Bekker, Dindorf, and other editors insert, though in brackets. The codex F omits the clause altogether, and S gives it in the margin. I cannot think it was a part of the original text, for it makes worse than useless verbiage. Comp. Act. Apost. xvii. 21.'

καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ] 'forever if any thing should happen to him.' In Latin, 'si quid humani acciderit'; an euphemism for 'should he die.' Observe too, that ἂν τι πάθῃ is here used of the *not improbable* contingency of death as the consequence of illness, whereas εἴ τι πάθῃ is

used below to express the more remote and improbable contingency of the same event, independent of any proximate or anticipated cause.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ] 'for even he has not been aggrandized so much by his own energy.' This use of παρὰ is not unlike the vulgarism, 'it was all along of his own folly.'

καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο] 'and yet do assume this: suppose any thing should happen, and fortune should befriend us (as she always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves), and bring about this for us,' viz. Philip's death. Dindorf (1855) brackets the words καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, as if of doubtful authority, and certainly the *written* text would be better without them. But their connexion with καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῶν ὑπάρξαι would be more evident in the delivery of the oration, from the rapid enunciation of the parenthetical clause, ἥπερ αἰεὶ . . . ἐπιμελούμεθα. Compare a similar statement about fortune in the opening of Olyn. II., and the use of καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο in De Cor. § 15B.

ἴσθ' ὅτι . . . ὄντες] 'be assured that if you were close at hand you might, by stepping in upon every thing in confusion, manage all as you wished.'

πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσασθε, ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν 20 Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας.

- 16 Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρα- 25 σκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὐστυνας χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, 17 δεηθεῖς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὰν 44 ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καυρὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ

οὐδὲ διδόντων] 'not even if circumstances offered you Amphipolis.' Demosthenes here perhaps alludes to Philip's surrender of Amphipolis on his accession to the throne, and the neglect of his ὁμηγερέων to avail themselves of the opportunity. Grote xi. 305.

ἀπηρτημένοι] This word is generally applied to persons in a state of suspense, but here it is so plainly contrasted with πλησίον that it can hardly mean any thing else than the direct contrary. Moreover, ἐξαρτᾶσθαι would be more properly used to denote suspension from a neighbouring object, while ἀπό implies distance and removal. Hesychius also explains it by μακρὰν ἀπόντες. Translate then thus: 'while you are far away both with your forces and your counsels;' or, as Mr. Kennedy, 'with neither forces nor counsels at hand.' Jacobs thus: 'da Ihr mit euren Rüstungen und Gedanken so weit entfernt seyd.' Comp. Thucyd. vi. 21: ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν πᾶσαν ἀπαρτήσαντες, which the Scholiast explains by ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπαρτηθέντες καὶ πολὺ τῆς οἰκείας χωρισθέντες.

ὥς ἐγνωκότων] 'feeling that you are convinced and persuaded of it.'

καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον] 'and the magnitude of the force and the nature of the supplies of money, this indeed I will endeavour to explain.' "Καὶ δὴ καὶ καὶ δὴ," says Mr. Blakesley, "are expressions which Herodotus habitually uses to introduce

that particular feature of a narrative which bears upon the purpose he has in hand." In καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι, καὶ is clearly emphatic, and as τὸν δὲ τρόπον is contrasted with ὥς μὲν οὖν, δὴ may be considered as an emphatic repetition of the foregoing δέ. So Dr. Donaldson (Cratylus, p. 268) considers "δέ, δέν, δή, δήν, to be related as μέ, μέν, μή, μήν, the third form δὴ expressing confirmation, and δέ being a pronominal word which expresses relative nearness, and therefore enters into the second personal pronoun, the second numeral, and other pronominal words conveying the same idea."

κρίνατε] 'form your judgment;' the aorist being used for a single action, which is here the result of deliberation. Κρίνετε, the present, would mean 'deliberate' or 'discriminate,' i. e. with a continued operation of the mind. So μὴ προλαμβάνετε is, 'do not go on prejudging while you are listening.'

οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχύ] 'for it is not those who cry "Quickly" and "To-day" that speak most to the purpose, but the man who may show what, and how great, and whence procured, must be the force which will be capable of holding out till we either put an end to the war by mutual negotiation, or overcome our enemies.' Observe, that διαλύσθαι is said of two disputants who settle a quarrel by mutual understanding, διαλύειν of a third party* who settles it for them.

- καὶ τήμερον εἰπόντες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ 5
 ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενημένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσαι
 18 δυνηθείημεν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ
 καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται, ἕως ἂν ἡ δια-
 λυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς. 10
 οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις
 ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω
 μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἤδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ
 δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.
- 19 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις πεντή- 15
 κοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημι δεῖν, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς
 γνώμας ἔχειν ὥς, εἴαν τι δέῃ, πλευστέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς
 ἐμβᾶσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων
 ἱππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω.
 20 ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας 20
 ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ
 Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ ὅποι βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ
 ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆναι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς
 ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πρό-

μὴ κωλύων] 'without wishing to offer opposition, if any one else has any proposal to make.' Μῆ is here used, and not οὐ, apparently because the statement is not positive but conditional, εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. It may be also noticed that ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι = 'ultra polliceri,' ἐποσχέσθαι = 'in se recipere.'

τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα] 'but the performance will immediately furnish the test of it.' The orator refers to his own performance of his promise.

εἴτ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω] 'and secondly, that we ought to have our minds made up for this, viz. that in case of need we must embark ourselves and sail in them.'

τοῖς ἡμίσεσι] Five hundred in number, if the Athenians kept up the force which they had at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Aristoph. Equit. v. 225: ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἱππῆς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ χίλιοι. See Böckh, Econ. of Athens, i. p. 352, translation.

πλοῖα ἱκανά] 'a sufficient number of small vessels, as "tenders," for provisions,' &c. The horse transports it will

be seen were triremes, probably old ships. Comp. Thucyd. ii. 56: ὁ Περικλῆς ἤγε— ἱππίας τριακοσίων ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγούς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσας.

δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτο] 'for he (Philip) ought to have this idea in his mind, that possibly you might rouse yourselves (or start) from this your excessive apathy, and set off as you once did to Euboea.' In τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ above, the pronoun refers to Philip as ἐκείνῳ does here.

εἰς Εὐβοίαν] This expedition was a frequent subject of glorification with the Athenians, and its immediate antecedents are graphically narrated in the De Chers. § 80. The causes which led to it were briefly as follows. After the battle of Leuctra (b.c. 371) Euboea fell under the supremacy of Thebes; but in b.c. 358, six or seven years before the first Philippic, the Euboeans became discontented, and a large force was sent out from Thebes to keep them quiet. Thereupon the Chalcidians and Eretrians soli-

τερὸν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλίартον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρώην 25
 21 εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὁρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι παντελῶς οὐδ' εἰ 45
 μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὡς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκατα-
 φρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἵν' ἡ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς
 —εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς· εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλ-
 λοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος— 5
 ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἡ παριδὼν ταῦτα ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδεὶς
 ὄντος ἐμποδῶν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῶ
 22 καιρῶν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ δεῖν καὶ
 παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δύνάμιν
 τινα, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, 10
 ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ μοι
 μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους

cited aid from Athens, and their request being supported by Timotheus the son of Conon, in a most animated speech, an expedition was immediately despatched which compelled the Thebans to evacuate the island under capitulation. Comp. De Cor. § 123: σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 85: ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν Θηβαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι. Diod. xvi. 7. Grote xi. 306.

Ἀλίартον] This was in B.C. 395, when the Thebans were involved in a war of their own seeking with Sparta, and which Tithraustes, the Persian satrap of Ionia, had stirred up by a judicious distribution of gold throughout Greece, in the hopes of creating a diversion which would compel the Spartans to recal Agesilaus from his successful campaign in Asia. The first act of the Spartan government was to order their troops to advance upon Haliartus in Boeotia, whereupon the Thebans applied to Athens for aid, which, notwithstanding the old enmity between the two cities and the recent subjugation of the Athenians by Sparta, was unanimously promised and immediately despatched. But before the Athenian troops arrived, a battle was fought between the Thebans and Spartans under the walls of Haliartus, in which the Spartans were defeated and Lysander their general slain. The next day Pausanias, the king of Sparta, appeared with an army of 6000 men, to the great dismay of the Thebans, but on the day after they were again cheered by the arrival of the Athenian contingent

under Thrasybulus. This so alarmed Pausanias, that he consented to a truce, and withdrew from Boeotia. Plut. vit. Lysan. c. 29. Xen. Hell. iii. 5. 6—25. Thirl. Hist. Greece iv. c. xxxv. pp. 390—396. Comp. De Cor. § 118.
 εἰς Πύλας] In B.C. 353—352. See Introduction, p. 77.

οὗτοι . . . ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο] 'and by no means, even if you should not do this, is it a matter to be lightly disregarded, should Philip, knowing that you are prepared, keep quiet through fear, or overlooking these preparations be taken off his guard.'

εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν] An emphatic collocation. 'For there are (though you may doubt it, I tell you), there are.'

ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρῶν] "Comparandum cum locutionibus λαβὴν vel μαλακόν τι ἐνδοῦ-
 ναι." Dindorf.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις] πρὸ δὲ τούτων, B. F. S.

προχειρίσασθαι] 'to get ready to hand.' μὴ μοι μυρίους] 'do not tell me of 10,000 or 20 000 mercenaries, nor of those paper forces of yours, but one which shall be at the disposal of the city.'

ἐπιστολιμαίους] Adjectives in -μαῖος are very rare, such as εὐχολιμαῖος Herod. ii. 63, ἀγριμαῖος Athen. xii. 549 F, c. 73, and ὑποβολιμαῖος. The phrase in the text is thus explained in the Anecd. Bekker, p. 253, 16: Ἐπιστολιμαίους δυνάμεις τὰς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μόνον δυνάμεις, ἔργῳ δὲ ἡ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας. Mr. Kennedy's note upon it is as follows: "Literally, 'written in letters;'

ταύτας δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἕνα
 καὶ πλείους καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὄντιν οὖν χειροτονήσητε στρα-
 τηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφήν ταύτη 15
 23 πορίσαι κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόσις,
 καὶ πόθεν τὴν τροφήν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταύτ' ἐβελήσει ποιεῖν ;
 ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς. ξένους
 μὲν λέγω—καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε ὁ πόλλάκις ὑμᾶς
 ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ 20
 τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν αἰρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πρᾶτ-
 τειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ
 24 πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνηται. λέγω
 δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τούτων δὲ Ἀθηναί-
 οὺς φημὶ δεῖν εἶναι πεντὰκοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν 25
 ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχων δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους,
 μὴ μακρὸν τούτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχων, ἐκ

that is, promised to the generals or allies, but never sent." Jacobs: 'Eine Macht die auf dem Blatte steht.' Comp. Shakespeare, Henry IV. Part II. Act I.,

"We fortify in paper and in figures,
 Using the names of men instead of
 men."

A French first-class journal (La Presse, October 30, 1855) furnishes a modern, though somewhat incredible illustration. It states that "in the returns of the Russian army there had always figured the equipment, pay, munitions, and supplies for 18,000 men, a so-called division of reserve, which ought to have consisted of companies from each regiment serving in the great Caucasus. Its alleged duties were the defence and occupation of the mountains, forts, and outposts. When the campaign of 1854 was ordered by the Czar Nicholas, General Mouravieff, seeing this contingent of 18,000 men figure in the army-list, took it into his head to ascertain their state, and after an active inspection he came to the conclusion that the forts had never been built, and that the men existed only on paper. The division was imaginary, the forts castles in the air, and had been so for years."

ἐβελήσει ποιεῖν] This is the reading of the codex S, which Dindorf observes, "Scribendum ἐβελήσει (sc. ἡ δύ-

ναμις) ex S." The common reading is ἐβελήσετε, which is scarcely admissible.

ξένους μὲν λέγω] 'mercenaries, I do indeed propose.' Λέγω δὴ below is clearly used by way of repetition and additional emphasis. See note 4, p. 84. Rüdiger observes: "Partic. δὴ utuntur Graeci ad rem aliquam quae jam tractata est repetendam et amplificandam."

πάντ' ἐλάττω] 'thinking all measures are inadequate to the occasion,' &c. A case of practical εἰρωνεία as explained § 9. τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες] 'having performed and provided a little, add to it, if it prove too little.'

ἐξ ἧς ἂν . . . ἡλικίας] 'from whatever (class of) age you may think right.' This would seem to indicate that the Athenians between eighteen and sixty were classified for military service according to their respective ages. Harpocration (s. v. Ἐπώνυμοι) illustrates the matter thus: διττοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπώνυμοι, οἱ μὲν δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ φυλαὶ, ἕτεροι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ἡλικίαι προσαγορεύονται τῶν πολιτῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, ἀπὸ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτων μέχρις ἐξήκοντα. Also, s. v. Στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπώνυμοις, he quotes Aristotle de Repub. Athen. as follows: χρῶνται τοῖς ἐπώνυμοις καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ ὅταν ἐκπέμπωσιν, ἡλικίαν προγράφουσιν, ἀπὸ τίνος ἔρχοντο ἐπώνυμον μέχρι τίνος δεῖ στρατεῦσθαι.

- διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. 46
καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντή-
κοντα Ἀθηναίους τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς, τὸν
25 αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἱππαγωγοὺς τούτοις.
εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γὰρ, 5
ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως
ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. πόθεν δὲ τούτοις ἡ τροφή
γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδὴν διότι
τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας τοὺς
στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω. 10
- 26 Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ
ἐνὶ νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῃ παραταξο-
μένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ
πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτὴν,
οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή, οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν 15
27 εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα
κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν
Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πόλυστρατος ἡγείτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης
καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύ-
εσθαι· καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττό- 20
μενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ'
28 ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρα-
τεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ

ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς] That is, a quarter of the whole.

ταχείας τριήρεις] These swift triremes were ships of war with three tiers or ranks of oars. The transports for the conveyance of troops and stores were slower, and generally worked by sails rather than oars.

ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν] The possession of Amphipolis and Pagasae enabled Philip to raise and keep a fleet.

παραταξομένην] 'to meet him in battle array.' On the other hand, ληστεύειν is to carry on an irregular guerilla warfare: 'Populabundi magis quam justo more belli.'

ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν] The war which, as already related, was stirred up by the gold of the Persian Tithraustes, and caused the recall of Agesilaus from his career of conquest in Asia, was for some

time concentrated about Corinth, and continued eight years. Hence it was often described as *δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ* or *δ' Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος*, and the allies who then united against Sparta (B.C. 395), were the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Thebans. Agesilaus himself commanded for the Spartans, and Iphicrates gained the greatest distinction by defeating a Lacedaemonian mora (about 600 men) of heavy infantry, with the light armed *πελτασταί*, which he organized and trained. Such an achievement was so unusual that it was considered a most important victory at the time, and retained its celebrity for years afterwards. Diod. xiv. 92. Xen. Hell. iv. c. 5. Thirlwall's Greece iv. 422. Comp. also Aristoph. Plut. 173: *τὸ δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ ξενικὸν οὐχ οὗτος (Πλούτος) τρέφει*;

μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν
 τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μάλ- 25
 λον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὃ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκότως 47
 29 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω ;
 τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰκείους ὥσπερ
 ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ 5
 νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ
 ἔροισι τις ὑμᾶς, εἰρήνην ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ; μὰ
 Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, εἴποιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν.
 30 οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ
 στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο ; τί οὖν 10
 οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν ; πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητε ἐπὶ
 τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ
 τῶν ἱεροποιῶν ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους,

παρακύψαντα] This verb literally means to take a side view or peep. Translate: 'and after glancing at the war of the state, they are off in their ships to Artabazus, and any other quarter in preference.' Diodorus (xvi. 22) furnishes a notable illustration of this practice. According to this author, Chares was (n.c. 356) entrusted by the Athenians with the command of a fleet destined to act against their revolted allies in 'The Social War.' But it so happened that Artabazus, the Satrap of the country south of the Sea of Marmara, was then at war with his sovereign, the King of Persia, and wishing to gain the co-operation of Chares, he made an offer which that mercenary leader, though actually in the service of Athens, thought it expedient to accept upon his own responsibility. Accordingly, he joined his forces to those of Artabazus, and their combined army soon defeated the king's troops under Tithraustes. Naturally enough the Athenians were at first much displeased, but Artabazus paid Chares and his troops so well for the assistance, that they soon became somewhat pacified, though the unprovoked aggression stimulated the King of Persia to prepare for hostilities against them, the fear of which induced them to make peace with their allies, B.C. 355. Grote xi. 324.

ἐπόπτας . . . παρακαταστήσαντας] 'and

by attaching soldiers from home as inspectors of the conduct of the generals.' On ἐπόπτης Sauppe observes, "Vocabulum ab auctoribus orationis pedestris non solum dici. Aeschylus Prom. 299: καὶ σὺ δὴ πόρων ἐμῶν ἦκεις ἐπόπτης; Infra p. 53, 21, Demosthenes dicit μάρτυρας."

οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δέ] 'and have you not gone on electing during the whole of the war?'

δέκα ταξιάρχους] There were elected by χειροτονία every year at Athens ten generals or στρατηγοί, one for each tribe, ten brigadiers (one for each tribe) called ταξίάρχου, i.e. commanders of τάξεις, or divisions of Hoplites (who in war commanded the infantry of their respective tribes), two generals of cavalry, ἵππαρχοι, and ten officers of cavalry, one for each tribe, called φύλαρχοι. At Marathon all the ten Strategi were present, and the command devolved upon each of them in turn, till they agreed to transfer it permanently to Miltiades as commander-in-chief. In the best times of Athens three only were sent out, one of them (τρίτος αὐτός) being considered as commander-in-chief, though his colleagues had an equal voice in a council of war. In the time of Demosthenes, it seems that it was not unusual to send out only one, the rest being kept at home to conduct the processions, &c. Dict. of Antiq., s. vv.

τῶν ἱεροποιῶν] Ten of these sacrificers

- εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς
 31 φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν, ὃ ἄνδρες 15
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν
 ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἢ ἥν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ
 δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχον
 δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζο-
 μένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος 20
 ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι
 τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ.
 32 Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν

were appointed every year at Athens, and conducted all the usual sacrifices, as well as those of the quinquennial festivals, with the exception of the Panathenaea. Dict. of Antiq., s. v.

τοὺς πηλίνους] That is ἀνδριάντας. Translate: 'for just as those who model the clay figures (for exhibition and sale in the streets), so do you elect your infantry and cavalry officers for the forum,' i. e. to figure in the processions in and through it. The figures in question, whether made as caricatures or otherwise, appear to have been painted with bright staring colours for show, though in reality utterly worthless, and not made of marble but clay, baked perhaps like terra-cotta. Comp. Lucian, Lexiphanes, c. 22, p. 106: ἐλελήθειεσαν τὸν, τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἐοικῶς, κεχρωσμένοις μὲν τῇ μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ' ἐνδοθεν πῆλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτός δν.

οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν] 'for should there not have been brigadiers from yourselves, generals of cavalry from yourselves, commanders of your own country, that the forces might really have been at the disposal of the state?' For this use of ἵνα and the corresponding one of ὅπως and ὥς, with an indicative, see Matthiae, vol. ii. § 315, Obs. 6. Compare the well-known line of the Oedipus Rex: ἵν' ἦν τυφλός τε καὶ μὴδὲν κλύων.

ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον] To assist at some religious ceremony, there being many Athenians resident in the island. This is the received explanation, and preferable I think to Mr. Grote's (iv. 455), who observes, "It seems as if εἰς Λῆμνον πλεῖν had come to be a proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way and

evading the performance of duty: this seems to be the sense of Demosthenes Phil. i. § 31." But no authority is quoted for any such proverbial expression except in the case of defendants with a bad case before a court of justice. For the settlers or κληροῦχοι in Lemnos still remained citizens of Athens (Grote iv. 376), and it appears that absence there, if not admitted, was at any rate often pleaded as an excuse for delay or non-appearance in legal proceedings. Thus Isaeus (De Philoc. Hered. § 16. Orat. vi.) observes: ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν Λημνίαν (δδόν or σκήψιν) σκηψάμενοι, ταύτην ἀναβολὴν ἐποιήσαντο. So Hesychius explains the proverb, Ἰμβριος καὶ Λήμνιος, by οἱ τὰς διαίτας ἀποφεύγοντες ἐσκήπτοντο (pretended or pleaded) ἐν Λήμνῳ ἢ ἐν Ἰμβρῳ εἶναι. From Pollux (viii. 81) we also learn that a Σκυρία δίκη was with the comedians a synonyme for a δίκη τραχεία, one which compelled a litigant to leave the country,—οἱ γὰρ φυγοδικοῦντες ἐσκήπτοντο (causabantur) εἰς Σκυρον ἢ εἰς Λῆμνον ἀποδημεῖν, as an Englishman for a similar reason might retire to Boulogne. Suidas gives the same explanation of Σκυρία δίκη (not Λημνία as Mr. Grote has it): οἱ σκηπτόμενοι ἐν ταῖς δίκαις ἔφασκον εἰς Σκυρον ἀποδημεῖν. The proverb then was apparently confined to litigants with bad cases.

Μενέλαον] Of this general it is not certain that mention is made elsewhere. Harpocration (s. v.) indeed, says he was ἀδελφὸς Φιλίππου δημοπάτριος, and Justin (vii. 4) relates that Amyntas had by Cygnaea three sons, Archelaus, Aridaeus and Menelaus. But it hardly seems probable that the Athenians would have employed a half-brother of Philip against him.

χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε
 ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τοῖνυν, ἔστι 25
 μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα
 ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις
 τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναὺν μυαῖ τοῦ 48
 μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίους, τῶσαυθ' ἕτερα,
 ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμᾶς σιτηρέσιον
 λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα
 δραχμᾶς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα τάλαντα. 5
 33 εἰ δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον τοῖς
 στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 οἶδα σαφῶς, ὅτι τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ
 αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. 10
 ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ
 ταυθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, ἂ
 παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

περαίνω] 'this then I now proceed to show.' Dindorf reads *περανῶ*, but the codex S has *περαίνω*, which, like *εἶμι* = 'ibo,' has here at least a virtually future signification.

χρήματα τοῖνυν] 'as for the funds then, the (cost of) maintenance, I mean only the ration-money for this force, is ninety talents and a trifle over.'

τοσαυθ' ἕτερα] 'a second sum of the same amount,' i. e. as much again, making ninety-two in all.

A talent	=	60 minae
A mina	=	100 drachmae
A drachma	=	6 oboli.

From existing coins it appears that the Attic drachma contained 65·4 grains of pure silver; and as an English shilling contains 80·7, it follows that the drachma, estimated by its weight in silver, is equal to 9·72 pence. Upon this principle then the several denominations may be represented in English as follows:

	£	s.	d.
An obolus	=	0	0 1·625
A drachma	=	0	0 9½ nearly
A mina	=	4	1 3
A talent	=	243	15 0

Accordingly, the ninety-two talents would be equal in weight of silver to 22,425*l*. But it is manifestly impossible to give an accurate representation of Attic coins and amounts in English equivalents without a very careful consideration of statistical facts and data which we cannot satisfactorily ascertain. (Translator's Preface to Böckh's *Polit. Econ.* p. xvii.) In the speech *Adv. Boeot.* § 22 and § 59, we learn that the plaintiff had been supported and educated by the interest of a talent, i. e. about eight minae a year, and excluding house rent, the expenses of Demosthenes, his mother and sister were seven minae a year (c. *Aphob.* i. § 42). We may then, with some probability, assume that at Athens (B.C. 350) a mina was equal in value to at least 10*l*. and a talent to at least 600*l*. of English money, A.D. 1850.

μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν] 'a small provision.' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν] 'he has not concluded rightly.'

ἐγὼ συμπλέων . . . οὕτως ἔχῃ] This clause is bracketed as if of doubtful authority in the last edition of Dindorf, Leipzig, 1855. But, as Reiske shows, it is quoted by Hermogenes (p. 347) and by Aristides de D. C. (p. 252).

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

- 34 Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα 15
εὐρεῖν, ταύτ' ἐστίν. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας,
ὦ ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς
ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῇτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.
- 35 Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ 20
ὄλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμη-
θεῖητε, καὶ λογίσαισθε ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις
τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος,
καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ ἡνίκ' 25

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ] 'An explanation of the ways and means.' This financial statement, previously drawn up in writing, was read by the γραμματεὺς, i.e. the clerk or secretary of the assembly. As Mr. Grote observes (xi. 437), "The scheme must have been more or less complicated in its details; not a simple proposition for an εἰσφορά or property tax, which would have been announced in a sentence of the orator's speech."

Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς] The remaining part of the oration beginning with these words was, according to Dionysius Halicarn. (ad Amm. i. § 10), spoken at a different time from the rest. Referring to Themistocles as an Archon at Athens he says, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἔκτην (rather πεμπτὴν) τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλε Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων, ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχή. "Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν ταύτ' ἐστίν." Now even if the words ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς were the beginning of another speech, it would not be the sixth but the fifth Philippic, unless indeed some intermediate oration has been lost. And besides this, the first part would close very abruptly if it terminated with ἡδὴ λέξω, or indeed with the reading of the πόρον ἀποδείξεις. Nor can we suppose that Demosthenes would commence a speech with such an opening as that in question, nor does the remainder after πόρον ἀποδείξεις, as given in the text, form an irrelevant conclusion to what precedes. Moreover, it does not in any way treat περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν

ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων. We may conclude, then, that the 'fourth Philippic' as edited forms only one speech, and that Dionysius either made a gross blunder on the subject, or alluded to some oration not now extant, "On the Protection of the Islanders and Cities of the Hellespont," the opening of which, however, he must have misconceived. Dobree remarks sensibly enough, "Non sine specie suspicatur Augerus corruptum esse Dionysium (vide an Epitome sit illud opusculum Dionysii). Ista certe περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων orationi de Halonneso (vide pp. 80, 86) multo melius conveniunt quam huic epilogo. Sed facile potuit Dionysius, dum πίνακας antiquos exscribebat, casu ordinem mutare." This remark applies also to the order which he assigns to the Olynthiacs.

ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε] 'when you vote upon the propositions (of the different speakers).' The votes were given by holding up the hands; hence the word for voting, χειροτονία.

τὸν τόπον] 'the position of the country.'

τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων] 'anticipates us in most of his operations.'

τοὺς ἐτησίαις] "The obstinacy and violence of the Etesian winds, in July and August, are well known to those who have had to struggle with them in the Aegean during that season," (Leake on Northern Greece, iv. 42, p. 426.) "They blow from the N.W., and would therefore impede a fleet sailing from Athens

- 36 ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφικέσθαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταυτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν, ὑστεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει 49 δ' ὑμῖν χειραδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει, Αἰῶν καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιαθῶ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἡ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέ- 5 σθαι ῥάδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων ὁτόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.
- 37 Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, πὰρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ὑφ' ὑμῶν βουλευέσεται. 10 ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταυτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν 15 μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλεόν
- 38 οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. 20 ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς ; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμ-

to Macedonia. The Turkish name for the Etesian wind is 'Meltem.' " (Walpole's Turkey, ii. p. 287, quoted by Mr. Blakesley, Herod. ii. p. 144.)

βοηθείαις] 'by occasional levies.' Mr. Grote would perhaps translate it 'out-marches.'

τὴν δ' ὥραν . . . ῥαδίως] After much consideration and some doubt I retain the MS. reading of ἔσται, understanding ἡ δύναμις as the subject. Demosthenes recommends the Athenians to keep a force in winter quarters at Lemnos, and Thasus and Scyathus; and then he says, 'during the season of the year in which it is easy to put ashore and there is no danger from the winds, it will easily take up its station (ἔσται) off the country itself (i. e. of Macedonia) and close by the entrances of its ports.' Dindorf, as Wolf before him, has suggested εἴσεσθε instead of ἔσται.

But the Athenians might surely learn the best season for naval operations off the coasts of Thrace and Macedon without having their forces actually stationed at the islands in question. On the other hand, if their forces were stationed there in winter, they would easily and quickly sail to the shores of the neighbouring continent in the spring.

παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν] 'as occasion may arise.'

ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα] In the ψήφισμα which he was about to propose.

πορισταὶ] 'providing funds yourselves, not leaving it to your generals to acquire them by plunder.'

παύσεσθ' . . . οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες] 'you will cease to be constantly deliberating about the same things, and getting not a bit the more forward.'

μάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν.
 39 ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω
 γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Ἀἴμνον
 καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους 25
 ᾤχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύ-
 θητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη 50
 καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ'
 οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν
 40 προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δήποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν 5
 Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἂν τε
 δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τε ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπιμελού-
 μενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαύτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα
 τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ τοσαύτην παρα-
 σκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' 10
 ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῶν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς

ἄγων καὶ φέρων] 'plundering.' But the phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν generally means 'to plunder by land,' as in ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τὰ σά (Herod. i. 88), the former verb being applied to living creatures that are led away, and φέρειν to the dead stock which is carried off. Rüdiger observes, "Latinorum est rapere et trahi, Liv. xxi. 13." But the passage in question does not prove the exact correspondence of the phrases. For Livy wrote: "Sed vel haec patienda censeo, potiusquam rapi trahique ante ora vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis."

οὐχ ὥσπερ . . . ᾤχετ' ἔχων] 'he will not do as in past time, when falling upon Lemnos and Imbrus he carried off your citizens captive.'

Γεραιστῷ] A promontory and town in the south of Euboea. It was a convenient point for vessels to touch at on their way from Asia Minor to Attica.

τὴν ἱερὰν . . . τριήρη] Called the Paralus, used for public purposes, i. e., on religious missions, or to carry despatches. In the time of Demosthenes there were two state vessels of this kind, the other being called the Salaminia. From the religious purposes to which they were frequently and regularly applied, they were also called Delia and Theoris.

οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε] Vulgo ἡδύνασθε, but the codices A, S, O have δύνασθε.

Translate, 'While you are neither able to hinder these things, nor to muster at the times which you may have appointed.'

τὴν . . . τῶν Παναθηναίων] There were two different festivals of this name, the lesser celebrated once a year, and mostly called Παναθήναια without any epithet, the greater distinguished as μεγάλα, holden every fourth year. They were celebrated in honour of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, and commemorated the union of all the Attic tribes and townships under one government. Hence the name Panathenaea. Dict. of Ant., s. v.

τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων] The Attic Dionysia or festivals in honour of Dionysus were four in number, the Διονύσια κατ' ἀγροῦς, the Lenaea, the Ἀνθεστήρια, and the Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει or μεγάλα, of which the last were the principal, in fact the Διονύσια κατ' ἐξοχήν. Dict. of Antiq., s. v.

ἂν τε δεινῶ] 'whether qualified or inexperienced persons are chosen.' Ἀν ἰδιώτης is often contrasted as a mere lay or unprofessional man with a regular professor of any art or science. Comp. Act. Apost. iv. 13: ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται. There are also numerous examples of this use of ἰδιώτης in classical writers, as in Thucyd. ii. 68: καὶ ἱατροὺς καὶ ἰδιώτας.

τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην] Introduction, p. 76.

- 41 Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασὰς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα
 μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ
 πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ
 παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέ- 15
 ταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ
 τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα
 42 ἀόριστα ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηρ-
 ἀρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα
 καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 20

τίς χορηγός] The choragia was one of the λειτουργίαι, or public burdens, at Athens, discharged from year to year by some wealthy individual who acted as the representative of the State, and in behalf of the tribe whose turn it was to provide a person to fill the office, which was one of considerable expense. This choragus, as he was called, had to provide, maintain, and teach the different choruses who acted in the tragic, comic, or satiric dramas represented at the Great Dionysia, and also to do the same for the lyric choruses of men and boys, the flute-players, cyprian dancers, and others, when they performed on solemn occasions. Dict. of Antiq., s. v.

γυμνασιάρχος τῆς φυλῆς] His office, too, was one of the regular λειτουργίαι, and attended with much expense. He had to maintain and pay the persons who were preparing themselves for the athletic games and contests in the public festivals, and to supply them with their wants. As the name denotes, he was also invested with a sort of jurisdiction over the gymnasia or public places of exercise and those who resorted to them. Another of his duties was to conduct some of the solemn games at certain festivals, especially the λαμπαδῆφορία, or torch race, for which he selected the most distinguished youths of the gymnasia. The γυμνασιάρχοι were appointed by and for their respective tribes. Dict. of Antiq., s. v.

πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ] 'when, and from whom, and what he has to receive, and what to do.'

οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον] 'nothing in these matters is neglected, from being unascertained or undefined.'

τριηράρχους] The trierarchy was another of the extraordinary war charges or Liturgies at Athens, the object of which

was to provide for the maintenance, equipment, and manning of the ships of war belonging to the State. In ancient times one person bore the whole of these charges for a year; afterwards, and certainly in the Peloponnesian war, it was customary for two persons to share it, who were then called συντρίηραρχοι. Subsequently to B.C. 358, the trierarchy was managed somewhat in the same way as the property taxes, namely, by classes or boards called συμμορίαι. See the Oration Περί τῶν συμμοριῶν, and Dict. of Antiq., s. v.

ἀντιδόσεις] Any citizen of Athens who was nominated to perform a λειτουργία, or burdensome office on behalf of the State, and who thought that another citizen more wealthy than himself had been unfairly spared, might call upon the latter to undertake the office in his stead, or submit to a complete interchange (ἀντίδοσις) of property. But the party to whom a tender was made might of course raise objections to the challenge in various ways, and particular courts were open at stated times for their determination by the magistrates, who had cognizance of the subject-matter. If these objections were overruled, the objector was bound to relieve the person who made the tender from the office imposed upon him, or to accept the exchange, receiving the other's property, and transferring his own with all the liabilities and immunities of each. Such an operation was of course equitable enough in principle, but in the case of a trierarchy and during war it was most prejudicial to the State, by reason of the inevitable delays which it caused when expedition was necessary for success. Dict. Antiq., s. v.

ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν ὧσιν ταῦτα μέλ-
 43 λεται, προαπόλωλεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ
 πράττειν χρόνον· εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ
 δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βρα- 25
 δυτήτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἃς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις
 οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἶαί τε οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ'
 αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὑβρεως 51
 ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἥδη τοιαύτας ἐπι-
 στολάς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ.

44 Τούτων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ 5
 μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλὰ, ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ
 ἡδέα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὅσα ἂν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ,
 ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς
 ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν· εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἥ μὴ
 προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίνεται, αἰσχρὸν ἐστι φενακί- 10
 ζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους ἂν ἡ δυσχερῆ
 45 πάντων ὑστερίζειν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι

τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας] 'the freedmen who live apart from their old masters.' In the speech adv. Macart. § 22, and in that c. Everg. et Mnes. (§ 43), χωρὶς οἰκεῖν is applied to a son keeping a separate establishment from his father. In § 91 of the latter speech it is used, as it seems to be here, of a liberated slave: ἀφείτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ χωρὶς ᾧ καὶ ἄνδρα ἔσχεν. See the note of Valesius on the phrase in Harpocration, who adopts the same explanation. εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν] 'then again to put (citizens) themselves on board instead.' Such must be the meaning of the text unless we change εἴτ' αὐτοὺς into εἴθ' αὐτοὺς, and translate it, 'to put yourselves on board instead.' The common reading certainly seems questionable, and Dindorf (ed. 1855) brackets ἀντεμβιβάζειν, thus making the construction εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐμβαίνειν. But the word is found in all the MSS., and therefore with Bekker I retain it. If any good MS. omitted it, I should with Dindorf be disposed to reject it.

μέλλεται] So the codex S. Vulgo μέλλετε. Schäfer compares Xen. Anab. iii. 1. 47: ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαινέοιτο τὰ δέοντα.

προαπόλωλεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν] 'the objects for which we may be setting out are lost in the meanwhile.' The codex S has τὸ ἐφ' ᾧ, which Dindorf adopts.

τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτήτα] 'our delays and evasions.' Dobree compares Thucyd. i. 142: τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, and Liv. xxxi. 48: "non expectare belli tempora, moras et dilationes impo-
 ratorum."

ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν] 'in the crisis of our emergencies.'

ἀληθῆ μὲν] 'the greater part is unhappily (ὥς οὐκ ἔδει) true.'

καὶ τὰ πράγματα] 'would pass over as matters of fact also.'

εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων] 'but if what is agreeable in speech, when it is out of place . . .'

ὑστερίζειν] Dindorf reads ὑστερεῖν from the codex S, "quod habet etiam Stobaeus."

μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἢν' ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράττῃται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζονται
 46 διώκειν. ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων 20* πρόσδοτον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖτε Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεῖς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, καὶν ἐτέρωσε πατάξῃ τις, ἐκείσ' εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλ- 25

οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν] 'not to follow in the wake of events.'

τοὺς βουλευομένους] 'so should men of counsel (statesmen) guide events.' The common reading is εἰς βουλευομένους, but the codex S omits εἰς.

οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε] 'and yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere.' Such is, I conceive, the meaning of this phrase, supposing the reading to be correct, and I think it is. For an antithesis is required to τούτων μὲν οὐδενὶ κέχρησθε, which would not be so well supplied by continuing the sentence (as Dindorf does) with οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε ὥσπερ . . . Φιλίππῳ. Moreover, though the codex S has ἀπολείπετε ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι . . . πολεμεῖν, which, with οὐδὲν instead of οὐδενός, Dindorf adopts in the sense of 'nihil reliquum facitis quin ut barbari luctantur, cum Philippo bellum geratis,' still it must be remembered that all the MSS. read οὐδενός, not οὐδέν. Nor do I think that οὐδὲν ἀπολείπετε πολεμεῖν (if indeed it be good Greek) would so well express the meaning given to it as οὐδὲν ἐλλείπετε πολεμοῦντες. Comp. οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν, De Cor. § 114. On the other hand (with more or less approximation in each case to the sense of οὐδενός ἀπολείπεσθαι here), we find (c. Aphob. i. § 2) ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν πραγμάτων, 'to miss,' i. e. not to catch or lay hold of the facts of a case; or, as Reiske translates it, 'rerum veritatem haud valere perspicere.' So also (adv. Macart. § 20), ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐδόκουν οἱ πόρρω καθήμενοι, = 'videbantur non posse

oculis consequi,' and (Aesch. c. Tim. § 104) ἀπολειφθεὶς τῆς δοκιμασίας, 'having been absent from the scrutiny:' (c. Ctes. § 149), ἀπολείπεσθαι δωροδοκίας, 'to have nothing to do with bribery.' Comp. also, οὐδεμιᾶς στρατείας ἀπελείφθη, and οὐδενὸς κινδύνου ἀπελιπόμην, in Lysias, pro Polys. § § 25. 27. So too Xenophon, Anab. vi. 3. 26, has ἐδόκει ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπολιπέσθαι ὑμῶν. Reiske, however (Index, s. v.), interprets the phrase thus: "οὐδενός ἀπολείπεσθε, a nemine vincimini sapientia, sagacitate;" a sense which, without some addition, it seems insufficient to bear. Dobree to some extent agrees with myself. He observes: "οὐδενός δ' ἀπολείπεσθε delet I. Kaye, recte, ut opinor. Nunc puto, si servanda sint, sensum esse, 'You are never in time, I allow, but you are busy enough notwithstanding.' Vel, si mavis, 'You are no where to do any good, yet you do take care to be every where.' Sed lectio incerta est. An adjuvante optimo codice S legendum, οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε, nil intentatum relinquitis, nil reliqui, facitis?" I believe, myself, that 'You take care to be every where, or in every thing,' is the real meaning. Or οὐδενός might like οὐδενὶ refer to τούτων,—'You have never used any of your resources effectually, though you are always using them somehow.' But this sense is not so satisfactory.

τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται] 'hangs upon or feels for the blow.' So τὰ τῆς λιμνῆς ἐχόμενα, 'the parts close upon the lake.' προβάλλεσθαι δέ] 'but to guard or

- 47 λεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει· καὶ
 ὑμεῖς ἂν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοηθεῖν
 ψηφίζεσθε, εἰ ἂν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖσε, εἰ ἂν ἄλλοθί που, συμ- 52
 παραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου,
 βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου,
 οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾶτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἂν ἡ
 γεγεννημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα δ' ἴσως 5
 πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤκει τὴν ἀκμὴν, ὥστ'
 48 οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυρόμενος
 τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ
 ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται καὶ προεἰλήφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε 10
 καὶ μηδὲν ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ,
 ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστα
 ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν αἰεὶ τι καὶ
 τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιο ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ
 49 μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς 15
 ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμείται μήτε λογίζεται, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου γεγεννημένην περὶ
 τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν οὖσαν ἤδη
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι
 γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει. εἴτα τοῦτ' 20

look in the face, neither has he the knowledge nor the will.' Προβάλλεσθαι is to hold out the hands before the body, in order to ward off an expected blow. Hence ἐν προβολῇ εἶναι, 'to stand on one's guard.' Compare Homer, *Iliad* v. 879: ταύτην δ' οὐτ' ἐπεὶ προτιβάλλεαι οὔτε τι ἔργῳ, and Xen. *Cyrop.* ii. 3. 10: ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἡπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων, ὃ τι οἰοίμην πληγῆσεσθαι.

συμπαραθεῖτε] 'you run up and down close after him.' Mr. Kennedy: 'you run after his' heels up and down.' Compare Arrian (v. c. 10), where, describing the parallel movements of Alexander and Porus on the opposite banks of the Hydaspes (Jelum), he says: ὁ Πῶρός τε ἀντιπαρῆει ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλεφάντας, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἔθος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη.

οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων] 'nor anticipating events do you foresee any thing

till you hear of its having happened or happening.' We have here some tautology, but it makes the sense more impressive, by causing the hearers to dwell upon it.

ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤκει] The verb is used impersonally here, like 'ventum est' in Latin: 'Now we have come to the actual crisis.'

ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται] 'in possession of his conquests and previous seizures.'

ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην] 'whereby we should as a nation have been branded with shame and cowardice, and the utmost disgrace in every way.'

εἴπερ μή] 'unless you have given up altogether.'

τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν] 'and that the final object now is, that we may escape being injured by Philip.'

εἴτα τοῦτ'] 'shall we then wait for this, and if you keep sending out empty

ἀναμενουμέν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεινὸς
 ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀπαστείλῃτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ
 50 ἔμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ ἴμερι γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν
 οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου
 πλευσόμεθα; ποῖ οὖν προσορμιούμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρή- 25
 σει τὰ σαθρὰ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων
 αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθα 53
 οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους
 τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν
 51 δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως
 συναποσταλῇ, κἂν μὴ πᾶσα παρῇ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν 5
 εὖμενές καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται. ὅποι δ' ἂν
 στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος
 ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψῃτε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ'
 οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ
 52 δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν 10
 ἓνα ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναι ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πράξαι πάνθ' ὅσα
 βούλεσθε ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα
 αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τού-
 των ἀπόλωλεν ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων
 ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς 15

men-of-war, and hopes from this or that person, think you-all is well?'

ποῖ οὖν προσορμιούμεθα;] 'where then shall we make a landing?'

τὰ σαθρά] 'the weak points of his position.' Tacit. Hist. ii. 77: "Aperiet et recludet contacta et tumescentia victicium partium vulnera bellum ipsum."

οὐδέποτε] 'never in any case shall we get any thing that we require done.' Observe the strong assertion of the repeated negatives.

καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν] 'both do the gods favour us and Fortune lends us her aid in the struggle.' Mr. Kennedy makes the adjective εὖμενές serve for the predicate of τὸ τῶν θεῶν 'Methinks where a portion of our citizens though not all, are commissioned with the rest, there Heaven blesses, and Fortune aids in the struggle.' But I should rather make εὖμενές refer to τῆς τύχης as well as τῶν θεῶν, and translate: 'The good-will of the gods and of Fortune too aids us in

the struggle.'

τῷ δέει] 'through fear of such expeditions.' An accusative here depends upon a substantive. So Caesar (B. G. i. 5) has "domum reditionis spe sublata;" and Cicero de Divin. (i. 32), "reditum ac domum itionem." Compare also F. L. § 92: τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς Θεβαίους, and Arrian vii. 9: Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἔρχον-τας, οὓς πάλοι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει.

ὑποσχέσθαι] 'to make promises, however, and assertions, and to accuse this person and that person, is possible.' By ὑποσχέσθαι allusion is made to Chares, whose unperformed promises became proverbial. He is further indicated by ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, in which capacity he offered his services to Pharnabazus. Sauppe quotes Zenobius ii. 13: αἱ Χάρητος ὑποσχέσεις ἐπὶ τῶν προχείρων ἐπαγγελλομένων πολλά.

οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν . . . ὧσιν] 'and there are here persons who will lie to you without any difficulty about his actions elsewhere.'

ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε ὃ τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρή προσδοκᾶν ;

- 53 Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται ; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας 20 τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικάστὰς οἴκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν,
- 54 ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης, ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ 25 τρὶς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι 54 κριθέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις.
- 55 ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιιόντες, μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, 5 οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάτ-

In the time of Demosthenes every Athenian general retained some orator to speak for him at home.

δικαστὰς οἴκαδ'] 'judges on their return home in the courts of inquiry.' The generals on their return home, after the termination of their command, had to undergo an *εἵθυνα*, or scrutiny of their conduct. In fact, they were *ὑπεύθυνοι*, like all other officers of the republic, who had to submit to an audit or inquiry into their conduct at the expiration of their term of office. Compare Acosta, *Compendio Historico del Descubrimiento de la Nueva Granada*, iv. p. 62: "La residencia (*εἵθυνα*) que se tomaba á los empleados á la terminacion de sus periodos de mando segun las leyes españolas, es una institution tan antiqua en India como sabia, y habria sido la unica responsabilidad eficaz, para ellos, si muchas veces no se hubiera eludido convirtiendola en asunto de pura formalidad."

τὸν ἀνδραποδιστῶν] 'but they prefer the death of kidnappers and burglars to that which becomes them.'

ἡμῶν δέ] The common reading is *ὑμῶν*, but the codex S has *ἡμῶν*, which is, I think, required by *ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα* at the end of the sentence.

μεθα at the end of the sentence.

πολιτείας διασπᾶν] 'is attempting the dissolution of republics.'

ὡς βασιλέα] 'to the king of Persia.'

This use of *ὡς* for *εἰς* or *πρὸς* is confined to the accusative of persons. Homer (*Odys.* xvii. v. 218) uses it thus: "Ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὅμοιον ἔχει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὅμοιον." With regard to *βασιλεύς*, it is well known that it is generally used by Greek authors of a certain period, and without the article, to denote *κατ' ἐξοχήν* 'the king of Persia.' Mr. Blakesley (*Herod.* ix. 110) observes, "that it was commonly used just as if it were a proper name." But *a priori*, and from the analogy of other languages, we might have expected the article with the title. Thus: "In Spanish America, when *El Almirante* is pronounced without the addition of a name, that of Columbus is understood; as from the lips of a Mexican, *El Marchese* signifies Cortes; and as among the Florentines, *Il Segretario* has always signified Machiavel."—Note to Rogers' *Voyage of Columbus*.

οἱ δὲ λόγους . . . περιερχόμεθα] 'and the rest of us go up and down, severally inventing stories.'

- 56 *τοὺτες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες*
Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν
πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ,
τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὀρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πε- 10
πραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δί' οὕτω προαι-
ρεῖσθαι πράττειν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν
εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ
 57 *λογοποιοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι*
ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ 15
χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἡλπίσαμεν
τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὖρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, καὶ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν
αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθυσόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν
ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ 20
λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἐσται
δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ', ἐὰν μὴ προσέχητε τοῖς
πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εὖ
εἰδέναι.
- 58 *Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην* 25
λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὧ, νῦν
τε ἂ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πε-
παρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέ-
ρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοίσον 55
καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶπον.

πολλὰ τοιαῦτα] 'and has many such sort of dreams in his head.'

οὐ μέντοι γε] 'I do not, however, in good truth think that he follows such a plan of action, that the silliest of those among us know what he is about to do; for silliest of all are these inventors of stories.' Dobree says, "ἀνοητότατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες, dele cum Lambino."

ἐὰν . . . ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν] 'if we make up our minds to this.'

καὶ ἅπανθ'] 'and that in every case wherever we expected an individual to act for us, his actions have proved against us, and that the future rests with ourselves.' By *τινα* Philip is most probably meant; for he had led the Athenians to

expect that he would transfer Amphipolis to them, protect the Phocians, and control the Thebans, but acted contrary to the interests of Athens in every one of these and other similar cases (see De Pace, Introduction, p. 107). With *εὖρηται* understand *πράξας* as Auger does.

τὰ δέοντα] 'then we shall both have come to a right conclusion, and have done with idle discussions.'

οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε] 'never at any time before did I to court favour choose to say any thing except what I have been convinced would also be to your interest; and now I have plainly said what I think, fully and frankly, without any reservation.' On *ἄλλοτε* Sauppe observes: "Ex orationibus quas prius habuit, exstant

νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομέ-
 νους, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῶν ἐὰν πράξητε ταῦτα
 πεπεισθαι, λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικῶη δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῶν 5
 μέλλει συνοίσειν.

Or. 14 *περὶ συμμοριῶν*, Or. 16 *pro Mc-*
galopolitanis habitis, et Or. 20 *in causa*
publica adversus Leptinem dicta."

νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοις] 'but as it is, though
 the personal results to myself from these

counsels are uncertain, nevertheless I
 make up my mind to offer them, in the
 persuasion that they will be to your in-
 terest if you carry them into effect.'

INTRODUCTION TO THE DE PACE.

THE pacific policy recommended in this oration by Demosthenes to his fellow-citizens, contrasts forcibly with the uncompromising hostility which he had formerly advocated against Philip. By way of explanation then, it will be desirable to review the previous events in Hellenic history, from which we shall see that Demosthenes continued to be consistent with himself, and that the position of affairs justified the advice which he gave.

In the early spring of B.C. 347 Philip made himself master of Olynthus, and utterly destroyed it with thirty-two other Chalcidian cities (c. Phil. iii. § 34), though, as Demosthenes afterwards (F. L. § 301) asserted, the Athenians had sent to its aid 4000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and fifty triremes. An irresistible supremacy over the north-western shores of the Aegean was thus secured to Philip, which not only threatened the security of the Athenian possessions in Lemnos, Imbros, and the Chersonese, but left him comparatively free to pursue his designs against Southern Greece. This however was not the only cause of anxiety at Athens, for amongst the captives at Olynthus (Aesch. F. L. § 15) were many Athenian citizens who had been serving there as an auxiliary garrison, and had consequently no reason to expect clemency from Philip. In this emergency the Athenians, on the motion of Eubulus, supported by Aeschines, resolved to send envoys to the Peloponnesus and elsewhere for the purpose of soliciting the Grecian states to unite in a confederacy against Philip. (F. L. § 347). But these envoys, of whom Aeschines, as one, was sent to the Peloponnesus, met with indifferent success, and the Athenians discovered that they could not hope for any effectual co-operation in war. The consequence was a general despondency at Athens, and Eubulus, Aeschines, and Demosthenes, became, with more or less earnestness, advocates or supporters of peace. But even before the fall of Olynthus (B.C. 348)

Philip had indirectly made overtures for peace, and given intimations that he wished for it (Aesch. F. L. § 13). These also were so well received that, on the motion of Philocrates, the public assembly at Athens passed a decree by which Philip was empowered or invited to send envoys to treat of peace. Of this, however, he did not avail himself, for Olynthus was his object, and peace would have prevented his acquisition of it. Still a disposition for peace had been exhibited on both sides before the capture of that city, and this was further promoted at Athens by the relatives of the captured citizens presenting themselves as suppliants before the assembly, and entreating that some efforts might be made for them (Aesch. F. L. § 15). Accordingly, indirect negotiations were opened for their restoration, which was partially effected, and the agents employed reported to the Athenians that Philip was desirous not only of peace but also of alliance with them. This was in the autumn of B.C. 347, by which time Aeschines and most of the other envoys had returned from their missions, and reported the failure of their attempts to get up an anti-Macedonian confederation. No wonder, then, that the Athenians were indisposed for a continuance of hostilities from which they had every thing to fear, with but little prospect of any gain. But just in this state of affairs other events happened by no means calculated to reassure them. These arose out of the Sacred War, as it was called, which had now continued for several years, and in which the Phocians, with the aid of mercenaries, maintained by the spoliation of the temple at Delphi, had proved decidedly superior to their old enemies the Thebans. In fact they had made themselves masters of several Boeotian towns, of which they kept possession, as well as of the pass of Thermopylae (Diod. xvi. 58. Dem. F. L. §§ 151—163). Disheartened and desponding, but anxious for revenge, and not foreseeing the consequences, the Thebans determined to solicit the aid of Philip against their opponents. The Amphictyonic Council supported their request, and constituted him their champion to rescue the Delphian temple from its spoilers, and restore it to its ancient guardians, the men of Delphi. Philip gladly complied; for the championship of Apollo, conferred by the representatives of Hellas, was a specious pretext for marching into Southern Greece, and the allies who had volunteered their co-operation were so numerous and powerful as to ensure his success. The Phocians were of course much alarmed, and anticipating the advance of Philip and the Thessalians also (*ἡ Θετταλῶν καὶ Φιλίππου στρατεία πρόδηλος ἦν*), they sent envoys to Athens and Sparta soliciting aid to hold the pass, and offering to deliver up some neighbouring fortresses which commanded it (Aesch. F. L. § 140). Both these cities responded to the call; and the

Athenians especially ordered their general Proxenus to seize the pass, and showed their determination to make a vigorous resistance to Philip. But it would seem that these envoys were sent either without the sanction of Phalaecus, the commander of the Phocian mercenaries, or by a party opposed to him, for he actually imprisoned them on their return, and refused to deliver up the fortresses either to Proxenus or to Archidamus, who, on behalf of Sparta, offered to hold Thermopylae for Phocis (Aesch. l. c.). This turn of affairs aggravated the danger as well as the perplexity of Athens; for Phalaecus might surrender Thermopylae to Philip, and that defile once passed, the road lay open almost to Athens itself. Peace then with Philip became more desirable than ever, and his partizans at Athens, as well as those who were anxious for it on their own account, were furnished with additional arguments in support of it. But as he had not availed himself of the permission to send envoys which had been already signified to him, the public assembly at last determined, and on the motion of Philocrates as before, that an embassy should be sent to him to ascertain on what terms peace could be made. This, it should be observed, was *before* Philip had marched against Phocis. Accordingly, in December, B.C. 347, after sending a herald to obtain a safe conduct, the embassy set out. It consisted of ten envoys from the Athenians themselves, and one from the congress of their confederate allies then assembled at Athens. Two of them were Aeschines and Demosthenes, the latter nominated by Philocrates himself, an incident from which we may infer that Demosthenes was not averse to the opening of negotiations. Nor indeed can it be supposed that his opposition would have been of any avail in the face of the many influences which were then operating upon his fellow-citizens. Be this as it may, the envoys proceeded to the north coast of Euboea, and without waiting for the herald whom they had expected to find there on his return, immediately crossed over to Thessaly, where they found Parmenio, Philip's general, with a Macedonian army besieging Halus. From there, and probably under his protection, they proceeded to Larissa, where they met their herald, who conducted them to Pella (Dem. F. L. § 180), then the seat of Philip's court. The proceedings before him, and the representations which the envoys made to him, we learn but imperfectly from Aeschines, and unfortunately from him alone. But there can be no doubt that some of the envoys were charmed by the winning manners and liberal hospitality of Philip, while others were prevailed upon to enter into an understanding with him for the furtherance of his policy at Athens. The immediate and public result was a specious letter of kind and fair promises from Philip

to the Athenians, which the envoys delivered on their return home in March, B.C. 346. In it he must have expressed a desire not only for peace, but also for an alliance with Athens: for he stated that he wished to do her some valuable service, and that he would have specified what it was, could he have been assured that she would enter into alliance with him (Dem. F. L. § 45). But this letter was only preliminary and preparatory to the arrival of the Macedonian envoys, whom Philip had arranged to send, as their own ambassadors informed the public assembly of the Athenians on reporting their proceedings. These Macedonians were Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus, and after their arrival early in March (B.C. 346), Demosthenes carried a resolution fixing the eighteenth and nineteenth of that month for two extraordinary assemblies to discuss with them the terms of peace and alliance. And a little before the same time there was assembled at Athens a sort of congress of allies, composed in all probability of representatives of some of those states from which Athens had solicited co-operation in her alarm at the fall of Olynthus. This congress met, and resolved to adopt as the common decision of the allies (τοῦτ' εἶναι κοινὸν δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων), whatever resolution the Athenians might pass in two assemblies to be convened according to law, for the purpose of deciding upon the terms of peace with Philip. From the terms in which the resolution of the congress was expressed, it appears (Aesch. F. L. § 63) that all the deputies had not yet returned from all the states to which Athens had applied, and also that the envoys of Philip were then expected, but had not yet arrived at Athens (Grote xi. 539). It is further to be observed that if Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 70) tell the truth, the congress of allies confined their resolution to 'peace only,' not contemplating an alliance with Philip, and recommended that three months should be allowed for any Greek city to signify its adhesion to the terms which Philip and the Athenians might agree upon. However, when the assembly met, Philocrates again presented himself, and moved that not only peace but an alliance also should be concluded between Philip and his allies on the one hand, and Athens with her allies on the other, but specially excepting the Phocians and the town of Halus in Thessaly, then recently besieged by Parmenio for Philip (Dem. F. L. § 176. Aesch. c. Ctes. p. 64). His proposition, though without the special exception, was ultimately carried, the limiting clause being modified so as to include expressly all the allies of Athens (ἀντικρὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους), and Demosthenes asserts that this alteration was forced upon Philocrates by himself. We conclude then that he supported the motion for peace and alli-

ance generally, and in accordance with the hopes and fears then predominant at Athens. As for the terms of the consequent treaty, they were based on the principle of 'uti possidetis,' thereby securing to Philip the recent and valuable acquisitions of Amphipolis and Olynthus. On the other hand Philip had assured Aeschines (at Pella) that he would not attack the Chersonesus (Gallipoli), then occupied by the Athenians, till they should have had an opportunity of deciding upon peace or war, though at the very time when their envoys were leaving him for Athens, he was publicly preparing an expedition against the Thracian Cersobleptes, their ally on the Hellespont (Aesch. F. L. § 87. c. Ctes. § 73). Naturally then there arose the question, was Cersobleptes to be recognized as such, and were the Phocians, whom the Athenians had distinctly refused to exclude, to be considered as admitted by implication? Clearly they should have been, and independent of this they were indeed old allies of Athens. Nevertheless, they were excluded, to their own ruin and the disgrace of the leading men of Athens. Six days after the treaty was agreed to, an assembly was convened, in which it was resolved that the ten citizens who had proceeded to Macedonia on what was called the first embassy (*ἡ πρώτη πρεσβεία*), should again proceed thither (*ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν πρεσβείαν*) to receive the oaths of ratification from Philip and his allies. Also, that the Athenians and the deputies of their allies then present in Athens should forthwith take the corresponding oaths in the presence of his ambassadors. But when an agent of Cersobleptes claimed to be sworn for him as an ally of Athens, the claim was disputed, till, on the question being submitted to the assembly, it was eventually decided that he was an ally, and should be admitted as such (Aesch. F. L. § 90). In this result Antipater and Parmenio, the envoys of Philip, acquiesced, but they also declared that he positively refused to admit the Phocians as parties to the treaty, although the Athenians had formally rejected the proposition for their exclusion (Dem. F. L. §§ 368 and 176). Such a conflict of determination could not but cause great perplexity to Philocrates and Aeschines, the chief promoters of the peace, and the question at issue was of vital importance to Athens, for the possession of Phocis would command the pass of Thermopylae and the road into southern Hellas. They managed, however, to extricate themselves and serve Philip by imposing upon the credulity of the Athenians, and practising upon their anxiety for peace. They had both been at Philip's court as envoys, and therefore might be supposed to be cognizant of his intentions, and not on that account indifferent to the interests of their own country. So they were readily believed when they assured their fellow-citizens that Philip was really

well-disposed to the Phocians and would protect them (σώσεν), but that he could not openly admit them as allies for fear of breaking with the Thebans and Thessalians, whose alliance was indispensable to him so long as he was at war with Athens. They added, however, that if he were to become master of the position by the Athenians making peace with him, he would then do every thing which they wished, and not only humble Thebes, but more than compensate Athens for Amphipolis by the restoration of Euboea and Oropus. By such expectations and inducements, says Demosthenes (F. L. § 370), the Athenians were prevailed upon to ratify the treaty, not indeed specially excluding the Phocians,—they could not so far stultify themselves,—but still without including them (ἀνευ Φωκίων). And amongst the persons thus imposed upon it would seem was Demosthenes himself, for there is no evidence whatever of his having exerted himself to prevent the virtual abandonment of the Phocians by their tacit exclusion from the treaty. In no other way can we account for his acquiescence, unless we believe him to have been convinced of the uselessness or danger of any further opposition to the assurances of Philip's partizans and the wishes of his own fellow-citizens. This indeed was his own explanation, for, as he urged (F. L. § 27) τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠνέσχετο, τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἀγαθὰ, ἢ ταῦθ' ὥς οὐκ ἔσται λέγοντός τινος, ἢ κατηγοροῦντος τῶν πεπραγμένων τούτοις; However, the policy of Philip and his partizans was soon developed, nor was the ruin of the Phocians long delayed after the treaty was concluded. Antipater immediately administered the oaths to the representatives of Athens and her allies, thereby effectually tying their hands from any enterprise adverse to Philip's interests. And manifestly it was the duty of the Athenian envoys also to have been as expeditious as possible in exacting from Philip a corresponding security, and preventing his further conquests, the restoration of which it would be impossible to enforce. Moreover this duty was the more imperative because, on the day after the ratification (March 25th or 26th), news reached Athens from Chares that Philip was conquering in Thrace, and had already deprived Cersobleptes of a great part of his kingdom (Aesch. F. L. §§ 96—98). But instead of proceeding at once and straight to Thrace they wasted nine days at Athens, remaining there, till on the motion of Demosthenes (F. L. § 170. De Cor. § 38), the Senate peremptorily ordered them to start forthwith, and directed Proxenus, the Athenian commander in Euboea, to send them forward without delay to Philip wherever he might be. Had this been done, they might have arrived at Philip's head quarters in Thrace within a week after the 3rd of April, the date of the decree of the Senate. But as if in collusion

with him, and in disregard of the remonstrances of Demosthenes their colleague, Aeschines and the other envoys wasted a full month in long halts and dilatory journeys. Meanwhile Philip had taken several Thracian cities and reduced Cersobleptes, whose son he took with him as a hostage to Pella (De Halon. § 37. c. Phil. iii. § 20). There at last, and six weeks after the Athenians had sworn to the treaty, their envoys met Philip on his return from his conquests, with a large army assembled around him ready for action. But not even then or there did they administer the oaths. They (that is the majority of them) still continued to play the game of Philip, though Demosthenes, as he asserts, did all in his power to prevent it. He wrote home to inform his fellow-countrymen of the treachery of his colleagues. They decided that his letter should not be despatched, and sent home one of their own full of misrepresentation. He then endeavoured to leave Macedonia before them with the view of giving information personally, but was prevented from embarking by Philip after he had hired a private vessel to convey him (F. L. §§ 192 and 56). For a long time then Philip baffled and deluded the Athenians by means of their own agents, while with the same views he made specious promises to the Lacedaemonian envoys then assembled at Pella along with others from Thebes, Euboea, and Phocis. This policy, as Demosthenes (F. L. § 86) asserts, he continued after the peace, so long as he was making his preparations (*ὄν χρόνον οὐχ ὁλός τ' ἦν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Φίλιππος μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ*) against the Phocians. When these were completed (De Cor. § 40) he began his march southwards. But the pass of Thermopylae was still occupied by the Phocians and a body of Lacedaemonians, who might have held him in check till aid arrived from the Athenians, had his real intentions been discovered. It was necessary then to prevent this, by keeping up the delusion that he was not ill-disposed to the Phocians, and yet so guardedly as not to alienate his *bonâ fide* allies, the Thessalians and Thebans. To this deception the Athenian envoys doubtlessly contributed, while his own officers expressly asserted (Aesch. F. L. § 144) that his real object was to humble Thebes, and re-establish the Boeotian cities which she had broken up. The envoys of the Phocians also, who accompanied him through Thessaly, were treated in such a manner as to make it a question whether he would attack them or their enemies (c. Phil. iii. § 16). Meanwhile the oaths were not yet administered by the Athenian envoys, and so gross was their neglect, or so guilty their collusion, that they actually deferred this duty till they arrived at Pherae, a few days only before their return to Athens itself. Herein too they violated their instructions, by admitting as his allies, all

whom Philip sent to them, instead of administering the oaths to their representatives in their own cities (F. L. § 317). Amongst these allies also they included Cardia (Καρδιανούς ἐνέγραψαν), which the Athenians considered to be within the Thracian Chersonese, and therefore one of their own possessions (F. L. § 192). Also, they publicly declared that the Phocians were (ἐκσπόνδους ἀπέφηναν) excluded from the treaty, though the Athenians had repudiated their exclusion, and they omitted all mention of Cersobleptes, though Philip's agents had previously included him. To protect himself and his colleagues from the indignation which such conduct might otherwise have provoked, Aeschines brought with him (F. L. § 40), on his return to Athens, a letter from Philip, which was neither more nor less than an express apology for their proceedings (ἀντικρυς οὕτως καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπολογία γεγραμμένη τῶν τούτοις ἡμαρτημένων). Indeed the king took upon himself the responsibility of all that they had done, and affirmed that he had (for good reasons) detained them with himself, though they were anxious to visit the allied cities as instructed. This letter was of course couched in very friendly terms (καλὴ καὶ φιλόφρων), but not a word did it contain (οὐδὲ μικρόν) about the Phocians or Thebans. Demosthenes, on the other hand, did his best to expose the corruption and treachery of his colleagues. For they appeared in Athens on the 13th of June (B.C. 346), after an absence of seventy days, and on the same or the next day, being a senator for the year, he made a report to the senate of all that he had witnessed on the embassy, in the presence too of a large assemblage of private individuals (τὸ βουλευτήριον μεσὸν ἦν ἰδιωτῶν). He showed how the Athenian interests had hitherto been betrayed, and urged his countrymen no longer to be imposed upon by delusive expectations, but to make an effort for the preservation of what yet remained, namely, Thermopylae and Phocis. Convinced by his facts and reasonings, the senate passed a corresponding resolution (προβούλευμα), to be submitted to the public assembly at its next meeting, holden on June 13, three days after the return of the envoys. But this resolution was not even read; for as soon as the business commenced, Aeschines immediately addressed the people (Dem. F. L. § 21), and carried every body away with him (ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς λαβὼν ᾤχετο). True indeed, the Athenians were startled and indignant, when first informed of the near approach of Philip; but their alarm and indignation were dispelled by the assurances which Aeschines gave them of that monarch's friendly intention to themselves, and by the expectations which he held out to them of his speedy realization of all their wishes as regarded their rivals and opponents. Thebes was to be besieged,

Thespieae and Plataeae re-established, and Euboea made over to Athens as a compensation for Amphipolis (De Pace, § 10. c. Phil. ii. § 32). Allusions were also made to the probability of a greater benefit from Philip, which, though vague, were generally supposed to refer to the frontier town of Oropus, then in the possession of Thebes, and earnestly coveted by Athens. Demosthenes rose to reply, and disabuse his hearers of the impressions which Aeschines had created. But they were so full of confident hopes, inspired by the persons who three months before had prevailed upon them to make peace, that they refused to listen to him, or believe any thing but what Philip's partisans told them. Finding them in this mood, Philocrates moved and carried a resolution, praising Philip for his (supposed) promises, and providing that if the Phocians did not deliver up the temple at Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenians would despatch a force to compel them (F. L. § 54). This at any rate was a declaration that the Phocians had nothing to expect from Athens, where their envoys were present, and must have heard the debates upon their country. It was also the more unimistakeable, because the only Amphictyons then in their neighbourhood to whom they could surrender the temple were their own enemies, and Philip's allies, the Thebans and Thessalians.

Meanwhile Philip was carrying out his policy, by writing two letters, ostensibly inviting the Athenians to join him at Thermopylae, but with the real object of blinding them still more, and strengthening their convictions of his good intentions (F. L. § 56). He had also on his arrival of Thermopylae made proposals to the Phocians, their distrust of which was proved by their sending ambassadors to Athens (F. L. § 65). These of course returned when the Athenians passed the resolution conditionally threatening the Phocians with an invasion, and reported the fact to Phalaecus, their leader. This must have been about June 20, and though Phalaecus was at the head of a large force, still so convinced was he of his inability to resist Philip, without the maritime protection of Athens, that he at once resolved to make the best terms he could. Accordingly, three days afterwards he entered into a convention (*σπονδαί*), in which he stipulated for permission to leave Phocis, and retire whithersoever he pleased with all his mercenaries, and as many Phocians as chose to accompany him (Diod. xvi. 59. Dem. F. L. § 66). Now then, no alternative was left to the latter, but submission to Philip. They could not resist him with their own forces, and all hope of aid from other states was gone. Consequently they submitted at once, and unconditionally, but perhaps not without some confidence in his favourable dispositions as professed to the

Athenians, and reported by their envoys. The pass of Thermopylae was opened to him, the twenty-two towns of Phocis were surrendered (F. L. § 135), and being thus made master of the country, and of the approaches to Southern Greece, he threw off the mask, and avowed his intention of acting in concert with the Thebans. In fact, he transferred to them a considerable portion of Phocis (*τῆς τῶν Φωκέων χώρας ὀπόσῃν βούλονται*), and restored the towns they had lost, including Orchomenus and Coroneia (F. L. § 155). All this was of course opposed to the interests and hopes of the Athenians, who indeed after their resolution of June 16 had decreed the 'Third Embassy,' as it was called, of ten envoys, to inform Philip of their decision, and to witness the accomplishment of the promises which they believed him to have made. Most of these envoys had just returned from the second embassy: and Demosthenes for one immediately 'swore off,' and declined to go (F. L. § 133). Aeschines also pleaded indisposition, though it was alleged to be a mere pretext for remaining at home, to counteract the effects which intelligence of the events in Phocis was sure to produce. This was learned by the other envoys on their arrival at Chalcis, whereupon one of them, Dercyllus, hurried back to Athens with the news. He arrived on June 27, and finding the people assembled in the Peiraeus, he reported that Philip with the Thebans had passed Thermopylae, and that the Phocians were ruined (F. L. §§ 134, 137). Great was the consternation and vexation of the Athenians, and the resolution which they passed showed their sense of their danger. They resolved to bring their wives and children from the country into the city, to put the Peiraeus and their fortresses into a state of defence, and to celebrate an approaching festival, the Heracleia, not as usual in the country, but in Athens itself. As for Aeschines, notwithstanding his recent plea of illness, and the consequent election of a substitute, he set off to Philip, and actually joined in the festivals with which he and his allies celebrated the consummation of his policy, and the triumphant conclusion of their ten years' war with the Phocians (F. L. § 141). Shortly afterwards, Philip communicated his proceedings to the Athenians by a letter, which, as Demosthenes (De Cor. § 48) says but little against it, we may infer to have been conciliatory and reassuring. The restoration too of the prisoners taken at Olynthus must have caused much satisfaction, and the tone of his (Aesch. c. Tim. § 169) communications (*ἡ τῶν λόγων εὐφημία*), as well as the extent of his promises, were calculated to regain their confidence and allay their indignation. But for the betrayed and abandoned Phocians he and his allies had no pity

or consideration, and the Amphictyonic council which he now convoked, was a ready instrument for carrying out their designs. By the first resolution of this body, the Phocians were deprived of their ancient place in the assembly, and the two votes which they enjoyed as one of the twelve Amphictyonic races were transferred to Philip. It was also determined that all their towns (except Abae) should be broken up into villages, containing not more than fifty houses, and at a minimum distance of a furlong from one another; that they should pay fifty talents a year to the temple at Delphi, and not be allowed the use of horses or arms (Diod. xvi. 60). Cruel as was this decision, its execution by Thebans and Thessalians, the inveterate enemies of the Phocians, was more cruel still, and Phocis was utterly devastated and ruined. Such indeed was the desolation, that two or three years afterwards nothing was to be seen in the country but ruined houses and overthrown walls, women, old men, and children, but no adults; a scene of misery which no words could adequately paint (F. L. § 72). All this was sad enough in itself, and bitterly humiliating to the Athenians. But further mortification awaited them. About two months after the overthrow of Phocis, recurred the celebration of the Pythian festival, when the Amphictyons conferred upon Philip the presidency of the assembly, an honour which had always been considered one of the highest to which a Grecian prince could aspire. This too was done without even the knowledge of the Athenians, for they were so grieved and shocked at the recent events in Phocis, that they declined to send deputies to the meeting, or commissioners (*θεωποῖς*) to join in the sacrifices of the festival (F. L. § 140). Accordingly, envoys were sent by Philip and the Thessalians to notify to them, that he had been invested with the Amphictyonic suffrage, in the place of the dispossessed Phocians, and to request the concurrence of the Athenians in the arrangement (F. L. § 121). Wounded pride, offended dignity, the consciousness of having been publicly and flagrantly overreached, and the desire, if not the hope of recovering their lost estate—all this might have dictated an angry refusal. A sense of helplessness and isolation, the folly of resisting, the peril of offending a victorious prince, at the head of a large army, composed in a great measure of their inveterate enemies, within a few days' march of their own unprotected territory—all this would counsel acquiescence. To urge these prudential considerations on his countrymen, Demosthenes came forward and delivered his Oration De Pace, B.C. 346. The events of the time, as detailed in this narrative, and the then position of Athens in relation to Philip and the rest of

Greece, are sufficient to prove that in supporting the policy which he there advocates, Demosthenes was not inconsistent with his former orations, nor wanting in his duty as a patriot and a statesman.

In this narrative I have been considerably assisted by Mr. Grote's History (c. 89), and I gladly acknowledge the obligation. I have verified almost all his references, and found that they warrant his conclusions.

V.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.

B.C. 346—345.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Μηκνυομένου τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως, εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν ὁ τε Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ φερόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος βουλόμενος ἂ ὑπέσχετο Θετταλοῖς τε καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπιτελέσαι. ὑπέσχετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν Θηβαίοις Ὀρχομενὸν παραδώσειν καὶ Κορώνειαν, πόλεις Βοιωτίας, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ τὸν Φωκικὸν καταλύσειν πόλεμον. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ πολεμίων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ πρότερον βουλευθεὶς εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, τῶν Ἀθηναίων περιπλευσάντων ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὰς καλουμένας Πύλας, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ Θερμοπύλας, ἀπεκρούσθη τῆς εἰσόδου. νῦν ποῦν εἰρήνην ποιησάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μηδενὸς κωλύσαντος παρελθὼν εἴσω Πυλῶν, τὸ Φωκῶν ἔθνος ἀνάστατον πεποίηκε, καὶ τὴν Φωκῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ψήφους παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἴληφε. πέπομφε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, ἀξιῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν. καὶ 56 ὁ Δημοσθένης παραινέει συγχωρεῖν, οὐ τῷ πράγματι συνιστάμενος ὡς ὀρθῶς

τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως] Amphipolis was captured by Philip B.C. 358, and the non-restoration of it to the Athenians was his first unfriendly act towards them. In the war which followed, and the subsequent negotiation for peace, their claim to this city was frequently the subject of discussion, and hence Libanius speaks of it as "the war about Amphipolis;" but the phrase is far from being altogether appropriate.

Ὀρχομενὸν παραδῶσειν] That is, to deprive these towns of their independence, and subject them to the supremacy

of Thebes.

καὶ γὰρ πρότερον] In B.C. 353—352. See Introduction c. Phil. i. p. 77.

οὐ συνιστάμενος] 'not falling in with,' i. e. not assenting to. The word is used differently in Herodotus. Thus (iv. 132) συνεστήκει παύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεω, = 'with this opinion that of Darius was at direct issue.' So vii. 142, συνεστηκῦναι μάλιστα, = 'most opposed to one another.' The metaphor is taken from the watching of two athletes, who stand up together to put their strength to trial. Blakesley.

ἔχοντι, οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων μετέχειν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸν Μακεδόνα, ἀλλὰ δεδιέναι φάσκων μὴ καταναγκασθῶσι κοινὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχειν. προσκεκρουκέναι γὰρ λέγει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλους δι' ἄλλας τινὰς αἰτίας, τούτους δὲ κοινῇ πολεμήσειν, εἰ αὐτοὺς δώσομεν, φησὶ, κοινὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην καθ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι μόνοι τοῖς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐνιστάμεθα δόγμασιν, ὥστε κάλλιον τὴν εἰρήνην τηρεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα Φιλίππου παρεληλυθότος εἰσω Πυλῶν καὶ ἐπελθεῖν δυναμένου τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἣ περὶ μικροῦ τηλικούτου κίνδυνον ἄρασθαι.

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ λόγος παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν, οὐ μὴν εἰρησθῆναι μοι δοκεῖ. κατηγορῶν γὰρ ὁ ῥήτωρ Αἰσχίνου καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ διαβάλλει, ὅτι συνεβούλευε Φίλιππον Ἀμφικτύονα εἶναι ψηφίσασθαι, μηδεὶς ἄλλου τολμῶντος τοῦτο εἰσηγήσασθαι, μηδὲ Φιλοκράτους τοῦ πάντων ἀναιδιστάτου. οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων συμβεβουλευκὼς τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διέβαλλεν, ἀλλὰ δηλονότι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔδεισε, μὴ δόξῃ φιλιππίζειν καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πεισθεὶς τοιαύτην γνώμην ἀποφύνασθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τοιαύτην τινὰ ὑπόνοιαν ἰστάμενος φαίνεται, συνιστὰς ἑαυτὸν ὡς εὖνον τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀδωροδόκην.

Ὅρῶ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ παρόντα πράγματα 57 πολλὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ μόνον τῷ πολλὰ προεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι προὔργου περὶ αὐτῶν εἶ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατὰ ταῦτα μηδὲ καθ' ἐν τὸ συμφέρον πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὠδὶ, τοῖς δ' 5 2 ἐτέρως δοκεῖν· δυσκόλου δ' ὄντος φύσει καὶ χαλεποῦ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ πεποιή-

τούτους δέ] Bekker and Dindorf read δὴ from the codex Y.

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ λόγος] This opinion is repeated by Photius, Biblioth. p. 492. 15 : δὲ δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγος καὶ ἄλλοις μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ Λιβανίῳ τῷ σοφιστῇ παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν, οὐ μὴν εἰρησθῆναι δοκεῖ. κατηγορῶν γὰρ ὁ ῥήτωρ Αἰσχίνου, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἰτιάται, ὅτι συνεβούλευσεν Ἀθηναίοις Ἀμφικτύονα εἶναι ψηφίσασθαι Φίλιππον, ἐν ᾧ οὖν ἐκείνον πικρῶς διέβαλλε, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐβάρησε γενέσθαι σύμβουλος; The passage in question occurs in the F. L. § 123, and asserts positively, that Aeschines was the only person in the city who advised the Athenians to acquiesce in Philip's election as an Amphictyonic representative. That oration was delivered only three years after the De Pace, and

therefore the contradiction must have been a remarkable case of forgetfulness or effrontery. Compare Grote xi. 593.

ἰστάμενος φαίνεται] 'he appears to be setting himself against some such suspicion.'

πολλὴν . . . καὶ ταραχὴν] 'are fraught with difficulty and perplexity.'

τῷ πολλὰ προεῖσθαι] 'from our having (already) lost many (of our possessions).' Comp. in § 3 : τὰ προειμένα σωθήσεται, and Deinarchus (c. Dem. § 28) : τοὺς δικάζοντας πάντες ἐπαινοῦσιν ὅταν τὸ δίκαιον μὴ προῶνται ταῖς τῶν κρινομένων δόξαις.

ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . ὑπολοίπων] 'but also from the fact, that about the future all do not think alike, even in any one point, as to what is advisable.'

κατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει παρὰ 10 πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν οἶδ' ἐγὼ, τὸν μὲν οἷς ἂν ἀμάρτητε ἐπιτιμῶντα εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, τὰ δὲ πρά- 3 γματα καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλευέσθε ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων οἶομαι καὶ πεπεικὼς ἑμαυτὸν ἀνέστηκα, ἂν ἐβελήσητε τοῦ θορυβεῖν καὶ φιλο- 15 νεϊκεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκούειν, ὥς ὑπὲρ πόλεως βουλευομένοις καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων προσήκει, ἕξειν καὶ λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ παρόντ' ἔσται βελτίω καὶ τὰ προειμένα σωθήσεται.

4 Ἀκριβῶς δ' εἰδὼς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ λέγειν περὶ 20 ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰετῶν πάννυλυσιτελούντων τοῖς τολμῶσιν ὃν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθές ὥστε ἀνάγκην οὔσαν ὁρῶν, ὅμως ἀποκνῶ. νομίζω δ' ἄμεινον ἂν ὑμᾶς περὶ ὧν νῦν ἐρῶ κρῖναι, μικρὰ 58 τῶν πρότερόν ποτε ῥηθέντων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μνημονεύσαντας. 5 ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρῶτον μὲν, ἥνίκ' ἐπειθὸν 10 τινες ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταραττομένων

μετὰ τὰ πράγματα] Dobree quotes Lucian, Prometheus i. p. 26: Κλέων Προμηθεύς ἐστι μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.

τὸν μὲν οἷς ἂν ἀμάρτητε] 'that whoever rebukes your errors gains credit, and is thought to speak well, while your interests and the objects of your consultations are lost to you.'

οἶομαι . . . ἑμαυτὸν] 'I think and have risen with the persuasion that I shall be able both to suggest and advise measures whereby your present position will be improved, and what we have lost will be recovered.'

οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικόν] 'I think it so low and offensive.' The word φορτικόν originally meant and expressed the characteristics of porters and low fellows employed in carrying burdens. Hence what is low, in bad taste, and vulgar. Plato also uses ἐπαχθές in the same sense. Thus in the Phaedo, § 81, we find εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθές ἐστίν εἰπεῖν, on which Heindorf observes, "ἐπαχθές proprium est de nimia et molesta laude vocabulum."

τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων] The con-

quest of Thessaly, and the acquisition of the port of Pagasae (B.C. 353—352) secured to Philip a convenient base of operations against the neighbouring island of Euboea. From the first Philippic (B.C. 351), it appears (§ 43) that he soon availed himself of his opportunities, and opened a correspondence with various parties in the country. We may fairly presume that his object in doing this was to create or encourage a Macedonian party there; and that he offered his assistance to any of the Euboeans who wished to declare against Athens, or assert their independence of her. We know also (c. Phil. i. § 39) that his cruisers sometimes appeared off Geraestus in Euboea, where they captured some Athenian corn-ships, and naturally suggested to the Euboeans the probability of obtaining his support in case of need. Accordingly, in B.C. 349, while he was still carrying on war against the Olynthians, hostilities broke out at Eretria, where an individual named Plutarch had a number of forces under his command, and professed a de-

βοηθεῖν Πλουτάρχῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἄδοξον καὶ δαπανηρὸν 5
 ἄρασθαι, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρελθὼν ἀντίειπον καὶ μόνον
 οὐ διεσπᾶσθην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασι πολλὰ καὶ
 μεγάλα ὑμᾶς ἀμαρτάνειν πεισάντων· καὶ χρόνου βραχείος
 διελθόντος, μετὰ τοῦ προσοφλεῖν αἰσχύνην καὶ παθεῖν
 οἷα τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες πώποτε πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ 10
 τούτων οἷς ἐβοήθησαν, πάντες ὑμεῖς ἔγνωτε τήν τε τῶν
 τότε ταῦτα πεισάντων κακίαν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰρηκότα
 6 ἐμέ. πάλιν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατιδὼν Νεοπτό-
 λεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι
 : τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν 15

sire to uphold the Athenian interests. With this alleged object he sent to Athens for aid, and Demosthenes it seems opposed his request. But he had friends at Athens, at whose instigation the assembly resolved to despatch a force under Phocion, which however was not a large one, because it was expected to be abundantly supported by friends in Euboea. But Phocion was deceived and betrayed; for Callias of Chalcis openly declared against Athens, and not only collected a force of Euboeans to oppose Phocion, but called in Macedonian aid, most probably from Thessaly, while his
 * brother brought over some mercenaries from Phocis (Aesch. c. Ctes. § 86). Plutarch and his troops still continued with Phocion, who encamped and wished to act on the defensive, near a place called Tamynae (c. Meid. § 205). But on the enemy coming up, Plutarch without orders first advanced to the attack, and then fled, drawing after him some of the Athenian horse. The infantry camp was next assaulted by Callias and his troops, and the Athenians were brought into the greatest danger. However, by intrepidity and good generalship they drove back the assailants, and gained a complete victory (Aesch. F. L. § 180. c. Ctes. §§ 87, 88). Phocion followed up his success and expelled Plutarch from Eretria. Afterwards he was replaced by a general called Molossus, who was unsuccessful and said to have been taken by the enemy (Plut. Phocion c. 14. Paus. i. 36. 3). Hostilities, however, still continued, the Euboeans being assisted by Philip till B.C. 348, when they asked for

peace. But it does not appear that it was granted immediately, and Euboea continued unfriendly to Athens, and unquiet till the peace with Philip in B.C. 346. We may add, that the absence of Demosthenes from the battle of Tamynae was a frequent subject of reproach against him (Aesch. F. L. § 156), and that he was in consequence of it threatened with an indictment for desertion of his post (λείποταξιν). But the prosecutor did not go to trial (c. Meid. § 132), and the fact of Demosthenes being Choragus for the year was a sufficient though not very spirited justification for his absence. Grote xi. 474—484.

μετὰ τοῦ προσοφλεῖν] 'while you incurred disgrace too, and were treated in such a way as no men ever were before, by those whom they assisted.'

ἔγνωτε] 'you appreciated.'

Νεοπτόλεμον] It appears then that Demosthenes had on some former occasion denounced this actor Neoptolemus as playing the game of Philip at Athens, and intriguing for him there. Probably he had been bribed by the king while professionally engaged at Pella. After the capture of Olynthus, he and Aristodemus were employed by the Athenians to sound Philip, and make indirect overtures for the liberation of the captives taken at Olynthus. Probably both of them were going to assist professionally in the Olympiac festival which Philip celebrated after the fall of Olynthus (Aesch. F. L. § 15. Dem. F. L. pp. 344—346).

ἀδείας] scil. τοῦ ἵεναι ὅποι βούλοιοτο. Frank. This ἀδεία (or, safe conduct) would be secured or granted by Philip

πόλιν καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διοικούντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα, παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὐτ' ἔχθρας οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἔνεκεν, ὥς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργων 7 γέγονε δῆλον. καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς 20 ὑμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου τραγωδοὺς ἐθεᾶσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὐτ' ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὐτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν 8 ἠκούσατε. καίτοι τοῦτό γε ὑμᾶς οἶμαι νῦν ἅπαντας ἡσθῆσθαι, ὅτι τὴν τότε ἄφιξιν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐποίησατο 25 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ κεῖ χρήματ' ὀφειλόμενα, ὥς ἔφη, κομίσας 59 δεῦρο λειτουργεῖν καὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πλείστῳ χρησάμενος, ὥς δεινὸν εἴ τις ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδε τὰς εὐπορίας ἄγουσιν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, ἦν ἐνθάδ' ἐκέκτετο οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας 5 9 πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπάγων ὥχετο. δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὦν προεῖπον ἐγὼ, μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς γεγενημένοις λόγοις, ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οἷά περ ἦν, ἀποφανθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· τρίτον δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (καὶ μόνον ἐν τούτ' εἰπὼν ἔτι καὶ δὴ περὶ ὦν παρελήλυθα ἐρῶ,) ἡνίκα τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ 10 10 τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπειληφότες ἦκομεν οἱ πρέσβεις, τότε Θεσπιάς· τινων καὶ Πλαταιᾶς ὑπισχνουμένων οἰκισθῆσθαι καὶ

and by other authorities also. As an actor Neoptolemus would be a privileged and unsuspected person.

τὰ παρ' . . . πρυτανεύοντα] 'managing and directing matters here for Philip.' Comp. the note on τὸν Κῆρα (§ 25) and De Rhod. Libert. § 3: φανήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος.

καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις] 'and I will not now in this case.' In the case of Euboea, he had censured the authors and advisers of the Athenian policy; in that of Neoptolemus he blames the Athenians themselves.

εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσῳ] 'for if you had been spectators of a tragedy in the temple of Dionysus, instead of the debate being about your preservation and the interests of the State, you could not have listened to him with so much partiality, nor to me with so much aversion.'

ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ κεῖ] 'in order to bring

here, and spend on public duties, as he said, the monies owing to him there.'

ἦν ἐνθάδ' ἐκέκτετο] 'he converted into cash all the real estate which he had acquired here, and went away with it to Philip.' From Harpocration it would seem that the technical term 'real estate' corresponds exactly to οὐσία φανερά: for under ἀφανὴς οὐσία καὶ φανερά, we find ἀφανὴς μὲν ἢ ἐν χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ σκεύεσι, φανερά δὲ ἢ ἐγγεῖος. So Lysias (c. Diogeit. § 6) speaks of two brothers who τὴν μὲν ἀφανῆ οὐσίαν ἐνείμαντο, τῆς δὲ φανερᾶς ἐκοινώνουν. They divided the personalty, the cash, the jewellery, the slaves, and the furniture, but they kept the real estate undivided as 'joint tenants.'

δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα] 'these two then, of my warnings delivered by me in truth and justice, for such was their character, bear testimony to the counsels which I have given.'

τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας τὸν Φίλιππον, ἂν γένηται κύριος, σώσειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν διοικεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν, καὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀποδοθήσε- 15 σθαι, καὶ τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμοὺς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς οὔτε συμφόρως οὔτ' ἴσως οὔτε καλῶς προεῖσθε Φωκέας, οὐδὲν τούτων οὔτ' ἐξαπατήσας οὔτε σιγήσας ἐγὼ φανήσομαι, ἀλλὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν, ὥς οἶδ' ὅτι μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτα οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε προσδοκῶ, 20 νομίζω δὲ τὸν λέγοντα ληρεῖν.

- 11 Ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἄπανθ', ὅσα φαίνομαι βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων προορῶν, οὐδ' εἰς μίαν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε δεινότητα οὔτε ἀλαζονείαν ἐπανοίσω, οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γινγνώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν 25 εἴπω δύο, ἐν μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δι' εὐτυχίαν, ἣν

τινων] Aeschines and his party. See Introduction.

διοικεῖν] That he would break up Thebes into separate and small towns, just as Mantinea was dismembered by the Spartans in B.C. 385.

καὶ τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας] 'and with such like hopes and delusions.' A verb may be supplied, suggested by ὑπισχυομένων above. For a similar construction compare Xen. Hell. i. 3. 17: Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἄρμωστής διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐς τὸ πέραν, μισθὸν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος, καὶ ναὺς ξυλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι, . . . καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ, . . . καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείσαν, where some such verb as ἐπιμελησόμενος must be mentally supplied.

οὔτε συμφόρως οὔτ' ἴσως οὔτε καλῶς] 'against policy, justice, and honour.'

οὐδὲν τούτων οὔτε] 'in none of these matters shall I be found either to have deceived you at all, or to have been silent.'

οὐδ' εἰς μίαν] 'I will not ascribe to any sort of cleverness or cause for boasting.'

οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι] 'nor will I lay claim to intelligence and foresight by reason of any other than two causes, which I may mention to you.'

δι' εὐτυχίαν, ἣν] Comp. Caesar, B. G. iii. 68: "Fortuna quae plurimum potest quum in reliquis rebus, tum praecipue in bello." So also B. G. vi. 35. The Greeks and Romans in general made much of

Fortune, though Juvenal (x. 365) said of it,

"Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia: nos te, Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, caeloque locamus."

But curiously enough Deinarchus (c. Dem. § 32) represents the city as suffering from the orator's bad fortune (τοὺς πράττοντας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τι τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης ἀνέπλησεν), and Juvenal (x. 129) describes him as "Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro." More curiously still, the early editor H. Wolf, in his garrulous but amusing autobiography (A.D. 1564), appears to imagine that his own misfortunes were somehow connected with the bad fortune of his subject. For, says he (Reiske xii. 842), referring to the time when he was engaged upon Demosthenes, "Habui totum illum triennii tempus ita infestum, ut paene fidem habere cogar Aeschini infelicitatem Demostheni objectanti." Accordingly, when there was a question "de nomine suo ad formam Latinam aut Graecam revocando," and he did not like 'Vulpus' or 'Ulpus,' and Melancthon called him 'Lycius,' he defended the 'barbarous letter W' by the lines,

"Ὀλβιος esse velim, si quid mea fata valerent:
Nunc quia fata negant, Wolfius esse volo."

- 12 συμπάσης ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔσης δεινότητος καὶ 60
σοφίας ὁρῶ κρατοῦσαν, ἕτερον δὲ, ὅτι προῖκα τὰ πρά-
γματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμ' ἂν οὐδεὶς
ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσ-
ηρητημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὃ τι ἂν ποτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη 5
τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται μοι. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ
θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκης, οἴχεται
φέρον καὶ καθείλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτὸ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν
ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς
λογίσαιτο. 10
- 13 Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν φημι δεῖν, ὅπως
εἴτε συμμαχοὺς εἴτε σύνταξιν εἴτ' ἄλλο τι βούλεται τις
κατασκευάζειν τῇ πόλει, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην μὴ λύων
τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, οὐχ ὥς θαυμαστὴν οὐδ' ὥς ἀξίαν οὔσαν
ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ὅποια τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον 15
εἶχε τοῖς πράγμασι καιρὸν, ἢ γεγενημένη νῦν δι' ἡμᾶς

πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι] 'to my past politics or my present speeches.' With the sentiment in οὐδὲν λῆμμα . . . λογίσαιτο compare Bacon, Essay xviii. on 'Wisdom for a man's self': "It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme when a little good (ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασι) of the servant shall carry things against the great good of the master's; and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants, which set a bias (ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀργύριον προσενεγκεῖν) upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs." A bias is "a weight lodged on one side of the bowl, which turns it from the straight (τὸ ὀρθόν) line." Abp. Whateley's note.

ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὃ τι ἂν] 'your interest then is seen by me straight and plain, whatever it may be, as determined by the circumstances themselves.'

ἐπὶ θάτερα] 'on the other; i. e. 'the wrong side.' With εἰς τρυτάνην compare De Cor. § 369: ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα. With ἐπὶ θάτερα, 'to the wrong side,' compare Plato's expression (Phaedo, § 146), πλέον θάτερον ἡγησά-

μενος ἀπεργάζεσθαι, 'conceiving he was making bad worse.' On which Wytténbach observes, "Dictio exquisita Attica est, πλέον θάτερον ποιεῖν, *malum augere, damnum afferre, perperam facere*." In Latin 'secus' is used similarly, as (Salust, Jugur. c. 105) "Neque his secus atque aliis armis muniti."

οἴχεται φέρον] 'it carries away with it and pulls down the judgment.' Καθείλκυκε is the reading of the best MSS., instead of καθείλκυσε, as general usage would suggest. But perhaps the perfect is here suggested by the past sense of οἴχεται.

ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας] The man who lets money bias his judgment.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν] 'one thing then I say ought to be a first principle.'

σύνταξιν] A contribution from allies, each paying their quota. The aggregate payment which the confederates of Athens paid annually, and in the first instance for carrying on the war with Persia, was originally called φόρος, or tribute. But when after the Peloponnesian war the Athenians partially re-established their supremacy, the payment was styled σύνταξις, a less offensive term.

μᾶλλον εἶχε . . . καιρὸν] 'it would have been more advantageous for our interests.' The Greek phrase is somewhat quaint and rare.

- λυθῆναι· πολλὰ γὰρ προείμεθα, ὧν ὑπαρχόντων τότε ἂν ἦ
 14 νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ῥάων ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος. δεύτερον
 δέ, ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς
 συνελληλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύοντας νῦν 20
 εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρόφασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς. ἐγὼ γὰρ, εἰ γένοιθ' ἡμῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον πάλιν
 πόλεμος δι' Ἀμφίπολιν ἣ τι τοιοῦτον ἔγκλημα ἴδιον, οὐ
 μὴ μετέχουσι Θετταλοὶ μὴδ' Ἀργεῖοι μὴδὲ Θηβαῖοι, οὐκ
 15 ἂν ἡμῖν οἴομαι τούτων οὐδένα πολεμήσαι, καὶ πάντων 25
 ἦκιστα (καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μὴδεὶς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι)
 Θηβαίους, οὐχ ὥς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ὥς οὐκ ἂν
 χαρίζοντο Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ καὶ πάννυ 61
 φήσειέ τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, ὅτι εἰ γενήσεται
 πόλεμος πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν κακὰ πάνθ' ἔξουσιν
 αὐτοὶ, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται.
 οὐκ οὖν προεῖντ' ἂν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο, μὴ κοινῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς 5
 16 καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οὔσης τοῦ πολέμου. οὐδέ γε εἰ πάλιν πρὸς
 τοὺς Θηβαίους πολεμήσαιμεν δι' Ὠρωπὸν, ἣ τι τῶν ἰδίων,
 οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς παθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κἀκείνοις
 τοὺς βοηθοῦντας ἂν οἶμαι, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἐμβάλῃ,
 βοηθεῖν, οὐ συνεπιστρατεύσειν οὐδετέροις. καὶ γὰρ αἱ 10
 συμμαχίαι τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον, ὧν καὶ φροντίσειεν
 17 ἂν τις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύσει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. οὐκ ἄχρη

φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύοντας νῦν] 'and who now give it out that they are Amphictyons.' These were the Thebans and Thessalians, and others then at Delphi with Philip at their head. The deputies of the Amphictyonic states claimed to act as representatives of all Greece, just as the Diet at Frankfort might represent the different States of Germany. See Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Amphictyony, and the note on De Cor. § 187.

οὐχ ὥς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν] 'not that they are well-disposed to us, nor that they would not gratify Philip.'

ἀναισθήτους] The Thebans had the character of being stupid. So De Cor. § 55: οἱ μὲν κατὰ πτυστοὶ Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι, and Horace, Epist. ii. 1. 224: "Bucotum in crasso jurares aere natum."

τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς] 'while another will sit

quietly by lying in wait for the advantages.' If two Roman gladiators or other combatants fought on condition that the conqueror should fight with a third and fresh opponent, the latter was called an ἐφεδρος. He sat near at hand, ready to take his turn.

οὐκ οὖν προεῖντ' ἂν ἑαυτοὺς] 'they would not then throw themselves into this.'

καὶ γὰρ . . . κἀκείνοις] 'for I think that our respective auxiliaries would aid both us and them, if either invaded the other's own country, but not join either in a war of aggression.'

ὧν καὶ φροντίσειεν ἂν τις] 'at any rate those which a man would think any thing of.'

οὐκ ἄχρη τῆς ἰσῆς] i. e. οὐχ οὕτως . . . ὥστε ἐξ ἴσου βούλεσθαι. 'Men are not severally friendly, either to us or the

τῆς ἴσης ἕκαστός ἐστιν εὐνους οὐθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις ὥστε εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ σῶς μὲν εἶναι πάντες ἂν βούλουτο ἔνεχ' αὐτῶν, κρατήσαντας δὲ τοὺς 15 ἑτέρους δεσπότας ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς. τί οὖν ἡγούμαι φοβερὸν καὶ τί φυλάσασθαι φημί δεῖν ἡμᾶς; ὅπως μὴ κοινὴν πρόφασιν καὶ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα ὁ μέλλων πόλεμος 18 πρὸς ἅπαντας λάβῃ. εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων, 20 ὅσοι ταῦτα τούτοις φρονοῦσι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ἐπικηρυκίαν ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαι τι τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἔχουσι μὲν, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἀπεχθῶς, ἔτι δ' ἐχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων φεύγοντας σώζομεν καὶ 25

Thebans, to the extent of wishing equally for our safety and our predominance over others.' This must be the meaning which Demosthenes intended to convey, if the clause ὥστε . . . τῶν ἄλλων was written by him. Dindorf brackets it as the insertion of a commentator, omitting ὥστε, or rather reading σῶς τε for it, as Reiske conjectured. But ὥστε occurs in all the MSS., and it seems to me that the clause ὥστε εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, or something like it, is necessary to explain ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης. Certainly there is awkwardness and difficulty about it, but this is not removed by obliterating the clause, nor by any of the substitutions proposed for it. The terms εἶναι and κρατεῖν, of which the former has a pregnant sense ('servari'), are put simply at first, and then with a fuller amplification of meaning in σῶς εἶναι and κρατήσαντας δεσπότας ὑπάρχειν afterwards. Comp. Cic. de Offic. i. 12: "Sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret."

κρατήσαντας δὲ . . . οὐδὲ εἰς] 'but for either to get the predominance, and become masters of themselves, none of them would wish.'

φημί δεῖν] Dindorf omits φημί, following the codices S, Y. To me it appears to make the clause more Demosthenic.

κοινὸν ἔγκλημα . . . πρὸς ἅπαντας] 'a common grievance for all.'

τὴν . . . ἐπικηρυκίαν] 'by reason of our sending ambassadors to the Lacedaemo-

nians.' When this happened is not known for certain. It probably was occasioned by some of the dependencies of Lacedaemon throwing off their allegiance after the successes of Thebes in the Peloponnesus. The Athenians wishing to preserve the balance of power, and to oppose their old enemy Thebes, would be glad to assist Sparta.

τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαι] 'and from our seeming to take some advantage of their proceedings;' or, with Mr. Kennedy, 'on account of our seeming to take up some of their enterprises.' Jacobs: 'weil sie glauben, dass wir bei den Unternehmungen von Jenen auf etwas lauern.' Either may here be the sense of ἐκδέχεσθαι, the literal meaning of which is to take or pick up from another what he leaves or allows to be taken. So also Rüdiger takes it: "Rerum a Lacedaemoniis gestarum aliquid nobis vindicare." Reiske says, "Idem nempe significat atque τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύειν, sublegere ab altero omissa aut abjecta, aut si quae ipsi invito exciderint, sibi que vindicare, vel insidari fructui laborum ab aliis exantlatorum." The ἐκείνοις refers to Λακεδαιμονίους κ.τ.λ. just as ἐκείνων afterwards refers to Θηβαῖοι. The meaning of ἐκδέχεσθαι was a question with Harpocration. He says of it, s. v. ἐκδεξιόμενος: ἐκδέξασθαι ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ἑτέρου λαβόντα αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τὸ δεύτερον ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ πῶς ἔχει τὸ ἐν πέμπτῳ Φιλίππικῶν λεχθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος; Καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέξασθαι τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων.

τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων φεύγοντας] Orcho-

- 19 πάντα τρόπον τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδεικνύμεθ' αὐτοῖς, Θεττα-
 λοὶ δ', ὅτι τοὺς Φωκῶν φυγάδας σώζομεν, Φίλιππος δέ,
 ὅτι κωλύομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀμφικτυονίας, φοβοῦμαι 62
 μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος κοινὸν ἐφ'
 ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δόγματα
 προστησάμενοι, εἴτ' ἐπισπασθῶσιν ἕκαστοι πέρα τοῦ
 συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς ἡμῖν πολεμῆσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ 5
 20 Φωκέας. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι νῦν Θηβαῖοι καὶ
 Φίλιππος καὶ Θετταλοὶ οὐχὶ ταῦτά ἕκαστοι μάλιστα
 ἐσπουδακότες ταῦτά πάντες ἔπραξαν, οἷον Θηβαῖοι τὸν
 μὲν Φίλιππον παρελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παρόδους οὐκ
 ἠδύναντο κωλύσαι, οὐδέ γε τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων 10
 21 ὕστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν· νυνὶ γὰρ Θηβαίοις πρὸς
 μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι κάλλιστα πέπρακται, πρὸς
 δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἰσχιστα· εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρῆλθε Φίλιπ-
 πος, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἠβού-
 λοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν λαβεῖν 15

menus and Coroneia had severed their connexion with Thebes during the Sacred War. At the end of it Philip again placed them under the supremacy of Thebes, and doubtless many of the citizens who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Thebans were glad to take refuge in Athens.

Θετταλοί] The Thessalians were especially bitter against the Phocians, because they had been excluded during the Sacred War from the Amphictyonic synod at Delphi, and deprived of the other privileges which they had previously enjoyed, by reason of their country having been the supposed cradle of the Hellenic race, and in consequence of their numerical as well as local predominance in the Amphictyonic assemblies. The Oetaeans in fact had proposed, when Phocis submitted to Philip, that all the Phocians of mature age should be thrown down the rock of Delphi. Hence it was natural to suppose that the Thessalians would be indignant with the Athenians, for harbouring and protecting any poor Phocians who had escaped their vengeance. Aesch. F. L. § 149.

κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι] 'may bring a war of combination against us, alleging as a pretext the decrees of the Amphic-

tyons.'

οὐχὶ ταῦτά . . . ἐσπουδακότες] 'though not having had each exactly the same objects.'

τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων] During the first nine years of the so-called Sacred War. Comp. τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων, § 18.

πρὸς μὲν . . . κεκομίσθαι] 'As regards the recovery of their territory.' Demosthenes here alludes to Orchomenus and Coroneia, which Philip restored to Thebes, after they had for some time maintained their independence of her. In the F. L. § 154, he says she gained Ὀρχομενός, Κορώνεια, Κορσιαί, τὸ Τίλφωσσαιὸν, τῆς τῶν Φωκῶν χώρας ὁδὸς ἡν βούλονται.

εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρῆλθε] 'for if Philip had not passed Thermopylae, it seemed that they would have gained nothing.' Reiske suggested the insertion of πλέον between ἐδόκει and εἶναι, and Dindorf (1855) adopts it, but without any authority from the MSS. Wolf suggested that πεπραγμένον is understood, but I do not think so.

ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἠβούλοντο] 'but this they did not wish;' i. e. the seizure of Thermopylae by Philip.

- 22 ἐπιθυμῶν, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπέμεινάν. Φί-
 λιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐκ
 ἡβούλετο Θηβαίοις Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδοῦ-
 ναι, ἀλλ' ἡναγκάσθη· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐρρῶσθαι λέγω,
 ἐκείνῳ δὲ οἶδ', ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλον γε ταῦτ' ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ἢ τὰς 20
 παρόδους λαβεῖν ἡβούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου
 τοῦ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτὸν κρίσιν εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὰ Πύθια θεῖναι
 23 δι' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν ὧν μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο. Θετταλοὶ
 δέ γε οὐδέτερ' ἡβούλονται τούτων, οὔτε Θηβαίους οὔτε τὸν
 Φίλιππον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ πάντ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς 25
 ἡγοῦντο εἶναι,) τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν
 Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δυοῖν, κύριοι γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ 63
 τούτων γλίχεσθαι τάδε συγκατέπραξαν. τῶν τοίνυν ἰδίων
 ἔνεχ' εὐρήσετε ἕκαστον πολλὰ προηγμένον ὧν οὐδὲν ἡβού-
 λετο πράξαι. τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν, ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, φυ-
 λακτέον ἡμῖν. 5
- 24 Τὰ κελευόμενα ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα φοβουμέ-
 νους; καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. ἀλλ'
 ὡς οὔτε πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἔσται
 πόλεμος, νοῦν δὲ δόξομεν πᾶσιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν,
 25 τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως ὀτιοῦν 10

Φίλιππον τοίνυν] 'Next as regards Philip.'

τούτοις μὲν ἐρρῶσθαι λέγω] 'I wish them joy of their opinion, but this I do know, that he did not care so much for these things as he wished to seize the passes, and to have the glory of the war appearing to have been terminated through himself, and of celebrating the Pythian games under his own direction.' Comp. De Cor. § 194: ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις. Also Cicero, ad Famil. vii. 33: "Ego vero multam salutem et foro dicam et curiae," and Plato, Phaedr. § 128: Πολλὰ εἰπόντα χαίρειν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

τῆς πυλαίας] 'they set their hearts upon being put into possession of the Amphictyonic franchise, and of the privileges of Delphi, two advantages.' The Amphictyonic representatives held two annual meetings, and it has generally been supposed that one in spring was convened at Delphi, the other in autumn at Thermopylae. But Mr. Malden (Phil.

Soc. vol. vi. No. 133) supports, with much plausibility, the opinion that "The deputies first met at Thermopylae to offer sacrifices to Demeter, and then proceeded to Delphi to transact business on all occasions." See note on De Cor. § 187. By τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς are especially meant the privilege of consulting, if not directing the oracles, and of participating in the Pythian games.

πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω] It is doubtful whether καὶ is simply added for emphasis, or a relic of the fuller expression, πολλοῦ γε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς δέω. Comp. Aesch. Prom. Vinc. v. 961, πολλοῦ γε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἁλλείπω, and v. 1006, τοῦ παντὸς δέω. There seems in these expressions to be an ellipse of διαστήματι or some such other word.

ἀλλ' ὥς] 'but in such a way that.'

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως] 'but to those who think we should boldly suffer whatever may happen, and who do not foresee the war, I wish to offer the following re-

οιομένους ὑπομένειν δεῖν καὶ μὴ προορωμένους τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι. ἡμεῖς Θηβαίους ἑῶμεν ἔχειν Ὀρωπόν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιτο ἡμᾶς, κελεύσας εἰπεῖν τάληθῇ, διὰ τί; ἵνα μὴ πολεμῶμεν, φαῖμεν ἄν. καὶ Φιλίππῳ νυνὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως παρα- 15
κεχωρήκαμεν, καὶ Καρδιανούς ἑῶμεν ἔξω Χερρονησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, καὶ τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς νήσους καταλαμβάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον, καὶ Βυζαντίους κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ τὸ 20
26 προσκρούειν καὶ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ τούτων. οὐκοῦν εὖηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον, πρὸς ἐκάστους καθ' ἓνα οὕτω προσ-
ενηνεγμένους περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμῆσαι.

flexions.' 'Εκεῖνο is not unfrequently used by Demosthenes, as *τολαδε* and *ταδε* by Herodotus especially, for 'what follows.' Cicero uses 'illud' in the same way. See note on ἐπ' ἐκείνομέν, De Chers. § 78.

Καρδιανούς] The Chersonese belonged to Athens by conquest and colonization, and Philip had promised to acquiesce in their dominion over it. And Cardia was in the Chersonese, and therefore subject to the Athenians. But their ambassadors had, in B.C. 346, admitted the Cardians to swear to the peace, as allies of Philip, and Demosthenes observes that for the sake of peace the Athenians submitted to the wrong.

τὸν Κᾶρα] This probably means Idrieus, a successor of the Carian Mausolus, and allusion is made to the events of the Social War (B.C. 358—355), consequent upon the four states of Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium declaring themselves independent of Athens, and deserting the confederacy established under her supremacy, B.C. 378. In another oration (De Rhod. Lib. § 3) Demosthenes tells us that a principal agent (ὁ πρωταγεύσας) in effecting the separation was Mausolus of Caria. He was succeeded by Artemisia, and she by her brother Idrieus. Isocr. Oratio ad Philip. § 120. Clinton's Appendix xiv. vol. ii. on the "Princes of Caria."

κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα] 'to bring into their port the corn ships in order to detain them and exact tolls from them as they

passed from the Tauric Chersonesus (Crimea) through the Bosphorus towards Greece.'

πρὸς ἐκάστους] 'after acting thus with each party individually in matters coming home to ourselves and of the most vital moment.'

τῆς . . . σκιᾶς] So Demosthenes calls the Πύλαια or Amphictyonic franchise, i. e. the right to a seat and vote in the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi, which, without the consent and contrary to the wishes of the Athenians, had recently been conferred upon Philip. Before his time this right had conferred some dignity but no real power upon its possessors, and therefore Demosthenes, wishing to depreciate its importance, calls it 'the Shadow at Delphi.' But Philip soon showed that this shadow was not without some substance, and ably availed himself of it to secure his recognition as the chief of the Hellenic world. Harpocration (s. v.) informs us that according to Didymus the expression was suggested by the proverb *περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς*.

The conclusion of this speech is certainly somewhat abrupt and unsatisfactory, but we need not on this account suppose it to be unfinished, for it was spoken on an unexpected emergency, and therefore could not have had much preparation bestowed upon it. For the evidence which it affords of the pre-eminent position secured to Philip by his recent

acquisitions, and the peace of B.C. 346, it may be compared with the *Oratio ad Philippum* addressed to him by Isocrates shortly afterwards. Both orators, and especially Isocrates, virtually admit that Philip had become the head of Greece. We may add, however, that the De

Pace has by some been thought not to be the production of Demosthenes at all. *Τινὲς δὲ ἐνόθευσαν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνομολοῖαν ἔχοντος ὑπόθεσιν τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ*, says the anonymous author of an Argument preserved in the *Codex Augustanus*.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC II.

The ambition of Philip was not satisfied, nor his activity quieted, by the advantages which he gained from the peace of B.C. 346. On the contrary, he seems from the very first to have used his new position as a stepping-stone to further aggrandizement, and to have been encouraged by it to interfere and intrigue in every part of Greece (Grote xi. 612). The Peloponnesus soon attracted his attention, and the relations of Sparta with the neighbouring states afforded a favourable opportunity for his intervention. Though Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, had wrested from her the ancient dependency of Messenia, and founded Megalopolis as a sort of counterpoise to her, the Spartans still asserted their right to their ancient province, and when Thebes was no longer an object of fear, they appear to have threatened or taken some measures to recover it (Diod. xvi. 39). Accordingly the Messenians, with whom the Argives and Arcadians of Megalopolis were then in alliance, applied to Philip, the new ally of Thebes, who readily sent them troops and money, and formally intimated to Sparta that she must give up Messene (c. Phil. ii. § 15. Isocr. Phil. §§ 82—84). Demosthenes, so far as we can make out, and indeed the Athenians generally, appear at once to have taken the alarm at this further development of Philip's designs, and on his own motion the orator was sent as an ambassador to Peloponnesus, in order to counteract Philip's proceedings (De Cor. § 99). In the discharge of this duty, we find that he addressed both the Messenians and Argives, energetically pointing out to them the ruin and disgrace which had befallen other states, from relying upon the promises and friendship of Philip, and earnestly urging them to be warned by the example, and to discontinue their connexion with him. Nevertheless he did not succeed (c. Phil. ii. § 28), and soon afterwards it appears that certain envoys arrived in

Athens, to whom it was necessary that an answer should be given, and in order to suggest what that answer should be, Demosthenes came forward and delivered the Second Philippic, as it is called (B.C. 344—343). Who the envoys were, and whence they came, is not stated in the oration. Libanius in his Argument says, that they came from Philip to complain of the calumnious accusations which the Athenians had made against him, and from the Messenians and Argives to complain of their assisting Sparta in her attempts against the independence of the Peloponnesus. Winiewski (Comment. p. 138) supports this opinion, and maintains that one of Philip's envoys was the celebrated orator Python (De Halon. § 21), referring to this occasion the statement (De Cor. § 173), *ὅτε Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἐπεμψεν, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικούσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐκ εἶξα οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα*. But the oration itself does not warrant the supposition that any envoys came from Philip. Dionysius Halic. (ad Amm.i. p.737) states that they were Peloponnesians, — *τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Πελοποννησίων δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας*. On the other hand Winiewski (p. 152) appears to be right in his opinion that the embassy into Peloponnesus mentioned in this oration is not one of those referred to (c. Phil. iii. § 85) as *αἱ πέρυστι πρεσβεῖαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι . . .*, and which were successful in their results. But there is no reason for believing that it is not the same as that referred to in the De Cor. § 99: *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβεῖαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο*.

VI.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

B.C. 344—343.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Παρουσιάζει διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑπο- 64
πτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι
καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐτρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον·
ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν
Φίλιππον, καὶ τούτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις φησίν. ἐπαγγέλλεται
δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις ἦκοντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ὅ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πόθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων
ἤκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν
μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς
* Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δέ·
οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψεύσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους
ἀπαιτεῖ. ἔπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσηνῖοι πρέσβεις
εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδου-
λουμένους τὴν Πελοπόννησον εὖνους τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ
ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις· πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι
εὖνοι μὲν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ

ὅ τί ποτε] The MSS. read *ὁπότε*, without any sense.

συγκροτεῖ] Suidas, *συμπράττει*. The original meaning is to beat and hammer or weld together. Hence Olynth. ii. § 17, *συγκεκριτοὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου*, 'well-disciplined in military affairs,' and (c. Meid. § 24) *συγκροτεῖν χορόν*, 'to form a chorus.' So (Polybius i. 61)

πληρώματα συγκεκριτομένα, 'well-disciplined crews.' It also means to clap the hands, by way of applause and encouragement, as ὁ Συρακόσιος *συγκεκριεῖτο* (Xen. Symp. viii. 1), and in a similar sense it appears to be used here.

πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις] "addidi cum anonymo Lessingii." Dind.

Φιλίππου σύστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφήνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι 65 διημαρτήκασιν μὲν ὧν ἤλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐξηπατήσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγελίαν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ιδίων πρέσβειων ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέριαν πεποιηκότας, ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην αἰνίττεται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὥς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρεσβείας, ἣν ὕστερον ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦν-
τας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππον, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς 5
ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον
2 ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἤδη προηγεμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγ- 66
ματα τῇ πόλει, ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον
ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαί-
νοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσοῦτ' ὅ

ἔτι] (sc. ante διημαρτήκασιν) "addidi eodem auctore." Dindorf.

Ἀθηναίων τινέ] Aeschines and his party.

τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεῖς] 'referring to the answers.'

τοὺς τὴν δυσχέριαν] 'to call upon the men who had caused the difficulty for the answers.' Ἐκείνους is added for emphasis, and applies to Aeschines and Philocrates.

περὶ ὧν . . . βιάζεται] scil. πράττειν. 'About Philip's acts and attempts in violation of the peace.' Franke compares (c. Meid. § 16), λαμβανόντων ἢ βιαζομένων, scil. λαμβάνειν, and translates, "quae facit et quae vim adhibet ut faciat contra pacem."

γινόμενον δ'] 'and yet nothing, so to say, is done, of what is required, or for the sake of which it would be worth while

to listen to such speeches.' Franke thus explains it, "Ni aliquid saltem susciperetur adversus Philippum, non esset operae pretium declarationes illas Oratorum audire."

Ἑλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα] "Philip was the great aggressor of the age. The movement every where, in or near Greece, began with him, and with those parties in the various cities who acted on his instigation and looked up to him for support. We hear of his direct intervention, or of the effects of his exciting suggestions every where; in Peloponnesus, at Ambracia and Leucas, in Euboea and in Thrace." Grote xi. 612. For the Macedonian intrigues in Peloponnesus (ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο) see De Cor. § 99, and F. L. §§ 295—296.

3 τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλευῆσαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. αἴτιον 5
 δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντας, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεον-
 εκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν, οὐχὶ λόγους
 δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφέστα-
 μεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλευεῖν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, 10
 4 καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα· ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς
 μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου
 συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκευάσθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύ-
 σαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐστι νῦν, παντελῶς
 5 ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ 15
 ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπου-
 δάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις,
 ὑμῶν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιότερα
 ὑμῶν ἔξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσσεστι τῷ πράγ-
 6 ματι· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν 20
 καὶ μὴ προελθόντα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσει πάνθ' ἡμᾶς, μηδ'
 ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι
 δυνησόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ
 βουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν. ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς

αἴτιον δὲ τούτων] 'and the reason of this is, that whereas whenever any one is seeking his own aggrandizement he ought to be checked by action and by deeds, not by words,—in the first place, we the speakers,' &c. Literally οἱ παριόντες are those who come forward to speak.

διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς] 'from the hatred we incur with you, but describe at length the character of his actions, how heinous and intolerable they are.' As Bremi observes, ἡ πρὸς τινα ἀπέχθεια is used subjectively for the hatred which one man feels against another, and objectively for the hatred which another bears against him. An example of both usages occurs in the De Cor. § 44: ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους (subjectively), § 45: καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις (συνέβη) τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππου.

ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε] 'for making just speeches (i. e. for arguing justly), and understanding others who may make

them.' "Eo modo (quasi eo genere apparatus) quo justas orationes habere possitis, melius Philippo instructi et parati estis," i. e. "ad orationes habendas—parati estis." Franke. For a somewhat similar use of ὡς, compare De Pace, § 24: ἀλλ' ὡς οὕτε πράξομεν.

ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἔν] 'but to prevent him carrying out the schemes which he is now upon, you take absolutely no steps whatever.'

εἰ δ' ὅπως] 'but if it is our duty to consider how our present evils may be corrected, and how we may prevent every thing from going on still further without any of us perceiving it, and the rising up of a mighty power, against which we shall not be able to make even any stand.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'But if we are to take measures for the correction of these evils, to prevent their insensible progress, and the rising up of a mighty power, against which we could have no defence, then our course of deliberation is not the same as formerly.'

ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν ῥάστων 25
καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

- 7 Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θάρρει ὁρῶν
ἡλίκος ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα 67
οἶεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα
παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω, καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως
ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχέων,
δι' οὓς τὰναντία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν 5
ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἢ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον
προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἐὰν δ' οἱ θαρροῦντες καὶ πεπιστευ-
8 κότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθῆσθε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ
τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι πραγ- 10
μάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἂ Ὀθβαίοις
συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἂ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί
δήποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ'
αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς
9 εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς, 15
ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις
οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσειεν, ὑφ' οὗ
πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς
Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προείσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον
ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι 20
φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως
ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ
ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Ὀθβαίους ἡγεῖτο,
10 ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐάσειν
ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν 25

ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε] 'it occurs to me.'
τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων] 'measuring
or directing his calculations with a view
to his own aggrandizement, and the re-
duction of every thing under himself.'

ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρῃ] 'he knew this
well, that to a city like ours, and to men
of such principles as ourselves, he could
not offer or perform anything of such
value, that you would be influenced by it,
and for your own private advantage, sacri-
fice any of the Greeks to him.'

ἂ προσήκει] scil. προορᾶσθαι.
ὅπερ συνέβη] 'id quod factum est.'
οὐχ ὅπως] 'and would be so far from
opposing and hindering him, that they
would even serve with him, if he bade
them.' Comp. c. Phil. iv. § 46: προσ-
ήκει τούτους οὐχ ὅπως ὧν ἡ πόλις δίδω-
σιν ἀφελέσθαι τι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἦν,
ἄλλοθεν σκοπεῖν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ὄντες ἐν-
δεεῖς περιοφθῇσονται, where the construc-
tion is easily explained by the ellipse of
ἐρῶ, i. e. οὐκ ἐρῶ ὅπως προσήκει ἀφελέσθαι

- καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς
κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους 68
ταῦτά ὑπειληφώς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ’
ὕμῳ ἐγκώμιον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τού-
11 των τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ
κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ’ ἀνταλλάξασθαι 5
μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ’ ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
εὐνοίαν. καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπειλήφε
καὶ κατ’ Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ
παρόντα ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὖ-
12 ρίσκει γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προ- 10
γόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ’
αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους
τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡνίκ’ ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρό-
γονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν
13 προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ 15
ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ’ ἃ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν,
ἀξίως δ’ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καὶ γὰρ παραλείψω
δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις

τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοθεν σκοπεῖν προσήκει, and where the meaning thus derived of οὐχ ὅπως is clearly equivalent to ‘non modo non.’ Here too the text may be considered as an expression of idiomatic brevity for τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγείτο . . . οὐκ ἔρω ὅπως ἡγείτο ἀντιπράξειν . . . ἀλλὰ ἡγείτο καὶ συστρατεύσειν, so that οὐχ ὅπως is equivalent to ‘non modo non,’ for which, however, is used ‘non modo’ simply, but with a negative following. Thus Cicero (de Off. iii. 19): “Vir bonus non modo facere sed ne cogitare quidem quidquam audebit, quod non audeat praedicare.”

τοὺς Μεσσηνίους] See infra, § 21, and the Introduction.

καθ’ ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον] This is rather an uncommon use of κατὰ: but comp. De Cor. § 273: ἐδείξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ’ ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα.

κέκρισθε γὰρ] ‘for you have been adjudged by these transactions to be the only people of all who would not for any gain betray the general rights of the Greeks.’ Demosthenes means to imply that Philip’s conduct proved his belief in

the integrity and incorruptibility of the Athenians.

καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰκότως] ‘and this opinion of you, and that of the Thebans and Argives quite the contrary, has he with good reason formed.’ Comp. De Cor. § 106: ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ’ ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. So in § 268 τὰ δέοντα are contrasted with τὰ ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντα.

Ἀλέξανδρος] He was the son of Amyntas, and sent by Mardonius, the Persian commander (B.C. 379), to offer the Athenians very favourable terms if they would detach themselves from the Grecian cause and join Persia. The whole story, and the spirited answer of the Athenians, is given by Herodotus, viii. 140—144. Plutarch (Arist. c. 10) states that the answer to Alexander was made by Aristides, who was empowered to return it by a public resolution. Comp. Isocr. Paneg. § 106: ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς . . . τιμὰς ἐξαιρέτους λαβεῖν ἅς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου βασιλεὺς. Also Herod. ix. c. 8.

γλίσχονται λέγειν] ‘are fond of telling.’

ἀν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς
 μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναντι- 20
 ωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγα-
 πήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἑλλησι σκευομέ-
 14 νους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς
 δίκαιois αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς
 ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν 25
 καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὀρᾷ
 πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὐσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' 69
 ἀρχὴν εὗρηκε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων
 ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑπο-
 15 σχέςσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

Ἄλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ 5
 πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ, τότε ταῦτ'
 ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς
 ἀξιοῦν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ
 ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμο-
 νίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων, πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν 10
 τότε Θηβαίοις παραδούς τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν· ταῦτ' εἶναι
 πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο ;

16 Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία, (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ
 παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων

τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων] scil. εὐρίσκει καὶ ἀκούει. 'Whereas the ancestors of the Thebans and Argives either served with the Oriental or did not oppose him.' The Thebans fought with Mardonius at Plataeae for the Persians (Herod. ix. 31), and the Argives remained neutral. As a condition of assistance to the Greek confederacy they had demanded from the Lacedaemonians the command of half the Greek army, and this being refused they declined to join the allies (Herod. vii. 150). But reports were current in Hellas that they were in reality favourable to the Persians, and had actually invited them to invade the country.

οἶδεν οὖν] 'he knows then that both will selfishly study their interests.' "Narrazio iterum incipit a verbis ἡγεῖτ' οὖν." Franke.

ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιοις] 'that he would have to choose you on the principles of justice,'

i. e. that you would not depart from it.

οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ] 'nor has he acquired an inland empire, and renounced that of the sea coast and of the ports.' In other words, it could not be alleged that Philip, having acquired a large empire by land, cared little for naval power, and therefore disregarded the support and good will of a maritime state like Athens.

πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς] 'with a knowledge of all these things,' i. e. of your power and his own position.

ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην] Messene, a conquered dependency of Sparta, claimed to be independent of her, just as much as Orchomenus and Coroneia in Boeotia did of Thebes. But Philip asserted the independence of the one, and compelled the other two to submit to the supremacy of Thebes.

τῶν Θετταλῶν] The Thessalians as-

- ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεῖς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. 15
οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν
ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λογοποιοῦσι περιμόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλά-
17 τειαν τειχεῖν ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς
ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους συνεισβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους 20
εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύνάμιν μεγάλην
ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστὶ προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς
Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς
18 πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σώζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύ-
σειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὗτ' εἰ τὰ 25
πρῶτα βιασθεῖς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὗτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε
Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'

sisted Philip in the subjugation of Phocis. Diod. xvi. 59.

καλῶς] 'good.' 'Sehr wohl.'

ὑπόπτως ἔχειν] In an active sense. So F. L. § 145: δυσκόλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς Φίλιππον.

Ἐλάτειαν τειχεῖν] This Elateia was on the direct road from Thessaly, through Phocis, into Boeotia. It was one of the principal towns of Phocis in the valley of the Cephissus, and by it the Thessalians led the Persians, or rather a detachment of them, when they invaded Greece. (Herod. viii. 33.) The walls had been dismantled in the Phocian war, and their rebuilding might have been considered as a friendly act towards the Phocians. (Paus. x. 3. 2. Diod. xvi. 84.)

ὁ δὲ ταῦτα . . . μελλήσει γε] 'but in truth he is about to do those things, and means to be about to do them.' Jacobs: 'Ja er wird wollen, und es wird bei dem Wollen bleiben, wie mich dünkt.'

συνεισβάλλειν] The old reading (comp. Olyn. i. § 15, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἐτοίμως); for which, with the codices A, S, Y, Bekker and other editors read *συμβάλλειν*. Adopting this latter verb and referring to τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις, Franke observes: "Sunt dativi qui dicuntur commodi: 'pro Messeniis Argivisque,' sc. in horum commodum, cum Lacedaemoniis configere. De impressione (*συνεισβάλλειν*) hoc loco sermonem non esse et res et tempus verbi arguunt." But it is by no means clear that the 'res et tempus verbi' prove any such impossibility, and the 'dativus commodi,' as sug-

gested, appears to me somewhat forced and unnatural. Nor again can I find authority for *συμβάλλειν* in the sense of 'helping,' though there is for *συμβάλλεσθαι*, and *συμβάλλειν* Μεσσηνίοις, like τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον (Herod. i. 82), would mean to fight *against* them, rather than as their ally. Moreover, 'cum Lacedaemoniis configere' would either be *συμβάλλειν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*, without a preposition, or, if with one, it would be *πρὸς* rather than *ἐπὶ*. On the other hand, the argument of Demosthenes required him to make the most of Philip's intentions, or rather of his operations, and therefore the orator might have described him as actually invading Laconia, though as yet only preparing for or threatening it. Translate thus: 'but to help the Messenians and Argives against the Lacedaemonians in invading their country—this he is not *about* to do' &c.

τοὺς μὲν οὖν ὄντας . . . ἀναιρεῖ] 'is he then for overthrowing the Lacedaemonians who are enemies of the Thebans, and for restoring now the Phocians whom he himself formerly destroyed?' That is, can it be supposed that he intends to act so inconsistently, the Phocians being as hostile to the Thebans as the Lacedaemonians were? Bekker and Dindorf omit *οὖν* in τοὺς μὲν *οὖν* ὄντας, but the MSS. F, Y retain it, and I agree with Rüdiger in thinking it requisite.

οὗτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε] 'or if he were now giving up the Thebans,' and despairing of their future services to himself.

- ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κακέῃνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλός ἐστι ποιήσας. ἐκ πάντων δ', ἃν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγ- 70
 19 ματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάττων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογί-
 ζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέιληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ 5
 τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σὺννοιδεν αὐτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέ-
 ροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ
 Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προείτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι μένειν
 20 βεβαίως ἡγείτο. ἀμφοτέρω οὖν οἶδε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλευόντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' 10
 ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι, καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε,
 21 ἔαν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτὰ βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ 15
 μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν οἶεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότη-
 τητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προόψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονουσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔστιν 20
 εἰρηῇσθαι.
- 22 Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθ', ἔφην, ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡφίει, ἧς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, 25

ἐκ πάντων δ'] 'and from every thing a correct observer may see that he is planning and combining all his actions against the city.'

τοῦτο αὐτός] 'of this he is best informed by his own conscience.'

διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν] 'therefore he is awake, he is on the alert.'

διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων] 'from obliquity of understanding.'

ἃ καὶ . . . συνέβη] 'which indeed I had occasion to quote, i. e. on his embassy into the Peloponnesus, B.C. 345. See Introduction.

Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθ'] 'for, men of Messene, how impatiently think you did the Olynthians listen if any one had any thing to say against Philip?' Vömel compares with this rhetorical question Cicero ad Famil. viii. 3: "Quomodo illum putas auguratus tuum competitorem dolere?"

ἡφίει] 'when he proposed to give up Anthemus to them.' This was in B.C. 358—357. The district of Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therma, afterwards Thessalonica. (Grote xi. 334.)

Ποτίδαιαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῆρητο, τὴν 71
 χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾶν
 αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἣ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι
 23 οἴεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἄλλο-
 τρίαν καρπωσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέ- 5
 ρονται, αἰσχυρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφα-
 λεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν
 24 ὀμιλίου. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἄρ' οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς
 τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνη- 10
 σίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν

[Ποτίδαιαν δ' ἐδίδου] In B.C. 358—357. The Athenians sent an expedition to relieve Potidaea, but it arrived too late. (c. Phil. i. § 40.)

[ἀποίκους] With reference to their old home—ἐποίκουσ, with reference to their new one.

[τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν] 'took upon himself the enmity with ourselves.'

[λέγοντος ἂν τινος] 'if any one had told them so.'

[καὶ πραθέντες] In B.C. 348, by Lathenes and Euthykrates, their own fellow-citizens. (Diod. xvi. 53. c. Phil. iii. §§ 67, 79. F. L. § 300.)

[ὅτ' ... ἐξέβαλλε] This was in B.C. 353—352. See Introduction to Philippic i. p. 76. Magnesia is a narrow strip of Thessaly comprised between the mouths of the Peneus and the Pagasaeon bay (Gulf of Volo) to the north and south, and between the plains of Ossa and Pelion on the west and the sea on the east. In restoring it to the Thessalians, Philip probably reserved to himself the fortresses of the country. (Grote xi. 425, note). Nicaea was a fort which, with Alponus and Thronium, commanded the pass of Thermopylae. Just before the peace of B.C. 346 they were all three in possession of the Phocians. (Aesch. F. L. § 139.) We may infer then that Nicaea was transferred to the Thessalians, and Magnesia restored to them about that time.

[τὴν ... δεκαδαρχίαν] We have here an apparent inconsistency with c. Phil. iii. § 35, where Demosthenes observes, ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ

πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύουσιν; And these tetrarchies, which Philip is said to have constituted, were probably suggested by the ancient divisions of the country, which (Strabo ix. p. 430) was originally divided into the four districts of Phthiotis, Hestiaeotis, Thessaliotis, and Pelasgiotis. But both the statements may have been correct; for the four territorial divisions may have been each administered by a Council of Ten, or the supreme government of the whole country have been invested in a Decemvirate. And this supposition, indeed, is suggested by the singular number τὴν ... δεκαδαρχίαν. Another supposition is that the principal cities were each placed under a Council of Ten, and whatever the functions and institutions of the δεκαδαρχία may have been, doubtless its members were in the interest of Philip. It may be remarked that the Lacedaemonians had been in the habit of appointing Decemvirates in towns which they wished to keep under their control, and the unpopularity of these bodies in the Peloponnesus would naturally excite a prejudice against the supposed author of similar institutions elsewhere. It was therefore a good topic for an 'argumentum ad invidiam' against Philip with the Messenians. Compare Isocr. Paneg. § 127: οἱ τῶν δεκαδαρχῶν κοινωήσαντες καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διαλυμνήσαντες. Also Harpocration, who s. v. Δεκαδαρχία observes: Ἰσοκράτης. τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατασταθείσας πόλεις δεκαδαρχίας συνεχῶς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἱστορικοί· ὁ μὲντοι Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τρόπῳ τινὰ ἐξηγήσατο τοῦ νομα. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέκα

- ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ; ἡ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον
 τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι ; οὐκ ἔστι
 ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι.
 25 ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγὼ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεω-
 ρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον
 ἀπεύχεσθε, ἂν σωφρονῇτ', ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δί', ἔφην
 ἐγὼ, παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ
 σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τεῖχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ
 26 τᾶλλ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χειρο- 20
 ποίητα, καὶ δαπάνης προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἡ φύσις
 τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι
 μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι
 πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο ; ἀπιστία. ταύτην
 φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἐὰν ταύτην σῶζετε, οὐδὲν 25
 27 μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε ; ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἰτ' οὐχ
 ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς προσηγο- 72
 ρίας ἔχοντα ; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς
 ἐλευθερία καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως, ἔφην,
 μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῇναι δεσπότην εὐρητε ;
 28 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς 5
 λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων
 καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν
 μᾶλλον ἀποσχήσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὦν ἐπαγ-
 29 γέλλεται. καὶ οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ
 Πελοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὀρώσιν 10
 τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ
 τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περι-

μόνον ἄνδρας κυρίους ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐποίησαν. Φίλιππος μέντοι παρὰ Θεττάλοις δεκαδαρχίας οὐ κατέστησεν, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ Φιλιππικῶν Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ τετραρχίας.

ἐξηπατηκότα δ' . . . ἰδεῖν] 'but pray, if you are wise, that you may not know him at last as one who has cheated and deceived you.'

ἡ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων] 'the instinct of men of common sense.'

πλήθεσι] 'democracies.'

ἀπιστία] νῆφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν.

ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. Epicharmus.

πάλιν ὕστερον] Probably from his colleagues when Demosthenes was gone to other cities. Winiewski (Comment. 151) supposes that the embassy upon which Demosthenes made his speech was followed by others before the second Philippic, but the statement here does not necessarily imply this, and the interval of time was scarcely long enough to have allowed of it.

στοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν, λήσεθ' ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
πάνθ' ὑπομείναντες· οὕτως ἢ παραντίχ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥαστώνη
μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

15

30 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστε-
ρον βουλευέσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι
τὰ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ. •

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόν- 20
τας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπέισθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν
31 εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρε-
σβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ
τοιαῦτα πράξειν τυχόντ' εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ'
ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφεςτηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν 25
γ' ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυῖας ἤδη τῆς
εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἥκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς 73
ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον
32 καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἶων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ
Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὥς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστρο-
πος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ 5
εὗξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν
καὶ Πλαταιὰς τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως,
Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ καὶ

λήσεθ' . . . ὑπομείναντες] 'be brought
to undergo all these things before you are
aware of it.'

καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς] 'without the pre-
sence of the ambassadors.'

λέξω] The answer which we should
have expected to follow is not here in-
serted, and instead of it we find a fierce
attack upon the ambassadors who nego-
tiated the peace. With Dindorf I have
added the title ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ, as in c. Phil.
i. § 34, we have ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας] Aeschines, Philo-
crates, Aristodemus, and Neoptolemus.

πάλιν γ' ἑτέρους] Philocrates and
Aeschines. See Introduction to the De
Pace.

τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ] 'the men who declared
(τοὺς . . . λέγοντας)—when after the
peace was now made, I on my return
from the second embassy for the oaths,
perceiving that the State was being

deluded, (both) forewarned you, and
protested, and urged you not to abandon
Pylae and the Phocians—(the men who
declared, I say) that I as a water-drinker
was naturally a churlish and ill-tempered
fellow.' Comp. F. L. § 51: ἐπαναστάς
δ' ὁ φιλοκράτης μάλα ὕβριστικῶς οὐδὲν,
ἔφη, θαυμαστὸν, μὴ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ καὶ Δη-
μοσθένει δοκεῖν· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ
δὲ οἶνον πίνω. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε. The
separation of the article (τοὺς) in the
text from λέγοντας is remarkable. But
similar cases are not uncommon in De-
mosthenes.

ἐὰν παρέλθῃ] 'if he passed through
the straits.'

Χερρόνησον δὲ . . . διορύξει] 'and will
cut through the Chersonese' (the Thra-
cian), from Pteleon to Leuce Acte, and
so make it an island, in order to protect
the Athenian colonists there, against the
inroads of the Thracians.

τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ
 ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐνταυθὶ μνημονεύετ' οἶδ' ὅτι 10
 ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας μεμνήσθαι.
 33 καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς
 ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω
 τελέως ὑπήχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημί
 δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τάληθῇ μετὰ παρρησίας 15
 34 ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λοιδορίαν
 ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω,
 τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν παράσχω
 πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ' ἵνα
 τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχωῶ. ἀλλ' οἰμαί ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσειν ἃ 20
 35 Φίλιππος πράττει, μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμ' ὁρῶ
 προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην μὲν ἂν εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς,
 φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἦ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ'
 ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ'
 ἀκούηθ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεινός, 25
 ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τρα-
 36 χεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρέσβεων
 σεσιωπηκότων, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίσασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, 74

τοῖς ἐκγόνοις] 'you voted in your confidence that this same peace should continue with your posterity.' The MSS. vary between ἐγγόνοις and ἐκγόνοις, the majority having ἐκγόνοις, which Bekker adopts. The Codices S, Y have ἐκγόνοις. For the facts compare F. L. § 61.

οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λοιδορίαν] 'not that by falling into invective, I may provoke retaliation upon myself before you, and afford my old adversaries a new pretext for getting something more from Philip.' So Auger: 'Ce n'est pas pour m'attirer les invectives de mes anciens adversaires en les invectivant moi-même.' Demosthenes here intimates that the result of his attack upon Philip's partizans at Athens, would be recriminations against himself before the Athenian assembly, and fresh rewards for them, from their paymaster Philip. But this clearly could not be his object in exposing them: nor again was it for the purpose of idle garrulity. It followed then that his only object was the welfare of his country. Such I conceive to be the meaning and reasoning of Demo-

sthenes. Franke gives a different interpretation of εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν, viz. "in convicia adversariorum illapsus," or, "convicia adversariorum subeundo." Jacobs translates thus: 'Nicht, um durch Schmähungen mir auf gleiche Weise Gehör bei Euch zu verschaffen.' But I agree with Mr. Kennedy in thinking that ἐμαυτῷ λόγον ποιῆσαι, cannot mean the same as λόγον τυχεῖν, and I do not see that there is any logical meaning in this last interpretation.

τὴν ἄλλως] Idly, vainly, to no purpose. Literally, 'in the path that leads another,' i. e. the wrong way—τὴν ἄλλως ἔγουνσαν ὁδόν. Sometimes we find τὴν-ἄλλως in one word. Comp. F. L. § 201.

τοῦτο] This consummation.
 τῶν πρέσβεων] 'I fear that your ambassadors having been silent about the objects for which they are conscious of having been bribed.' Demosthenes here refers to the ambassadors who had been engaged in negotiating and ratifying the peace of B.C. 346.

τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις * τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολω-
 λότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς
 τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ
 37 χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας. ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει 5
 καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακούομεν ἀλλήλων,
 ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, ὅμως ἐπαναμνήσαι
 βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύλας προέσθαι,
 ὦν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ
 τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν μὴ 10
 περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν
 βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὴν παρῇ,
 38 γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε
 τόθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ᾦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ 15
 δῆπου κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ
 Φίλιππος, οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας,
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν
 εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ᾦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς
 39 εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. ταῦτ' οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, νῦν 20
 ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ
 γένοιτο, ὃ πάντες θεοί· οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην ἂν ἔγωγε,
 οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου
 καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

ὁρῶ γὰρ . . . ἐνίους] Referring to the Athenians themselves.

συνίσταται] As we might say, 'in embryo.' Comp. De Cor. § 76: τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ.

μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων] "Fortasse τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, non de jure Graecorum tuendo, et exteris ditionibus defendendis." H. Wolf. But without supplying τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, we may understand

τῶν δικαίων of the Athenian right or claim to supremacy, a meaning which the audience would at once adopt; or generally, 'not about what is just or fair,' as δικαίους λόγους (§ 4).

τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] When the peace of B. C. 346 was concluded.

ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη] 'and that they should be realized with the utmost accuracy, heaven forbid!'

THE SPEECH ON HALONNESUS.

HALONNESUS (now Khelidromi) was a small island belonging to Athens, situated below the Thermaicus Sinus (now the Gulf of Saloniki), and off the Magnesian coast of Thessaly. It formed one of a group which stretched north-east towards Lemnos, and included Sciathus, Scopelus (Scopelo), and Peparethus (Piperi), and others, all likewise belonging to Athens. Soon after the close of the Phocian war (B.C. 346) it was seized by a pirate called Sostratus (Epist. Philip. § 13), who doubtless did considerable mischief to Macedonian commerce till he was crushed by Philip, who then took possession of the island. At this the Athenians naturally took offence, and an embassy was sent (B.C. 343) to Macedonia to negotiate upon other matters connected with the peace of B.C. 346, and also to claim the restitution of the island. One of the ambassadors was Hegesippus (F. L. § 379), whose political views coincided with those of Demosthenes (c. Phil. iii. § 85), and who is supposed to have been the real author of this Oration. He was not successful in his mission, Philip asserting that he had conquered the island from pirates, and that consequently it belonged to himself, not to the Athenians. And soon afterwards, as we learn from the speech itself, Philip sent an embassy to Athens with a letter, in which he made various complaints against the Athenians, and offered either to give up Halonnesus to them as a voluntary gift, or to submit the question of its ownership to arbitration. He undertook also that if the island was decided to belong to himself, he would even then *give* it to the Athenians, and if otherwise, that he would *restore* it to them (Epist. Philip. § 15). His letter was of course read in the Assembly, and the Oration *Περὶ Ἀλοννήσου*, by whomsoever written, was delivered in reply to it, asserting the claims of the Athenians, and the necessity of rejecting the proposals of Philip. The result was that the island became the subject of contention for two or three years, till at last, and probably

about the close of B.C. 342, the inhabitants of the neighbouring island of Peparethus captured it and expelled the Macedonian garrison. Philip then attacked Peparethus (de Cor. § 85), and the Athenians ordered their admiral to retaliate (Epist. Phil. § 12), so that hostilities were actually begun though the war had not been formally declared, which was soon to be commenced between them.

As we have already stated, the Oration, though included amongst those of Demosthenes, is not generally supposed to have been written by him. For as Libanius observes, the style of it is unlike that of Demosthenes and unworthy of him. It is also implied by the speech (§ 2) that the writer of it had a short time before gone as an ambassador to Philip (ὅτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαμεν), and discussed with him the question of the possession of Halonnesus. But as Hegesippus, not Demosthenes (F. L. § 379), was one of the persons who had acted in that capacity, it has been concluded that the former really wrote the Oration, and that this being the only one extant on the same subject was attributed to Demosthenes, instead of one of his own which was lost. Dionysius Halicar. indeed (ad Amm. i. p. 737) expressly attributes it to Demosthenes, and calls it the Eighth Philippic: μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἐστὶν ἄρχων Πυθόδοτος ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὀγδόην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ "ὦ ἄ. 'Α. . . αἰτία." So also, Plutarch (Vit. Demos. c. 9), referring to the speech ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου, adds, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευσε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν. But though this phrase occurs in the speech, it does not follow that Demosthenes wrote it, though indeed Plutarch appears to have thought he did.

We may add that the whole of the speech itself does not appear to have come down to us. A reference to the last sentence of it will show that, when complete, it contained a sort of resolution prepared and moved by the writer in answer to the letter of Philip. But Demosthenes (De Cor. § 85) expressly asserts that he was not the author of any resolution on this subject, so that, if this statement is true, it furnishes an additional reason for believing that Hegesippus was the author of the Oration. The speech De Fal. Leg. was delivered in the same year. Compare Winiewski, Comment. pp. 128—133. Grote xi. 615.

VII.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ.

B.C. 343.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐπιγράφεται μὲν περὶ Ἀλοννήσου, τάχα δὲ ὀρθότερον 75 ἐπιγράφειν “πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου” πέπομφε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστολὴν περὶ πολλῶν διαλεγόμενος, ὧν ἓν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλόννησον, ἣτις ἦν μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχαίων κτῆμα, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Φιλίππου καιροὺς ὑπὸ ληστῶν κατείχετο, οὓς ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπαιτοῦσι μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν νῆσον οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν (ἐαυτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν), αἰτοῦσι δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται δώσειν. ὁ δὲ λόγος οὐ δοκεῖ μοι Δημοσθένους εἶναι. δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ φράσις καὶ ἡ τῆς συνθέσεως ἁρμονία, πολὺ τὸν Δημοσθενικὸν πεφευγυῖα τύπον, ἀνεμμένη τε καὶ διαλελυμένη παρὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τούτου τοῦ ῥήτορος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τέλει ῥηθὲν οὐ μικρὸν μαρτύριον τοῦ νόθον εἶναι τὸν λόγον, “εἴπερ ὑμεῖς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πτέρλαις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε.” ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθένης εἶωθε παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι, τούτο δὲ ὕβρις ἐστὶ καὶ λοιδορία μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα. εὐτέλειά τε αὐτῷ δεινὴ πρόσεστι κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ εὐηθες τὸ νομίζειν ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸν ἐγκέφαλον. ὑπώπτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λόγον ὡς οὐ τοῦ ῥήτορος. καὶ

ἀπαιτοῦσι μὲν . . . οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι] ‘refuses to restore it on their demand, but promises to give it them if they would ask for it.’

παρὰ τὴν ἰδέαν] Dionysius Halicar. (de Admir. Vi Demos. vi. 994) observes: ὁ δὲ . . . λόγος, ὃν ἐπιγράφει Καλλίμαχος ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου, ὃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τῆνδε “ὦ ἄ. Ἀ. . . αἰτιάται,” ὅλος ἐστὶν ἀκριβὴς καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ τὸν Λυσιακὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐκμέμακται εἰς

δυσχεα, ἐξαλλαγῆς δὲ ἡ σεμνολογίας ἡ δεινότητος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς, & τῇ Δημοσθένους δυνάμει παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν, δλίγην ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει.

εὐτέλειά τε αὐτῷ] ‘and there is shocking vulgarity about it as regards the expression.’

οἱ πρεσβύτεροι] Compare Suidas s. v. Ἠγήσιππος, where we learn that he was nicknamed ὁ Κρόβυλος. Harpocr. s. v. writes to the same effect.

πεφωράκασί γέ τινες ὄντα Ἑγησίππου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδέας τῶν λόγων (τοιαύτη γὰρ κέχρηται) καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων· κατὰ Καλλίππου γὰρ τοῦ 76 Παιανιεύς φησὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον γεγραφώς ἀπηννοχέναί γραφὴν παρανόμων, φαίνεται δὲ οὐχ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἑγησίππος τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Καλλίππου γραφὴν ἐνστησάμενος. νῆ Δία, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος συμβουλευεὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀλοννήσου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ λαμβάνειν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν, καὶ διαφέρεται περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ταῦτα δὲ Αἰσχίνης φησὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην συμβεβουλευκέναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. εἴτα τί τοῦτο; δύναται γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι συμβουλὴν καὶ Δημοσθένης καὶ Ἑγησίππος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως καὶ τοῖς φιλιππίζουσι τῶν ῥητόρων ἀντέλεγον. καὶ μέμνηται καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης τοῦ Ἑγησίππου ὡς καὶ πρεσβεύσαντος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀντιταχθέντος τῷ Μακεδόνι. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγος ὁ περὶ τῆς Ἀλοννήσου ῥηθεὶς οὐ σώζεται, ἐκείνου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος τὸν εὐρεθέντα προσέθεσαν αὐτῷ, ἀφορμὴν ἔχοντες τὸ περὶ Ἀλοννήσου λόγον εἰρησθαι τῷ ῥήτορι, οὐκέτι δὲ ἐξετάζοντες εἰ τοῦτον εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν ἐκείνου.

* Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι, ἃς Φίλιππος αἰτιᾶται, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγοντας κωλύσουσι συμβούλους ἡμᾶς γίνεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμῖν σύμ-

καὶ πεφωράκασί γε] 'and some indeed have detected it to be the work of Hegesippus, both from the style of the language and from the facts,' i. e. the subject-matter.

ἀπηννοχέναί] 'to have lodged an indictment against him for measures contrary to law,' i. e. in contravention of the provisions of an existing and unrepealed law on the subject. Compare § 44.

φαίνεται δέ] Dindorf observes that this word is used because in the time of Libanius the Orations of Hegesippus were already lost, adding, "qui frequens usus verbi φαίνεται apud Grammaticos." But those of Demosthenes were still extant, so that the term may express the result of examination as well as of conjecture.

νῆ Δία, ἀλλ'] The objection of some one who is supposed to hold different views is thus introduced by what is technically called ὑποφορά.

ταῦτα δὲ Αἰσχίνης] C. Ctes. (§ 83), where he observes: εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι (Φίλιππος) πόλει τινὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππῳ. Ἀλόννησον

ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. But though Demosthenes used this language, it does not follow that no other person did. Hegesippus might have used it first, and Demosthenes, as well as other orators, afterwards. In fact, the advice which Aeschines attributes to his rival, is attributed to all the orators of his party by the Epistola Philip. § 14: τοσαύτην δέ μου (Φιλίππου) ποιουμένου πρόνοιαν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, καὶ διδόντος αὐτῇ τὴν νῆσον οἱ ῥήτορες λαμβάνειν μὲν οὐκ εἶλον ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ συνεβούλευον.

τῆς αὐτῆς . . . προαιρέσεως] 'of the same principles in politics.' He was joined with Demosthenes in the embassy to dissuade the Peloponnesian cities from an alliance with Philip B.C. 343 (c. Phil. iii. § 85). And Philip banished Xenocleides the poet from Macedonia for having shown him hospitality when on an embassy to that king (F. L. § 379).

τὸν εὐρεθέντα προσέθεσαν] 'they ascribed to him the speech which they found,' i. e. without considering whether it was his or not.

φερόντων· δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, εἰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παρ- 77
ρησίαν αἱ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμπόμεναι ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέλοιεν.
ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλομαι πρῶτον μὲν
περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος ἐπέσταλκε, περὶ τούτων διεξελθεῖν· ὕστε-
ρον δὲ, περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς λέξομεν. 5

2 Φίλιππος γὰρ ἄρχεται μὲν περὶ Ἀλοννήσου λέγων ὡς
ὑμῖν δίδωσιν ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ οὗ φησι δικαίως
αὐτὸν ἀπαιτεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμετέραν οὖσαν οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε
νῦν ἔχειν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτους λόγους, ὅτε
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαμεν, ὡς ληστὰς ἀφελόμενος ταύτην 10
τὴν νῆσον κτήσαιοτο, καὶ προσήκειν αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι.
3 τούτου δὲ τὸν λόγον, ὥς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος, οὐ χαλεπὸν
ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἀφελέσθαι. ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ λησταὶ τοὺς
ἀλλοτρίους τόπους καταλαμβάνοντες καὶ τούτους ὀχυροὺς
ποιούμενοι ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἄλλους κακῶς ποιούσιν. ὁ δὲ 15
τοὺς ληστὰς τιμωρησάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἂν δήπου
εἰκότα λέγοι, εἰ φαίη, ἃ ἐκείνοι ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλλότρια εἶχον,
4 ταῦθ' ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα συγχωρήσετε, τί
κωλύει, καὶ εἴ τινα τῆς Ἀττικῆς λησταὶ τόπον καταλάβοιεν
ἢ Δήμνου ἢ Ἰμβρου ἢ Σκύρου, καὶ τινας τούτους τοὺς 20
ληστὰς ἐκκόψαιεν, εὐθὺς καὶ τὸν τόπον τούτου, οὗ ἦσαν οἱ
λησταί, τὸν ὄντα ἡμέτερον, τῶν τιμωρησαμένων τοὺς
5 ληστὰς γίνεσθαι; Φίλιππος δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτ' οὐ

ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν . . . βούλομαι . . . διεξελ-
θεῖν] 'I wish in my speech to you, first
of all, to go through the matters about
which Philip has written to us.'

ὡς ὑμῖν δίδωσιν] 'that he offers it to
you, though it belongs to himself.'

οὐ γὰρ ὑμετέραν] 'for neither was it
yours when he took it, nor is it so under
his present occupation.'

ὅτε . . . ἐπρεσβεύσαμεν] In B.C. 344—
343. The object of the embassy was to
obtain Philip's assent to some amend-
ments in the peace of B.C. 346, and to
demand the restoration of Halonnesus
(F. L. § 379).

ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος] '(by showing)
that it is not just.'

ὀχυρούς] Dindorf reads ἐχυρούς, with
the MSS. A and S. The Codex F has
ὀχυρούς.

ὁ δὲ . . . τιμωρησάμενος] 'whoever then

may chastise and overpower such pi-
rates.'

εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα] 'for if you shall allow
this, then supposing also that pirates
should seize upon any place in Attica,
and some persons should extirpate these
said pirates, what is there to prevent this
place too, where the pirates were, and
which belonged to us, from immediately
becoming the property of those who chas-
tised the pirates?'

Δήμνου] These islands were lost to
Athens by the battle of Aegospotami,
and recovered by the peace of Antalcidas
B.C. 387. Xen. Hell. v. 1. 31, and Aesch.
F. L. § 79.

ἐκκόψαιεν] Vömel illustrates the
meaning of this word here by Xen. Hell.
vii. 4. 26: ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ
λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβον.

δίκαια λέγων, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις ἄλλος ἐπιστάμενος παρα-
 κρουσθῆναι ἂν ὑμᾶς οἶεται ὑπὸ τῶν τάνταῦθα διοικήσειν, 25
 ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος βούληται, καὶ πρὶν ὑπεσχημένων, καὶ
 νῦν δὲ πραττόντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε λανθάνει 78
 αὐτὸν, ὅτι δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁποτέρῳ ἂν
 χρήσθε ὑμεῖς, ἔξετε τὴν νῆσον, ἂν τε λάβητε ἂν τ' ἀπολά-
 6 βητε. τί οὖν αὐτῷ διαφέρει μὴ τῷ δικαίῳ ὀνόματι χρη-
 σάμενον ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ δωρεὰν δεδωκέναι, τῷ 5
 ἀδίκῳ; οὐχ ἢ εὐεργέτημά τι καταλογίσηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 (γελοῖον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε τὸ εὐεργέτημα), ἀλλ' ἢ
 ἐνδείξεται ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἐν τῇ
 θαλάττῃ χωρία ἀγαπῶσι παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνης λαμβά-
 νοντες. τοῦτο δ' ὑμῖν οὐ ποιητέον ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 10
 ναῖοι.

7 Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ περὶ τούτων ὡς ἐθέλει διαδικάσασθαι,

διοικήσειν] The MSS. have ὑπὸ τῶν τάνταῦθα διοικήσειν μελλόντων. Bekker brackets μελλόντων. Dindorf omits it, and it is clearly inadmissible.

ἀλλὰ μὴν] Introducing the supposed objection of an opponent in order to answer it.

ἂν τε λάβητε] 'whether it be given, or given back to you.' C. R. K. The sentiment expressed by these words was a subject of jest and sarcasm to the comic writers of the age, as Antiphanes, Alexis, Anaxilas, and Timocles. Their witticisms upon it may be seen in Athenaeus (vi. 3. 4), introduced thus: καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, ὧ Τιμόκρατες, ἀποδιδόμεν σοι τὰ τῶν δειπνοσοφιστῶν λείψανα καὶ οὐ δίδομεν, ὡς ὁ Κοθωκίδης φησὶ ῥήτωρ (Aeschines, so called from his δῆμος, see c. Ctes. § 83) Δημοσθένην χλευάζων, ὃς Φιλίππου Ἀθηναῖοις Ἀλόννησον δίδοντας συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅπερ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεοττίδι παιδιὰν θέμενος ἐρεσχλεύει τόνδε τὸν τρόπον

Ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέλαβεν, ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν B. ἡγάγησεν ἂν τὸ ῥήμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

Compare also Meineke, Fragmenta iii. 92, and Plutarch, Dem. c. 9, who asserts that Antiphanes wrote the lines above quoted, in ridicule of the orator's use of antithesis (παρασκώπτων τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ); "unless," as

he suggests, "the joke was directed πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀλόννησου λόγον, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου."

τί οὖν ... διαφέρει] 'what then is the difference to him, if he does not restore it, using the just phrase, but give it as a present, using the unjust one?' It is manifest that the maintenance of national honour, and the assertion of their undoubted rights, were objects of much greater importance to the Athenians than the acquisition of a small island. On the other hand, the cession of a small territory was of no moment to Philip; compared with the assertion of his authority and the recognition of his supremacy among the Greeks. It is therefore easy to understand why the anti-Macedonian party at Athens refused to accept the cession of Halonnesus as a favour, and claimed its restitution as a right. Aeschines on the other hand (c. Ctes. § 83), and his Philippizing coadjutors, would and did treat the question as a controversy about syllables (περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος). Grote xi. 619.

διαδικάσασθαι] At Athens the term διαδικασία was technically used for a lawsuit between two private individuals, in questions of ownership, in which the State was not directly interested. See note on the De Cherson. § 59.

- οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χλευάζει ὑμᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀξιῶν Ἀθηναίους
 ὄντας πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ὁρμώμενον περὶ τῶν νήσων
 διαδικάζεσθαι, πότερ' ὑμέτεραι ἢ ἐκείνου εἰσὶν· ὁπότε γὰρ 15
 ἡ μὲν δύναμις ἡ ὑμέτερα, ἡ ἐλευθερώσασα τοὺς Ἑλληνας,
 μὴ δύναται ὑμῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρία σώζειν, οἱ δὲ
 δικασταὶ, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψητε, οἱ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου, οὗτοι
 8 ὑμῖν σώσουσιν, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος αὐτοὺς πρίηται, πῶς
 ὑμεῖς οὐχ ὁμολογουμένως, ὅταν ταῦτα διαπράττησθε, τῶν 20
 ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἀπάντων ἀφεστήκατε, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυτε ἅπασιν
 ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ ἐνὸς αὐτῷ διαγωνιείσθε, εἴγε περὶ
 τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οὗ φατέ ἰσχύειν, μὴ διαγωνιείσθε,
 ἀλλὰ διαδικάσεσθε ;
- 9 Ἔτι περὶ συμβόλων φησὶ πεπομφέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς 25
 ποιησομένους, ταῦτα δὲ κύρια ἔσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ
 δικαστηρίῳ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν κυρωθῇ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει,
 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανενεχθῇ, ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ' 79
 ὑμῶν γενομένην γνῶσιν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ποιοῦμενος· βούλεται

οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χλευάζει] 'he only mocks
 us.' C. R. K.

πρῶτον μὲν] There is no subsequent
clause commencing with *ἔπειτα δέ*, as we
 might have expected, to correspond with
πρῶτον μὲν. But, nevertheless, two distinct
 results are shown to be involved in
 Philip's proposal for litigation; *one* the
 humiliation of submitting to it with a
 man of Pella, and the *other* the abandonment
 by the Athenians of all their possessions
 on the continent, τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ
 ἀπάντων ἀφεστήκατε.

πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης] Compare De
 Cor. § 83, where Demosthenes speaks
 contemptuously of Philip, as τῷ ἐν Πέλλῃ
 τραφέντι, χωρὶς ἀδός· τότε γε ὄντι καὶ
 μικρῷ.

πῶς ὑμεῖς οὐχ] 'how can it be said
 that by acting in this manner you do not
 confessedly renounce every thing on the
 main land?' This was the second conse-
 quence of Philip's proposal, which would
 have been more regularly introduced by
 ἔπειτα δέ.

περὶ συμβόλων] A σύμβολον was an
 international contract, determining the
 general principles and tribunals for the
 judicial settlement of disputes between
 the citizens of the two contracting States,
 and suits carried on under such σύμβολα

were called συμβόλαια δίκαι, or δίκαι ἀπὸ
 συμβόλων. Harpocration explains σύμ-
 बोла thus: συνθῆκαι ὡς ἐν ἀλλήλαις αἱ
 πόλεις θέμεναι τάττωσι τοῖς πολίταις,
 ὥστε δίδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν τὰ δίκαια.
 See Dict. of Antiq. s. v.

τῷ δικαστηρίῳ] From this it would
 seem that the ratification of such an in-
 ternational compact was determined upon
 not by an ἐκκλησία, or assembly of the
 Athenian people, but by a court of
 Athenian δικασταί, i. e. judges, or rather
 jurors; for they were a numerous body,
 and acted both as judge and jury. The
 antiquarian Pollux (viii. 88) indeed states
 that such σύμβολα were ratified by the
 Thesmothetae, τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς
 πόλεις κροῦσιν (οἱ θεσμοθέται). But this
 can scarcely mean any thing more than
 that they drew up those agreements,
 and presided over the courts of ratifica-
 tion.

ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν] 'making the
 decision that has been determined upon
 by you a matter to be referred to himself.'
 But the Athenians must have been very
 weak and very arrogant to suppose that
 Philip would assent to their decision with-
 out any reference to himself. He could
 not even know what it was till it was re-
 ported to him from Athens.

γὰρ ὑμῶν τοῦτο προλαβεῖν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον ἐν τοῖς
 συμβόλοις καταστήσαι, ὅτι τῶν περὶ Ποτιδαίαν γέγενη-
 μένων ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἐγκαλεῖτε αὐτῷ ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, 5
 ἀλλὰ βεβαιοῦτε δικαίως αὐτὴν ἐκείνον καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ
 10 κεκτήσθαι. καίτοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντές,
 οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς πολέμου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίας,
 καὶ ὄρκων ὁμωμοσμένων, οὓς Φίλιππος τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν
 Ποτιδαίᾳ ὤμοσεν, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κτήματα. 10
 ταῦτα δὴ βούλεται τὰδικήματα πανταχῶς παρ' ὑμῖν
 βεβαιώσασθαι, ὅτι οὐτ' ἐγκαλεῖτε αὐτῷ οὐθ' ἡγείσθε
 11 ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε συμβόλων οὐδὲν δέονται Μακε-
 δόνες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὁ παρεληλυθὼς ὑμῖν χρόνος τεκμή-
 ριον γενέσθω· οὐτε γὰρ Ἀμύντας ὁ πατὴρ ὁ Φιλίππου 15
 οὐθ' οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε σύμβολα
 12 ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν. καίτοι πλείους
 γε ἦσαν αἱ ἐπιμιξίαι τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ νῦν εἰσὶν· ἐφ'
 ἡμῖν γὰρ ἦν ἡ Μακεδονία καὶ φόρους ἡμῖν ἔφερον, καὶ

ἀλλὰ βεβαιοῦτε] 'but confirm the lawfulness both of his taking and holding it.' C. R. K. It is not easy to see how this could be, unless there were some clause in the proposed treaty specially relating to Potidaea, and the claims which Athenian citizens might have upon Philip for the property of which he deprived them when he took it. Of course if it were proposed that they should sue as Macedonians, or that they should be deprived of all right to sue Philip at all, the orator's argument was a good one; and an Athenian statesman would naturally fear that if the final settlement of the compact were left to Philip, he would insert a clause to that effect. But as the territory of Potidaea, when captured by Philip, together with the possessions of the Athenian citizens in it, had been transferred to the Olynthians (Phil. ii. § 22, De Chers. § 67), and their independent existence had been subsequently annihilated, and all their possessions, acquired as well as original, been appropriated by himself, it has been suggested by Franke, that Philip's object might have been gained by the addition of the following proviso: "Si bona alicujus fuerint in possessione tertii, dominus in jus vocato eum, unde tertius acceperit." Such

a clause would have prevented any Athenian citizen from suing any Macedonian for property lost at Potidaea, and transferred, first to the Olynthians and then to Philip or his subjects. The 'is unde tertius acceperit' in that case would have been a defunct personage, and the claimant without any real remedy. But this supposition is much too elaborate and refined, nor does it accord with the simpler statement in § 10: ταῦτα δὴ βούλεται... ἀδικεῖσθαι.

συμμαχίας, καὶ ὄρκων] We have no other information on these subjects.

βεβαιώσασθαι] 'he wishes then by all means to get an acknowledgment from you.' For πανταχῶς some MSS. have πανταχόσε.

πλείους γε ἦσαν αἱ ἐπιμιξίαι] 'the occasions of mutual intercourse with one another were more frequent.' So ἐπιγαμία expresses the 'connubium,' or right of mutual intermarriage between the inhabitants of two states. See Donaldson's Cratylus, p. 222.

ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν] I am not aware of, and I cannot believe that there is, any really historical foundation for this statement. Before the reign of Philip, indeed, the Athenians possessed the towns of Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone, on the Thermaic

- τοῖς ἐμπορίοις τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐκεῖ κακῆνοι 20
 τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι οὐκ ἦσαν,
 ὥσπερ νῦν, ἀκριβεῖς, αἱ κατὰ μῆνα, ποιοῦσαι μηδὲν
 δεῖσθαι συμβόλων τοὺς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας.
 13 ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ὄντος τότε, οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει
 σύμβολα ποιησαμένους οὗτ' ἐκ Μακεδονίας πλεῖν Ἀθή- 25
 ναζε δίκας ληψομένους, οὐθ' ἡμῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀλλ'
 ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις ἐκεῖνοί τε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς
 δίκας ἐλάμβανον. μὴ οὖν ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα 80
 γίγνεται εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μηδ' ἀμφισβητῆσαι ὑμᾶς εὐ-
 λόγως ἔτι Ποτιδαίας.
 14 Περὶ δὲ τῶν ληστῶν δίκαιόν φησιν εἶναι κωμῇ φυλάτ-
 τειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κακουργοῦντας ὑμᾶς τε καὶ αὐτόν, 5

Gulf (c. Phil. i. § 6); from which, as well as other cities on the Macedonian coast, they probably derived some revenue. In fact, Thucydides (i. 56) distinctly states that Potidaea before its revolt was tributary to Athens (ἐνμαχῶς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς). But this circumstance, though it might have suggested, does not justify, the assertion that the kings of Macedonia ever paid tribute to, or that the country was in any way dependent upon, Athens. But, curiously enough, Arrian (vii. c. 9) represents Alexander as recognizing this dependence, in the speech which he made to his discontented soldiers at Opis in Babylonia, on the Tigris, after his return from the Punjab to Persepolis (Arrian vii. 1). Referring to Philip he says: Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Θηβαίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αἰετὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἐς τοσόνδε ἐταπείνωσεν, ὥς ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρου τελεῖν Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπακούειν Θηβαίων, παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνους τὴν ἀσφάλειαν σφίσι πορίζεσθαι. So Libanius (iv. p. 241), as quoted by Jacobs, makes Philip himself say, ἐγὼ παῖς ὢν Ἀμύντου φόρους Ἀθηναίους φέροντος, but we do not know on what authority. Comp. Olyn. iii. § 28, and Böckh, Pol. Econ. iii. § 16.

ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι] Trials on mercantile disputes, called also ἔμμηνοι δίκαι, because they were decided within a month. They were heard during the six winter months, from Boedromion (November) to Munychion (April), and decided quickly, in order that the merchants might obtain their rights and sail away. Demos. adv. Apat. § 29, adv. Pant. § 3.

Böckh, Dissertation on Silver Mines of Laurion, I, c. 9. Also Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Ἐμμηνοὶ δίκαι.

ἀκριβεῖς] 'heard at fixed intervals, once a month, dispensing with any necessity for international contracts between parties at such a distance from each other.'

οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει] The action being brought in the country where the matter in dispute was situated, the 'locus in quo.' In the next clause, ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ, Franke thinks there is some inaccuracy of expression, as δίκας ἐλάμβανον implies that an Athenian plaintiff sought redress from the laws of Macedonia, an assertion apparently inconsistent with the argument and the first clause of the sentence. We might therefore (he adds) have expected ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις, ἐκεῖνοί τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ, τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον, rather than the present text. But good sense may be made of it as it stands if we interpret it to mean, that in former times, and without any international contracts, each party was content to abide by the laws of the country where he was when the dispute arose, or where the matter in dispute was situated, without any appeal from Macedon to Athens, or from Athens to Macedon. But the fact is, when an orator confines himself to generalities, as here, it is almost impossible to explain them by hypothetical particulars.

εἰς ὑποδοχὴν] "Ad impetrandum, ut homines opinentur vos." Reiske. 'For an admission that you have no longer any pretext for laying claim to Potidaea.'

οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτ' ἀξιῶν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
κατασταθῆναι, καὶ ὁμολογήσαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνευ Φιλίππου
οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φυλακὴν δυνατοὶ ἔστε φυλάττειν,
15 ἔτι δὲ καὶ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἄδειαν, περιπλέοντι
καὶ ὀρμιζομένῳ εἰς τὰς νήσους ἐπὶ προφάσει τῇ τῶν 10
ληστῶν φυλακῇ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νησιώτας καὶ ἀφιστάναι
ὑμῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς
Θάσον κεκομικέναι διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ
16 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους οἰκειώσασθαι, συμπέμπων τοὺς
συμπλευσομένους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὡς 15
κοινωνήσοντας τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν φυλακῆς. καίτοι οὗ
φασί τινες αὐτὸν προσδεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν
δεόμενος τριήρεις κατασκευάζεται, καὶ νεωσοίκους οἰκοδο-
μεῖται, καὶ ἀποστολούς ἀποστέλλειν βούλεται καὶ δαπάνας
17 οὐ μικρὰς δαπανᾶν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνους, ὧν 20
οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ.

Ταῦτ' οὖν οἶεσθ' ἂν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον
ἀξιῶσαι ὑμᾶς συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ὑμῶν μὲν κατ-
εφρόνει, οὓς δ' ἐνθάδε προήρηται φίλους κεκτήσθαι, τού-
τοις διεπίστευεν; οἳ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται Φιλίππῳ ζῶντες καὶ 25
οὐ τῇ αὐτῶν πατρίδι, καὶ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεὰς λαμ-
βάνοντες οἶονται οἴκαδε λαμβάνειν, τὰ οἴκοι πωλοῦντες.

· ὑφ' ὑμῶν . . . κατασταθῆναι] 'to be established by you on the sea.'

ἔτι δὲ καὶ δοθῆναι] 'and moreover that he may have the license granted him of sailing up and down, and touching at the islands on the pretext of watching the pirates, so as to corrupt the islanders and seduce them from you, and not only to have the fugitives harboured with himself restored to Thasos, by means of your generals, but also' &c. The island of Thasos off the coast of Thrace was then occupied by the Athenians, and it would seem from the text that some of the inhabitants, being either ill-disposed to, or suspected by them, had fled from the island and taken refuge with Philip. The past perfect κεκομικέναι, compared with the aorist οἰκειώσασθαι, implies that he had effected their restoration, and the explanation of the Scholiast asserts that he had done so. It is as follows: ἐλεγ-

χθέντες γὰρ τινες τῶν Θασίων, ὡς μέλουσι Φιλίππῳ προδιδόναι τὰ πράγματα, ἐφυγάδευσαν ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν. τούτους δ' Φίλιππος πείσας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Χάρητα κατήγαγεν.

τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ] The genitive with παρὰ is here used in a pregnant sense to express the departure of the fugitives from a place in which they had been harboured.

ὁ δ' οὐδὲν δεόμενος] 'and yet forsooth this man who has no need of the sea.' This is of course ironical.

ὧν οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ] 'which he cares nothing about.' Mr. Kennedy: 'for maritime enterprizes on which he sets no value.' Jacobs: 'und will Flotten aussenden und keinen kleinen Aufwand zu Unternehmungen auf dem Meere machen, das ihm so gleichgültig ist.'

καὶ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου] 'and fancy on receiving their presents from him that they

- 18 Περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ 81
 παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντες ἐπανορθώσασθαι, ὅτι ἐπνηρωθω-
 σάμεθα, ὃ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογεῖται δίκαιον
 εἶναι, ἐκατέρους ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἀμφισβητεῖ μὴ δεδω-
 κέναι μηδὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ταυτ' εἰρηκέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 5
 οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τούτων, οἷς χρῆται φίλοις,
 19 ὥς ὑμεῖς οὐ μνημονεύετε τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰρημένα. μόνον
 δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀμνημονῆσαι· ἐν γὰρ τῇ
 αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑμῖν καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου
 ἦκοντες διελέγοντο καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη, ὥστ' οὐχ 10
 οἷόν τέ ἐστι παραχρῆμα τῶν λόγων εἰρημένων καὶ εὐθὺς
 τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐπαναγινωσκομένου τὴν καταψευδομένην
 γνώμην τῶν πρέσβεων, ταύτην ὑμᾶς χειροτονῆσαι* ὥστε
 τοῦτο μὲν οὐ κατ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' καθ' ὑμῶν ἐπέσταλκεν, ὥς
 ὑμεῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἠκούσατε, περὶ τούτων ἀποκρινάμενοι 15
 20 τὴν γνώμην ἀπεστεύλατε. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις αὐτοῖς,
 ὧν κατεψεύδετο τὸ ψήφισμα, ὅτ' ἀπεκρίνεσθε αὐτοῖς

receive them to carry home, while they are selling all at home,' as the real consideration for his gifts. In other words they fancy that Philip makes them presents from generosity and benevolence to themselves, whereas in fact they buy them by selling the interests of their country.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης] Some MSS. have τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως before τῆς εἰρήνης, which Bekker brackets and Dindorf omits. It is not found in the Codex S.

οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου] From the sequel of this oration (§ 21) it appears that Philip had been anxious to counteract the effects which the harangues of Demosthenes (c. Phil. ii. pp. 70, 71) were calculated to produce against him, and that for this purpose he sent Python, an eloquent Byzantine, as ambassador to Athens. In conformity, doubtless, with his instructions, this envoy complained of the alleged calumnies of the orators against Philip, and in proof of his friendly disposition towards Athens, offered on his behalf to review and amend the terms of the peace of 346 B.C. which the enemies of Philip had denounced as alike dishonourable and injurious to Athens. Accordingly, two amendments were proposed and carried in the Athenian assembly, which, as the

author of this oration declares, were either positively accepted or tacitly acquiesced in by Philip's agents, but repudiated by himself. What these were will be seen hereafter.

ὅτι ἐπνηρωσάμεθα] 'whereas we made the amendment.' But ὅτι by itself is not satisfactory in this sense.

ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν] Instead of the original proviso 'that each party should hold what they actually had.' This was amendment No. 1, and it appears from § 27 that the authors and supporters of it either maintained that it implied the restoration of Amphipolis to Athens, or coupled with it a declaration to that effect.

τὴν καταψευδομένην . . . χειροτονῆσαι] 'it is not possible for you to have passed at once a resolution which misrepresented the ambassadors,' the decree being read over immediately after their speeches were made. Παραχρῆμα is the adverb to χειροτονῆσαι.

ὥς . . . ἀπεστεύλατε] 'that you sent your resolution by way of answer in respect of matters about which you had heard nothing.'

ὅτ' ἀπεκρίνεσθε] "Id est ὅτε ἀνεγινώσκετε αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπόκρισιν." Reiske.

ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια αὐτοὺς ἐκαλείτε, οὐκ
 ἐτόλμησαν παρελθεῖν, οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ καταψεύδεσθε
 ἡμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φατέ ἡμᾶς εἰρηκέναι ἃ 20
 21 οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν,” ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ ἀπιόντες ὥχοντο. βούλομαι
 δ' ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (καὶ γὰρ ἠνδοκίμησεν ὁ
 Πύθων παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ δημηγορίᾳ, ὃ τότε πρεσβεύων)
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἔλεγεν, ὑπομνήσας οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι
 μέμνησθε. παραπλήσιοι δ' ἦσαν οἷς καὶ νῦν ἐπέσταλκε 25
 Φίλιππος· ἐγκαλῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῖς διαβάλλουσι τὸν Φίλιπ-
 22 πον, καὶ ὑμῶν ἐμέμφετο ὅτι ὠρμηκότος αὐτοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν 82
 ὑμᾶς καὶ προηρημένου μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλους
 κεκτηθῆσαι αὐτοὶ κωλύετε, ἀποδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους
 τῶν στυκοφαντούντων καὶ χρήματα ἐκείνων αἰτούντων καὶ
 διαβαλλόντων· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους λόγους, ὅταν ἀπαγγελ- 5
 λόντων ἀκούῃ, ὅτι κακῶς ἤκουεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπεδέχεσθε,
 μεταβάλλειν αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, ὅταν ἄπιστος φαίνεται
 23 τούτοις ὧν προήρηται εὐεργέτης εἶναι. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τοὺς
 λέγοντας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῇ μὲν εἰρήνῃ μὴ ἐπιτιμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἄξιον εἶναι εἰρήνην λύειν· εἰ δέ τι μὴ καλῶς γέγραπται ἐν 10
 τῇ εἰρήνῃ, τοῦτ' ἐπαγορεύεσθαι, ὥς ἅπαντα Φίλιππον
 ποιήσοντα, ὅς' ἂν ὑμεῖς ψηφίσῃσθε· εἰ δὲ διαβάλλωσι
 μὲν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μηδὲν γράφωσι δι' οὗ ἢ μὲν εἰρήνη ἔσται,
 παύσεται δ' ἀπιστούμενος ὁ Φίλιππος, μὴ προσέχειν τὸν

ἐπὶ ξένια] The common reading is ἐπὶ ξενίαν. One (F) has ἐπὶ ξενία, and another (Y) ξενία, as if for ξένια, which Dindorf prefers as supported by the general usage of other writers and inscriptions. It certainly sounds more idiomatic.

ὁ Πύθων] This Python was a man of considerable ability as a speaker, and from the De Corona (§ 173) it would appear that Demosthenes was almost the only person of the age who could cope with him. On one occasion he was silenced by Demosthenes in the presence of an assembly of Philip's allies. At least so Demosthenes asserted. Grote xi. 616.

ὁ τότε πρεσβεύων] From this we may infer that Python did not form one of the second embassy which Philip sent to Athens (B.C. 343) to refuse his acquiescence in the amendments to the peace, which the Athenians had proposed to the

first embassy, of which Python was a member (B.C. 343). It was in answer to the charges and reclamations made by this second embassy on the same subject, that this oration was delivered. The absence of Python from the second embassy confirms the allegations of the writer.

ἀποδεχόμενοι] 'listening to the speeches of those who slander him, and ask him for money, and abuse him.' Most of the MSS. have τοὺς λόγους before τῶν στυκοφαντούντων, which the Codex S omits. Bekker brackets the words, and the general usage of the verb would suggest their omission. But it is found in Demosthenes more than once with an accusative, and therefore I follow the majority of the MSS.

ὅταν ἄπιστος] 'when it is evident that he is distrusted by those of whom he purposed to be the benefactor.'

- 24 νούν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις. καὶ τούτους τοὺς λόγους 15
 ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες ἀπεδέχεσθε, καὶ δίκαια ἔφατε τὸν Πύθωνα
 λέγειν. καὶ ἦν δίκαια. ἔλεγε δὲ τούτους τοὺς λόγους οὐχ
 ὅπως λυθείη ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐκείνῳ συμφέροντα καὶ
 ὦν πολλὰ χρήματα ἀνηλώκει ὥστε γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐνθάδε διδασκάλων προδεδιδαγμένος, οἱ οὐκ ᾔοντο εἶναι 20
 τὸν γράφοντα ἐναντία τῷ Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματι, τῷ
 ἀπολλύντι Ἀμφίπολιν. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 25 παράνομον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησα γράψαι, τῷ δὲ Φιλο-
 κράτους ψηφίσματι οὐκ ἦν παράνομον τὰναντία γράφειν,
 ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω· τὸ γὰρ ψήφισμα τὸ Φιλοκράτους, καθ' ὃ 25
 ὑμεῖς ἀπώλλυτε Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐναντίον ἦν τοῖς προτέροις
 ψηφίσμασι, καθ' ἃ ὑμεῖς ἐκτίησασθε ταύτην τὴν χώραν.
 26 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παράνομον ἦν τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τοῦ Φιλο- 83
 κράτους, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν τὸν τὰ ἔννομα γράφοντα
 ταῦτα τῷ παρανόμῳ ψηφίσματι γράφειν. ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς
 προτέροις ψηφίσμασι, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐννόμοις καὶ σώζουσιν
 τὴν ὑμετέραν χώραν, ταῦτα γράφῳ ἐννομά τ' ἔγραφον 5
 καὶ ἐξήλεγχον τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι ἐξηπάτα ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ
 ἐπανορθώσασθαι ἐβούλετο τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 27 ὑμῶν λέγοντας ἀπίστους καταστήσαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν δούς

οὐχ ὅπως λυθείη] 'not with a view to striking out from the treaty articles which were for his advantage.'

ῶστε γενέσθαι] 'for securing their admission.'

παράνομον μὲν οὐδέν] The orator wishes to prove that he had not really made himself liable to a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, though *prima facie* he might have been so proceeded against. For the resolution of Philocrates had certainly become the law of the land; and therefore so far the orator who proposed a resolution at variance with it, might be said to propose what was contrary to the law (*τὰ παράνομα*), and be indicted by a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. But, argues the orator, the resolution of Philocrates was itself at variance with former resolutions which had become the law of the land, so that his own proposition was really in accordance with the old law, instead of a contravention of it. It does not appear from this argument nor from

any statement in the speech, that the Athenian amendments to the peace expressly provided for the restoration of Amphipolis, and it was competent for any one to argue that the restoration was implied by the proviso that each party should have their own, *ἐκατέρους ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν*.

τῷ δὲ Φιλοκράτους . . . ψηφίσματι] In March B.C. 346, when Philocrates moved and carried a resolution for peace with Philip on the principle of 'uti possidetis.' Amphipolis, though an old possession of Athens, was thus virtually ceded to Philip. See Introduction to the *De Pace*.

τοῖς . . . σώζουσιν] 'which were according to law, and for the preservation of your territory.'

καὶ ἐξήλεγχον] 'and I convicted Philip of deceiving you, and not wishing to have the peace amended, but to bring those who advocate your interests into discredit.'

τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν νῦν ἑξαρκὸς ἐστὶν ἅπαντες ἴστε. φησὶ δ' Ἀμφίπολιν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι ὑμᾶς γὰρ ψηφίσασθαι ἐκείνου 10 εἶναι, ὅτ' ἐψηφίσασθε ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἃ εἶχεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε, οὐ μέντοι γ' ἐκείνου εἶναι Ἀμφίπολιν· ἔστι γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ τὰλλότρια, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰλλότρια κέκτηνται· ὥστε τοῦτό γε τὸ σοφὸν αὐτοῦ ἡλίθιον ἐστίν. 15
 28 καὶ τοῦ μὲν Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματος μέμνηται, τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψεν ὅτ' Ἀμφίπολιν ἐπολιόρκει, ἐπιλέλησται, ἐν ᾗ ὡμολόγει τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ὑμετέραν εἶναι· ἔφη γὰρ ἐκπολιορκήσας ὑμῖν ἀποδώσειν ὡς οὔσαν
 29 ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐχόντων. καὶ κεῖνοι μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ 20 πρότερον ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει οἰκοῦντες πρὶν Φίλιππον λαβεῖν, τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Φίλιππος αὐτὴν εἵληφεν, οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθὸν γε, οὐδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν οὐδὲ Παλλήνην ἄλλο-

ἔστι γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ τὰλλότρια] Translate: 'for it is possible to hold the property of others;' or, if you please, with Leland: 'for a man may possess the property of others.' The sentence expressed at full is: 'for it is possible to hold (rather, to be in possession of) the property of others, as well as your own.' "The last five words demonstrate the meaning of καί. Why do I omit them? Because that full demonstration is purchased at the price of too much verbiage; and the idea is sufficiently expressed without it, if you read the sentence properly, laying the emphasis where you ought." C. R. K.

ἔφη γὰρ . . . ἀποδώσειν.] This was in b.c. 358, and Philip doubtless adopted this expedient to prevent the Athenians sending aid to the Amphipolitans as requested by them. Comp. Olyn. i. § 8, and c. Aristoc. § 138: καὶ κεῖνοι εἰδότες, ὅτι Φίλιππος, ὅτε μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐπολιόρκει, ἵν' ὑμῖν παραδῶ, πολιορκεῖν ἔφη· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔλαβεν, καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προσ-αφείλετο.

οὐδ' Ὀλυνθὸν γε] 'Olynthus also forsooth, and Apollonia, and Pallene are held by him, not by usurpation, but as his own domains.'

οὐδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν] Of two towns of this name, one now *Polighero* (Lat. 40. 24 N.) lay south of the mountain range of

Chalcidice, and about twelve miles (*ἐννῆ-κοντα στάδια*) only from Olynthus (Xen. Hell. v. 3. 11), which we may therefore suppose to be meant here. The other, now *Pollina* (Lat. 40. 36 N.), was near the lake Bolbe, and between Thessalonica and Amphipolis, on the line of the great military Roman road, the *Via Egnatia* (Steph. Byzan. s. v. Acts xvii. 1). Pliny (iv. 17) describes it as 'recedens a mari,' and in the 'regio Mygdoniae subjacens.' Hence it is sometimes distinguished as the Mygdonian Apollonia, and apparently with good reason. For the territory round L. Bolbe was certainly Mygdonia (τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην, Thucyd. i. 58), and from Thucyd. iv. 103 we may also infer that no part of it was in Chalcidice. Moreover, the hills which bound the basin of the lake on the s. formed a natural division between the two countries. But Hegesander (Athen. viii. 11) distinguishes it (though perhaps by mistake) as the 'Chalcidican,' for he says: Περὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν δύο ποταμοὶ ρέουσιν Ἀμυλῆς καὶ Ὀλυνθιακός, ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἀμφοτέροις εἰς τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην, and he adds that the hero Olynthus was the son of Hercules and Bolbe. Accordingly, in some maps this town is marked Apollonia Chalcidice, a name which, from the facts before stated, we should rather have expected to have

- 30 τρίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας κέκτηται. ἄρ' ὑμῖν δόκει 25
 πεφυλαγμένως ἅπαντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστέλλειν, ὅπως ἂν
 φαίνεται καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἅ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις 84
 ὁμολογεῖται δίκαια εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐ σφόδρα καταπεφρονηκέ-
 ναι, ὅς τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν
 ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὁμολογήκασιν ὑμετέραν εἶναι, ταύτην
 φησὶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑμετέραν εἶναι ; 5
- 31 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἐπανορθώματος, ὃ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ
 ἐπληρωρθώσασθε, τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι μὴ κοινωνοῦσι
 τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους εἶναι, καὶ ἐάν τις
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύῃ, βοηθεῖν τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας τῆς εἰρή-
 32 νης, ἡγούμενοι καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, 10
 μὴ μόνον ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους καὶ
 Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐκείνου ἄγειν τὴν
 εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ μήθ' ἡμετέρους ὄντας μήτε Φιλίππου
 συμμάχους ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων

been given to the Apollonia farther south. But there are various other towns of the same name, as may be seen in the index to Mr. Long's Atlas of Classical Geography. One, e. g., was in the Acte or Peninsula of M. Athos (Plin. iv. 17); another in Lower Thrace, which from Livy's account (xxxviii. 51) lay not far from the coast, between Maroneia and Abdera. Herodotus, again, mentions two more, one on the Euxine (iv. 90, and Pliny xxxi. 28) and the other a short distance from the Ionian Sea (ix. 92) in Illyria, the most important and well-known town of the name, which Cicero (Phil. xi. 10) describes as "Apolloniam magnam urbem et gravem." It was situate at the mouth of the river Aeas, or Aous, nearly on the same degree of latitude (40. 40 N.) as the Mygdonian, and also on the Via Egnatia, where it commenced in Western Greece. Pliny mentions others in the Troas or Mysia, in Palestine and Cyrenaica, and the Apollonia Thynias as an island in the Euxine.

ἀλλ' οὐ σφόδρα] 'or rather to have treated you with supreme contempt.'

ὅς τὴν χώραν] 'when he asserts that the very same territory which the Greeks and the Persian king voted and have acknowledged to be yours, is not yours but belongs to himself.' This acknow-

ledgment of the Persian king was made by a kind of imperial rescript in B.C. 367, obtained by the Athenians, as an amendment of one previously obtained by Pelopidas in the interest of Thebes. See notes on De F. L. §§ 35, 150. The Lacedaemonians and their allies had made the same admission in covenanting (Thucyd. v. 18) to restore Amphipolis to Athens by the peace of Nicias (B.C. 421). According to Aeschines (F. L. § 35) even Amyntas, the father of Philip, had by an accredited envoy to a congress at Athens (probably in B.C. 371) solemnly recognized this right of the Athenians, and undertaken to co-operate in asserting it: ἐψηφίσαντο Ἀμφίπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων συνεξαίρειν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, Ἀθηναίοις. Grote x. 337.

δίκαιον. . . καὶ φιλόανθρωπον] 'just and humane.'

τοὺς δὲ μήθ' ἡμετέρους] 'while those who are neither our allies nor Philip's were exposed and crushed by the more powerful.' But the whole sentence is awkwardly constructed, and certainly would have been clearer, if omitting the intermediate clause, τοὺς δὲ . . . ἀπόλλυσθαι, it had been written μὴ μόνον ἡμᾶς . . . ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μηδετέρων ὄντας συμμάχους.

ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰρήνην 15
 ὑπάρχειν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ ὄντι εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἡμᾶς
 33 καταθεμένους τὰ ὄπλα, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα ὁμολογῶν
 ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ὡς ἀκούετε, δίκαιόν τ' εἶναι καὶ δέχεσθαι,
 Φεραίων μὲν ἀφήρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκρο-
 34 πόλει κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ᾦσιν, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀμβρα- 20
 κίαν στρατεύεται, τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς πόλεις, Παν-
 δοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἑλάτειαν, Ἑλείων ἀποικίας,
 κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος
 παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν.
 σφόδρα γε βούλεται τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ 25
 αὐτόνομους, ὡς δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ὧν ὑμῖν διατελεῖ ὑπισχνού-
 μενος ὡς μεγάλα ὑμᾶς εὐεργετήσων, καταψεύδεσθαί μέ
 35 φησιν αὐτοῦ διαβάλλοντα πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οὐδὲν γὰρ 85
 ὑμῖν πάποτε φησιν ὑπεσχῆσθαι. οὕτως ἀναιδής ἐστίν ὁ
 ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γεγραφώς, ἧ ἐστὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτ'
 ἐπιστομιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἔφη τοὺς ἑαυτῷ ἀντιλέγοντας, εἰάν ἡ

[τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα] The particle δέ is here, as in other places, used to recall the reader's attention to the original subject of discussion, after the introduction of topics likely to make him forget it. Translate: 'as for this amendment I say, though he confesses in his letter, as you hear, both that it is just and that he admits it.'

[φρουρὰν . . . κατέστησεν] So F. L. § 295 (referring to the Thessalians): τὰς ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσι.

[ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν] This oration was delivered in B.C. 343—342, which consequently must have been the year of the expedition into Ambracia, near the north coast of the modern Gulf of Arta. The occupation of Pherae was probably in the previous year, B.C. 344. 'Compare c. Phil. iii. § 36: ἐφ' Ἑλλησποντον οἵχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν.

[Βούχετα] The derivation of this name given in Harpocration s. v. is too amusing to be omitted. It is there gravely said to have originated in the fact of Themis having been carried to the place in Deucalion's flood, ἐπὶ βοῦς ὀχουμένην.

[Ἑλείων ἀποικίας] Philip had gained a footing in Elis itself by supplying troops

to an oligarchical faction there, and his interference appears to have occasioned, or at any rate to have been followed by, a bloody revolution (αἱ ἐν Ἑλιδι σφαγαί). F. L. § 295. Paus. iv. 28. 3. The seizure of the Elean colonies (B.C. 344) was probably connected with this intervention. The district in which they lay formed a portion of Chaonia in the N. W. of Epirus, and its ancient name is indicated by the Gulf of Kassopo, N. E. of Corfu. There was a city called Cassiope (Cicero, Ad Div. xvi. 9) on the opposite coast of Coreyra, and Strabo (vii. p. 324) states that the Cassiope Portus in Chaonia was 1700 stadia from Brundisium.

[Ἀλεξάνδρῳ] A brother-in-law of Philip, and raised by him to the sovereignty over the Molossians of Epirus, in the place of their former king Arrhymas. Justin viii. 6. Diod. xvi. 72.

[ἐν ἐπιστολῇ] The letter which Philip sent by the ten ambassadors on their return home from the first embassy on the peace. Comp. F. L. § 363: συνέγραψε δ' ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ἡμᾶς, ἧ μάλιστα ἂν φέτο τῆς εἰρήνης τυχεῖν. See also Introduction to the De Pace.

- εἰρήνῃ γένηται, τοσαῦτα ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ποιήσῃ, ἃ γράφειν 5.
 ἂν ἤδη, εἰ ἤδει τὴν εἰρήνην ἐσομένην, δῆλον ὡς προ-
 κεχειρισμένων καὶ ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ ἐμέλ-
 λομεν πείσεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης. γενομένης δὲ
 τῆς εἰρήνης, ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλομεν ἀγαθὰ πείσεσθαι,
 ἐκποδῶν ἐστὶ, φθορὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοσαύτη γέγονεν 10
 ὅσῃν ὑμεῖς ἴστε. ὑμῖν δ' ἐν τῇ νυνὶ ἐπιστολῇ ὑπισχνεῖται,
 ἔαν τοῖς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγουσι
 πιστεύητε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς διαβάλλοντας αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 36 τιμαρῆσθε, ὥς μεγάλα ὑμᾶς εὐεργετήσῃ. τὰ μέντοι
 εὐεργετήματα τοιαῦτα ἔσται· οὔτε τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν ἀπο- 15
 δώσει (ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ φησιν εἶναι), οὔτ' ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη αἰ
 δωρεαὶ ἔσονται, ἵνα μὴ διαβληθῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας,
 ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις χώρα καὶ ἄλλος, ὡς ἔοικε, τόπος φανήσεται,
 οὗ ὑμῖν αἰ δωρεαὶ δοθήσονται.
- 37 Περὶ δ' ὧν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ εἵληφε χωρίων, ὑμῶν ἐχόντων, 20
 παρασπονδῶν καὶ λύων τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχεις τι
 εἶπη, ἀλλ' ἀδικῶν φανερώς ἐξελέγχεται, ἐπιτρέπειν φησὶ
 περὶ τούτων ἔτοιμος εἶναι ἴσῳ καὶ κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ, περὶ
 ὧν μόνων οὐδὲν δεῖ ἐπιτροπῆς, ἀλλ' ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν
 ὁ κρίνων. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἴσμεν τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι ἡμέρᾳ ἡ 25
 38 εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ὥσπερ δὲ ταῦτα ἴσμεν, κακέῖνα ἴσμεν,
 τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι ἡμέρᾳ Σέρρειον τείχος καὶ Ἐργίσκη καὶ
 Ἱερὸν ὄρος ἐάλω. οὐ δὴ ἀφανὴς ἐστὶ τὰ οὕτωπραχθέντα, 86
 οὐδὲ κρίσεως δεόμενα, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι γνώριμα πότερος πρό-
 τερος μὴν ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο ἢ ἐν ᾧ τὰ χωρία
 ἐάλω.

γράφειν ἂν ἤδη] So F. L. § 45: ἔγραφον δ' ἂν καὶ διαρρήδην ἡλίκᾳ ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσω, εἰ εὖ ᾔδειν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν μοι γεννησομένην.

δῆλον ὡς] 'clearly on the understanding that the advantages which we were to receive in the event of peace being made, were prepared and ready to hand.'

τὰ μέντοι εὐεργετήματα] 'as for his services, however, such will be their character.'

ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη] 'in our part of the world,' i. e. in Hellas.

ἵνα μὴ διαβληθῇ] 'of promoting the

aggrandizement of Athens.'

ὑμῶν ἐχόντων] 'while you were in possession of them;' i. e. by means of your garrisons. Comp. c. Phil. iii. § 20: τοὺς ἐκ Σερρείου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλον, οὓς δ' ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν.

κακέῖνα ἴσμεν] 'so do we know that also.'

Σέρρειον τείχος] These places were in Thrace, and taken by Philip from Cersobleptes, an ally of Athens, after the peace of 346 B.C. was agreed upon, but before Philip had sworn to it.

- 39 Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 5
 ἔάλωσαν, ἀποδεδωκέναι· ὃς τὸν μὲν Καρύστιον, τὸν πρόξε-
 νον τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ὑπὲρ οὗ ὑμεῖς τρεῖς πρεσβείας
 ἐπέμψατε ἀπαιτοῦντες, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνος οὕτω
 σφόδρα ὑμῶν ἐβούλετο χαρίσασθαι, ὥστ' ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
 οὐδ' ἀναίρεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἵνα ταφῇ. 10
- 40 Περὶ δὲ Χερρονήσου ἃ τ' ἐπιστέλλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀξιόν
 ἐστὶν ἐξετάσαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἃ πράττει, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδέναι.
 τὸν μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἅπαντα τὸν ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς ὡς ἑαυτοῦ
 ὄντα καὶ ὑμῶν οὐδὲν προσήκοντα δέδωκε καρποῦσθαι
 Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τῷ Καρδιανῷ. καίτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὄροι 15
 εἰσὶν, οὐκ Ἀγορὰ, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου, ὃς
 41 ἐστὶ μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς ἀκτῆς, οὗ ἡ διωρυχὴ
 ἔμελλε Χερρονήσου ἔσεσθαι, ὥς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου δηλοῖ. ἔστι δὲ τουτί·

Τόνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῷ περικαλλέα βωμόν
 Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον ὄρον θέμενοι
 ἐνναέται χώρης σημήϊον ἁμμορίης δὲ
 αὐτὸς ἀναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης.

20

ἃς τὸν μὲν Καρύστιον] 'and yet in the case of that Carystian.' Carystus was a city in the south of Euboea. Nothing else is known of the matter in question but what is told here.

τὸν πρόξενον] We have no English word exactly corresponding to the Greek πρόξενος, or public friend of a foreign state, who acted for it in his own country, much in the same way (but with gratuitous liberality) as a modern consul does in his country for the nation which he represents. Its interests and honour were considered to be under his protection, and he was expected to entertain and co-operate with its ambassadors and agents, to the utmost of his power. Any citizen of this nation would naturally appeal to him when in distress or difficulty, as to a recognized protector. The only reward for such services consisted in the distinction which they conferred upon him, at home and abroad. The modern term which approaches most nearly to πρόξενος is the German 'Staats-gastfreund.' The Scholiast explains the word thus: Πρόξενός ἐστιν ὁ προστάτης ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει ἄλλης πόλεως, i. e. the representative.

τὸν ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς] 'to the north of Agora.' This was a city in the Thracian Chersonesus, through which the army of Xerxes passed on its march to Greece (διὰ μέσης πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐν Ἀγορῇ. Herod. vii. 58).

τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου] 'of the Terminal Jupiter.'

Λευκῆς ἀκτῆς] Scylax (p. 28, Hudson) mentions Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ (the 'White Headland,' like C. Grisnez, between Calais and Boulogne, and C. Blancnez, for 'nez,' 'ness,' or 'naze,' means a promontory) as the first of the Θράκια τεῖχη after passing through the Chersonese (see Mr. Blakesley's note on Herod. vi. 33). It was on the east of the peninsula, and Pteleon on the west. But there were other places of the same name as the latter.

οὗ ἡ διωρυχὴ] Comp. c. Phil. ii. 8: Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει. Instead of οὗ ἡ, Dindorf reads ἥ ἡ διωρυχὴ. In Thucyd. iv. 103, we find a still more inharmonious reading: ἥ ἡ Βόλβη ἐξίησιν ἐς θάλασσαν.

ἐνναέται] Containing the same root, ναί or να, as ἐνναίω.

ἁμμορίης] "Ἀμορία, disjunctio, ut συμμορία, conjunctio," says Schäfer.

- 42 ταύτην μέντοι τὴν χώραν τοσαύτην οὔσαν ὅσην οἱ πολλοὶ
 ὑμῶν ἴσασι, ὥς ἑαυτοῦ οὔσαν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς καρποῦται, 25
 τὴν δ' ἄλλοις δωρεὰν δέδωκε καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ κτήματα τὰ
 ὑμέτερα ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖται. καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς
 χώραν σφέτερίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Καρδιανούς, οἱ οἰκοῦσιν 87
 ἔσω Ἀγορᾶς, ἐπιστέλλει ἐν τῇ νυνὶ ἐπιστολῇ ὥς δεῖ ὑμᾶς
 διαδικάζεσθαι, πρὸς Καρδιανούς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ
 43 ὑμετέρα, εἴ τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφέρεσθε. διαφέρονται δὲ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς, σκέψασθε εἰ περὶ μικροῦ. ἑαυτῶν φασι τὴν 5
 χώραν οὔσαν οἰκεῖν καὶ οὐχ ὑμέτεραν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα
 εἶναι ἐγκτήματα ὥς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἑαυτῶν κτήμαθ' ὥς
 ἐν οἰκείᾳ, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμέτερον πολίτην γράψαι ἐν ψηφίσματι,
 44 Κάλλιππον Παιανιέα. καὶ τοῦτό γ' ἀληθὲς λέγουσιν· ἔγραψε
 γὰρ, καὶ ἐμοῦ γ' αὐτὸν γραψαμένου παρανόμων γραφὴν, 10
 ὑμεῖς ἀπειψηφίσασθε· τοιγάρτοι ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὑμῖν τὴν
 χώραν κατεσκεύακεν. ὁπότε δὲ περὶ τούτου τολμήσετε
 πρὸς Καρδιανούς διαδικάζεσθαι, εἴθ' ὑμέτερα ἐστὶν εἴτ'
 ἐκείνων ἢ χώρα, διὰ τί οὐ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Χερρωνη-
 45 σίτας τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἔσται ; καὶ οὕτως ὑβριστικῶς ὑμῖν 15

But it rather seems to mean the γῆ μέση, or intermediate land in which neither of the neighbouring states had a share or portion. Comp. Homer, *Odys.* xx. 75, where the poet says of Zeus:

δ γάρ τ' εὖ οἶδεν ἅπαντα
 μοῖράν τ' ἀμμορίην τε καταβνητῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων.

The genitive ἀμμορίης depends upon μέσος, in the sense of *μεσίτης*, Jupiter himself being represented as the arbiter of the boundaries, by his position in the middle of the unappropriated land between the states. Comp. Hor. *Carm.* ii. 19:

“ ——— Sed idem
 Pacis eras mediusque belli.”

πρὸς Καρδιανούς] Dobree observes of these words before τοὺς κατοικοῦντας: “Haec certissime interpolata, πρὸς K. omittit Lambinus.” To me it seems that the repetition is used for the sake of greater clearness and effect. Reiske appears to be of the same opinion. He observes: “Constructio ita est expedi-

enda: ἐν τῇ νυνὶ ἐπιστολῇ ἐπιστέλλει ὑμῖν, ὅτι δεῖ ὑμᾶς διαδικάζεσθαι πρὸς Καρδιανούς. Tum rursus veluti suspirans et indignans iterat, πρὸς Καρδιανούς, cum Cardianis me miserum!” i.e. with the Cardians indeed!

τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα] ‘that yours are only acquisitions as in a foreign country, theirs possessions as in their own.’ The technical term ἐγκτήσις was used to express the right of acquiring landed property in a foreign state, and was granted by one Greek state to another, or to individuals of another state. Hence ἐγκτήματα, acquisitions in a foreign land, are here opposed to κτήματα, possessions at home. See Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Ἐγκτήσις.

Παιανιέα] Of the Attic δῆμος, or township, Παιανίά, whether upper or lower, for there were two thus distinguished.

ἀμφισβητήσιμον] ‘accordingly, he has caused your right to the country to be contested.’

ὁπότε δέ] ‘but if ever you shall submit to refer to arbitration your dispute with the Cardians.’

- κέχρηται ὥστε φησὶν, ἐὰν μὴ θέλωσι διαδικάζεσθαι οἱ
 Καρδιανοὶ, αὐτὸς ἀναγκάσειν, ὡς ὑμῶν γ' οὐκ ἂν δυνα-
 μένων οὐδ' ἀναγκάσαι Καρδιανούς τὰ δικαῖα ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε, αὐτὸς φησι τοῦτ' ἀναγκάσειν
 αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι. ἀρ' οὐ μεγάλα φαίνεται ὑμᾶς εὐεργετῶν ; 20
 46 καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τινες εὖ ἔφασαν γεγράφθαι, οἱ
 πολὺν ἂν δικαιότερον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἢ Φίλιππος μισοῖντο.
 ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτῷ κτώμενος δόξαν καὶ μεγάλ' ἀγαθὰ,
 ἅπαντα καθ' ὑμῶν πράττει· ὅσοι δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες μὴ τῇ
 πατρίδι, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ εὐνοίαν ἐνδείκνυνται, προσήκει 25
 αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι, εἴπερ ὑμεῖς
 τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις 88
 καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε.
 47 Ὑπόλοιπόν μοί ἐστιν ἔτι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 τὴν εὖ ἔχουσιν καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρέσβεων, γράψαι
 τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἣν ἡγοῦμαι δικαίαν τ' εἶναι καὶ συμφέρου- 5
 σιν ὑμῶν.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑμεῖς] The orator here repeats himself, but without being either more distinct or more emphatic than he was before.

κακοὺς κακῶς] 'like wretches as they are.'

εἴπερ ὑμεῖς] This expression is so coarse and vulgar, that I cannot believe Demosthenes was the author of it. It may indeed be alleged, that he and Aeschines abuse each other coarsely and offensively enough in the De Corona, and c. Ctes., but that is a different thing to insulting their hearers by such language as is used here. It is apparently condemned by Longinus (xxviii. 1). If, on the other hand, we contrast the tameness and mildness with which Philocrates and

the peace of B.C. 346 are mentioned in this Oration (§ 25), with the severity of Demosthenes in denouncing both, in the De F. L. spoken in the same year, we shall find another reason for believing that he was not the author of the De Halonneso.

τὴν ἀπόκρισιν] From the absence of this document we might suppose that the oration is incomplete. But similar omissions in the speeches of Demosthenes prove that such a conclusion would not be warranted. And although the author uses the phrase γράψαι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, it is probable that the answer was already drawn up beforehand, and that he only meant to 'move that it be adopted.'

THE SPEECH ON THE CHERSONESE.

THE peninsula, known as the Thracian Chersonesus (Gallipoli) is about fifty-two miles in length (420 stadia), running from N.E. to S.W., and bounded on the W. by the Melas Sinus, now the Gulf of Saros in the Aegean Sea, on the E. by the ancient Hellespont, or modern Dardanelles. Its breadth at the isthmus, where it joins the main land of Thrace (Roumelia), is between four or five miles only (thirty-six stadia), so that it was easily defensible by a wall or dyke against invasion by land (Herod. vi. 36). The seaboard commands the straits which communicate with the Euxine and Aegean seas; and the interior was so fertile, that, as Thucydides (i. 11) relates, it was cultivated by the Greek army for their maintenance during the siege of Troy.

Its connexion with Athens was of ancient date, having commenced in the time of Peisistratus (B.C. 560), though indeed the neighbouring town of Sigeum in the Troad was occupied by Athenians even in the age of Alcaeus, some fifty years before (Grote iv. 156). Possibly this circumstance may have materially contributed to their subsequent settlements in the Chersonese itself, the first of which, according to a legend in Herodotus (vi. 34), had a singular origin. The peninsula (so runs the story) was then occupied by the Dolonchi, a Thracian tribe, who, being pressed in war by their neighbours the Apsinthians, sent their princes to consult the oracle of Delphi. There, they were told to pursue their journey, and to solicit the first person who should offer them hospitality to return home with them and become the chief of their countrymen. But no one invited them till they arrived at Athens, where they were entertained by Miltiades the son of Cypselus. To him they communicated the declaration of the oracle; and he, after consulting it himself, and doubtless with the hearty concurrence of Peisistratus, consented to accompany them home. He took with him as many Athenians as he could get (πάντα

τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου), and on his arrival in the Chersonese he was constituted its *τύραννος*, or king.

Now, whatever other facts may be hidden in this narrative (Grote iv. 157), it plainly indicates that Miltiades led an Athenian colony to the Thracian Chersonesus, and there established himself as sovereign. In this capacity he was succeeded first of all by his nephew Stesagoras (Herod. vi. 38), who perished by assassination, and then (about B.C. 518) by another nephew, Miltiades the son of Cimon. The latter, as Herodotus (vi. 30) informs us, was sent out by the Peisistratids themselves, and he further strengthened his position by taking into his pay 500 mercenaries, and marrying the daughter of Olorus the king of the Thracians. In later life he was the celebrated victor of Marathon; and not long after he settled in the Chersonese (B.C. 315), he had accompanied Darius on his expedition into Scythia as a dependent prince,—a fact which suggests the inference that his kingdom was then under some sort of subjection, perhaps merely a feudal one, to the Persian empire. Afterwards (B.C. 494) all the cities of the Chersonese except Cardia were attacked and captured by the Phoenician fleet (Herod. vi. 33), which Darius employed to assist in suppressing the Ionian revolt, and to punish the maritime communities that had taken part in it. From that time till the defeat of Xerxes (B.C. 479) it continued under the command of a Persian satrap, its inhabitants being included amongst the *παραθαλάσσιοι ἄνδρες* of the N.W. of the Persian empire (Herod. v. 25. 30; vii. 22), and its principal stronghold being Sestos. This was then captured by the Athenians, and the Persians were compelled to evacuate (Herod. ix. 114—121. Thucyd. i. 89). But having subsequently re-occupied their possessions, they were finally driven out by Cimon (Plut. in vit. c. 14) the son of the great Miltiades, who recovered the Chersonese, and restored it (*ῥέκλειώσατο*) to his country. His successor Pericles (Plut. in vit. c. 19) secured and consolidated the conquest by sending a colony of 1000 settlers to occupy as many allotments of land in the country, which he further protected against the neighbouring Thracians by fortifications and entrenchments across the isthmus from sea to sea.

Towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, Alcibiades resided upon an estate which he held in the Peninsula, and fortified three castles there to serve him as places of refuge (Xen. Hell. ii. c. i. §§ 16—29). After the battle of Aegospotami (fought near Sestos) and the consequent reduction of Athens, the Chersonese was freed from her dominion, and the inhabitants left in a state of nominal independence by the Spartans. But this was scarcely an advantage to them, for we read that in B.C. 398 they were so harassed

by their Thracian neighbours, that they petitioned Sparta to fortify the isthmus against their irruptions. The request was granted, and Dercyllidas, the Spartan general, coming over from Asia Minor, repulsed the invaders, and built a new wall against their inroads for the future (Plin. iv. 11. Diod. xiv. 38). The effect of this work, and the nature of the country secured by it, are described by Xenophon (Anab. iii. 2. 10) as follows: *ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἑνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας, πολλὴν δὲ κάγαθὴν γῆν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευμένην, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ παγκάλους νομᾶς παντοδαποὺς κτήνεσι*,—a description far from representing its condition now.

Meanwhile Thrace itself was distracted with rebellious subjects, and the contending princes Amadocus or Medocus in the upper country, and Seuthes on the coast; the latter of whom availed himself of the services of Xenophon and his Cyrean mercenaries on their return from Asia (B.C. 400). By their aid his power was re-established (Xen. Anab. vii. 4), but a subsequent insurrection of his subjects again induced him to ally himself with another Athenian general, the famous Iphicrates, with whose co-operation he crushed his subjects and secured his kingdom (Corn. Nepos. Iphic. c. 3). Seuthes was succeeded (B.C. 382) by Cotys, who formed a still closer connexion with Iphicrates, giving him a daughter (Meineke, Com. Frag. iii. p. 182) in marriage, and a town at the mouth of the Hebrus, which he fortified and peopled with a Greek colony (Grote x. 145. Dem. c. Aristoc. 663).

Here Iphicrates was of course in a position to forward his own interests as a soldier of fortune, and to assist any Athenian adventurers who might wish to settle in the Chersonese. But events occurred which involved him in acts of hostility against his own country. About B.C. 365, Timotheus, the Athenian general, rendered some services to Ariobarzanes (de Rhod. Libert. § 9), the Persian satrap of Phrygia, who in return assisted him to get possession of Sestus and Crithote in the Chersonese, and to secure for Athens a large territory surrounding them (*ἅπας ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων, οἰκίος ἡναγκάσθη τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι*). Thereupon the Athenians again claimed dominion over the peninsula, to which they also sent out a number of new settlers as *κληροῦχοι* (Grote x. 407), and were thus brought into collision with Cotys, who considered it to belong to his own kingdom (Isoc. *περὶ Ἀντιδ.* §§ 114—119). Iphicrates was compelled to choose between his father-in-law and his country, and he assisted the former against the latter, but not however with so much effect as to prevent Timotheus from maintaining the Athenian supremacy in the Chersonese, and carrying his arms

into Thrace itself (Dem. c. Aristoc. p. 663. Cor. Nepos. Timoth. c. 1). But other matters called Timotheus away, and soon afterwards (B.C. 362) Cotys was alarmed by a rebellion, headed by Miltocythes, a chieftain of the country, who to secure the aid of Athens offered to give up to her the Chersonese (adv. Polyc. § 6). Cotys also (probably by the advice of Iphicrates) wrote to the Athenians so artfully and submissively, that they, expecting as much from him as from Miltocythes, were induced to adopt a selfish, hesitating policy, which effectually discouraged Miltocythes, and still further alienated Cotys (Grote x. 513. Dem. c. Aristoc. §§ 123. 126).

The rebellion was consequently crushed, and in B.C. 361 Cotys invaded the Chersonese, and captured Sestus (c. Aristoc. § 187), though no longer assisted by Iphicrates, who for some reason or other declined to fight any more for him, against his own country. Cotys then secured the services of Charidemus, another leader of mercenary soldiers, who was in the neighbourhood, and with whom he besieged Elaeus and Crithote (c. Aristoc. § 155). But he did not live to capture either. He had offered an insult to a townsman of Aenus in Thrace, and was assassinated by his two sons, Python (or Pyrrhon) and Heracleides, whom the Athenians were unwise enough not only to receive with hospitality, but to reward with marks of distinction and honour (Arist. Polit. v. 8. 20. Dem. c. Aristoc. § 142).

This event occurred in B.C. 360 (Grote x. 517), and three competitors immediately claimed the vacant kingdom (c. Aristoc. § 8). These were Cersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus; the first being the son of Cotys, and the other two relations of some degree or other. Charidemus also was a connexion of Cersobleptes, having married his sister; consequently, he actively embraced the cause of that prince, though he had previously promised Cephisodotus, the then Athenian commander in the Hellespont, to assist him in reducing the Chersonese, in return for services to himself (c. Aristoc. § 180). Instead of doing so, he made an unexpected attack on the Athenian troops which had disembarked at Perinthus on the Propontis.

Hostilities thus commenced were soon transferred to, and for some time continued in, the Chersonese itself, and Charidemus eventually forced his antagonist to a dishonourable convention, which the Athenians repudiated (c. Aristoc. § 199). Moreover they recalled Cephisodotus, who was eventually succeeded in his command by Chabrias. Meanwhile their interests were maintained by an Athenian adventurer named Athenodorus, who had founded a city in the neighbourhood (Isoc. de Pace, § 31), and being con-

nected by marriage with Berisades, one of the three competitors for the kingdom of Thrace, had already espoused his cause.

It does not appear that actual war had yet broken out among the three rivals, but an unforeseen event soon led to it. Miltocythes, who had in B.C. 362 raised an army against Cotys, now fell by treachery into the hands of Charidemus; and this general, instead of sending him to Cersobleptes, gave up the captive and his son to the people of Cardia, a city most hostile to Athens, which had been specially reserved to himself by the convention (c. Aristoc. § 216). The Cardians, to gratify Charidemus, put both to death with refined cruelty; and this act caused so much indignation amongst the Thracians, that Berisades and Amadocus were induced to unite against Cersobleptes, who was considered as really responsible for the outrage, and to solicit the alliance of Athens. Thereupon Athenodorus, the general of Berisades (c. Aristoc. § 10), formed an alliance with them, and joining the Athenian forces to theirs (B.C. 358), compelled Cersobleptes to sign a treaty stipulating that the kingdom of Thrace should be apportioned amongst the three rivals, and that the Chersonese should be ceded to the Athenians. However, the treaty was not at first fulfilled, for want of money to pay his soldiers had compelled Athenodorus to disband them (c. Aristoc. § 205), and the Athenians being then at war with the Thebans in Euboea (Grote x. 520), had no troops wherewith to replace them. Accordingly, when Chabrias arrived with only a single trireme, Charidemus persuaded Cersobleptes to repudiate his undertaking, and this he persevered in doing, till the close of the war released the Athenian forces in Euboea. Their general, Chares, was then despatched with a large mercenary force to the Chersonese, and Charidemus on behalf of Cersobleptes was compelled to surrender all the peninsula, excepting only Cardia on its N.W. frontier. Thrace also was divided amongst the three princes, according to the previous treaty, and with the view perhaps of securing the Athenians against the aggressions of any one of them (c. Aristoc. pp. 679, 680).

But there was one town in the Chersonese, namely, Sestus, which determined to assert its independence of Athens, and the breaking out of the Social War (B.C. 357) probably encouraged the Sestians in their resolution. At any rate, they maintained their independence till the end of that war, when Chares, who had three years before recovered the Chersonese for Athens, besieged and captured their city. The adult inhabitants he massacred or sold into slavery (Diod. xvi. 34), and a number of Athenian citizens was soon afterwards sent out to occupy the vacant territory, and confirm the supremacy of Athens over her recent acquisitions (Grote x. 523; xi. 361).

However, the recent arrangements for Thrace did not continue long undisturbed. About B.C. 353 Berisades died, and Demosthenes (c. Aristoc. § 10) asserts that thereupon Cersobleptes began to meditate war against his sons and Amadocus. Philip, king of Macedon, took advantage of this state of affairs, and opened negotiations with an envoy of Cersobleptes at Maroneia on the coast of Thrace (c. Aristoc. § 219). A treaty was made between them, which appears to have provided for a joint invasion of the Athenian possessions in the Chersonese. But the scheme was frustrated by the refusal of Amadocus to allow Philip to march through his territories, so that they could not invade it by land. An attack by sea also would have been hopeless, for Chares effectually commanded the Hellespont with the Athenian fleet, and so, for that time at least, Athens remained in possession of the whole peninsula except Cardia. (Grote xi. 362.)

A strange complication of events soon followed. Charidemus, though for some time he had been at open war with Athens, had partizans there, and the Athenians at their instance, and in the hope of being assisted by his influence with Cersobleptes, conferred on him the franchise of their city (Arist. Rhetor. ii. 23), and passed some extraordinary resolutions in his favour. The result justified this proceeding, for Cersobleptes thenceforward was the friend of Athens, while Amadocus became the ally of Philip (Harpoc. s. v. Phil. iv. § 9), who in his turn, after his campaign in Thessaly, invaded Thrace, and approached so near to the Chersonese as to alarm the Athenian settlers (Aesch. F. L. § 75) there (B.C. 352). In Thrace itself, as Demosthenes (Olyn. i. § 13) vaguely says, he set up and put down whatsoever chieftains he pleased, though we have no certain information of his having attacked Cersobleptes. It was during this expedition also that he made that attack upon Ἡραίων ρεῖχος which caused so much alarm at Athens, and occasioned the despatch of Charidemus with ten empty ships (Olyn. iii. § 5). Illness compelled Philip to desist (Olyn. iii. § 6), and he returned to his own kingdom, but only to carry out his schemes of aggrandizement in another quarter.

For four or five years he abstained from invading Thrace or attacking the Chersonese, but at the beginning of B.C. 346, when the ten envoys (οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης) were leaving Pella for Athens, Philip (Introduction de Pace, p. 110) was preparing an expedition against Cersobleptes. Still, though Cersobleptes was an ally of Athens, it was not alleged by the ambassadors that they made any remonstrance against the expedition. Nor was any satisfactory assurance given by Philip, except that he would not attack the Chersonese while negotiations were pending between himself and the Athenians (Aesch.

F. L. § 87. c. Ctes. § 65). As already stated (p. 108), these were concluded by a treaty at Athens, to which it would appear from Aeschines (F. L. p. 39) that Cersobleptes was specially admitted, an agent or representative of his having demanded that he should be included as an ally of Athens. In a later oration, however (c. Ctes. §§ 61. 65. 74), Aeschines states that Cersobleptes was excluded by a trick of Demosthenes, and a letter attributed to Philip himself (Or. xii. § 8) alleges that Cersobleptes wished to be allowed to take the oaths of ratification, but was prevented by the Athenian generals, an assertion which is certainly by no means credible. (See also Demosth. F. L. § 192.)

Meanwhile Philip was vigorously prosecuting his conquests in Thrace, Chares being either too weak or too careless to resist him. The result was that he defeated Cersobleptes in several battles (c. Phil. iii. § 20. Diod. xvi. 71), compelled him to pay tribute to Macedonia, and to give up his son as a hostage (Aesch. F. L. § 86). All this was done before Philip had ratified the treaty by oath, for the Athenian envoys, instead of hurrying on into Thrace to stop him, had first journeyed as leisurely as possible to Pella and then waited a month for his return from his conquests with his hostage. The sequel and the consequences of the peace of B.C. 346 have already been narrated (pp. 110—113).

In the next year the Athenians, availing themselves of the only advantage guaranteed them by the peace, viz. the retention of the Chersonese, sent out thither a sort of military colony under the direction of Diopeithes, a leader of courage and ability. In taking possession of their settlement they seized upon territory belonging, as it was alleged, to the Cardians (Liban. Argum.), who appear to have complained to Philip (De Halon. § 42), having been admitted as his allies in the peace (F. L. § 192). Accordingly, he suggested that the dispute, involving as it did a question of boundaries, should be decided by arbitration. To this the Athenians were unwilling to submit. Negotiation and remonstrances followed, but without any satisfactory result, and in B.C. 343 Philip sent troops into the Chersonese to support his allies (De Chers. § 59. c. Phil. iii. § 22; iv. § 67).

Diopeithes on his side mustered a large force, and while Philip was operating against Cersobleptes and other Thracian princes in the north, he invaded the maritime districts of Thrace then subject to Philip, captured two cities, made their inhabitants prisoners, ravaged the adjoining country, and even seized a Macedonian agent who had come to demand the release of prisoners (Epist. Phil. § 3). The difficulties in which Philip was thus involved were so

great that he sent for large reinforcements from Macedonia and Thessaly (de Chers. § 14), and not being able or not having leisure to crush Diopceithes, he wrote to the Athenians complaining strongly of that leader's conduct. His object was to effect the recall of a formidable adversary, and he trusted, not without reason, that his wishes would be seconded by the orators who were in his interest. In this he was not disappointed. A clamour was raised against Diopceithes for breaking the peace by attacking Philip's allies and invading his dependencies. Another charge was that he had raised money for his troops by begging, borrowing, and extorting benevolencies from the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, and thus brought Athens into odium and discredit. On these ostensible and upon other real grounds, his recall was urgently demanded by the friends of Philip, and it was to repel their accusations and support Diopceithes, that Demosthenes delivered this oration. Its arguments were successful, and the Athenians not only retained their general in his command, but upon the urgent representations of Demosthenes prepared to send him effectual succours.

It may be added that this Diopceithes was the father of Menander the comic poet, and that the modern name of the peninsula (Gallipoli) is derived from Callipolis, a town of which we do not hear before the Macedonian war with the Romans (Livy xxxi. 16). It was the usual point to cross from, to Lampsacus or Abydos on the Asiatic side, and is now a wretched collection of hovels containing about 10,000 inhabitants—a medley of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, who trade in corn, wine, oil, and fruit. “For miles round the town, except towards the south, where there is a very small table land with patches of trees, and all the way across to the Gulf of Saros, the country resembles very much the downs about Brighton. It is nearly as destitute of wood or plantations. The soil, which is light but deep and rather sandy, produces excellent crops, but bears no trees except a few figs and olives.” (Russell's *War in the East*, pp. 24. 53.) Here, that is at Gallipoli, disembarked the allied troops at the beginning of the war against Russia (A.D. 1854), and to the number of 22,000 French and 5000 English occupied the peninsula. Most of the provisions for this force were brought from the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles (Russell, p. 28), a remarkable contrast to the times of the first great Historic War in the East when the Grecian army round Troy was supplied from the then and afterwards fertile Chersonese. About ten miles and a half north of Gallipoli lies the village of Boulair or Bulair where a ridge of hills which runs north and south terminates rather abruptly, and the peninsula contracts to its narrowest width of two miles and three-quarters across. Less than

three miles south was the camp of the Sappers and Miners and two English infantry regiments, on a gentle slope of the ridge commanding a view of the Gulf of Saros. The French camp was not far distant, and in front was drawn a line of entrenchments and earth-works, with a strong fort in the centre, to crown the works and cover the flanks towards the sea. One object of this was to secure the Chersonese against any attack by the Russians (as, in ancient times it was entrenched against the Thracians), that it might serve as a basis of operations, in other words, as "a place d'armes for depots, ambulances, provision stores," and as a position from which the troops might either advance or re-embark. Another object was to prevent the advance of the Russians upon Constantinople by way of Adrianople; for it was not to be supposed that they would ever venture to do this, leaving a large hostile force on their right flank. Defended and entrenched as it was, the peninsula was expected to serve as "another Torres Vedras in the event of the army being compelled to fall back thither for succour and safety." (Connolly's Sappers and Miners, i. 185. Chambers' War in the East, pp. 82. 87.)

VIII.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΩΙ.

B.C. 343—342.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὑπὲρ Διοπεΐθους εἴρηται καὶ ὧν ἐκείνος παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις κατηγορήτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ Χερρόνησος ἢ πρὸς Θράκην τῶν Ἀθηναίων κτῆμα ἀρχαῖον, εἰς δὲ ταύτην ἀπέστευλαν κατὰ τοὺς Φιλίππου καιροὺς κληρούχους ἑαυτῶν. ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοῦτο παλαιὸν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσοι πένητες ἦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκτήμονες οἶκοι, τούτους πέμπειν ἐποίκους εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐλάμβανον πεμπόμενοι ὄπλα τε ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἐφόδιον. καὶ νῦν τοίνυν τοῦτο γέγονε, καὶ πεπόμφασιν ἐποίκους εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς δόντες Διοπεΐθην. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Χερρονησίται τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐδέξαντο καὶ μετέδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκίων καὶ γῆς, Καρδιανοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, λέγοντες ἰδίαν χώραν οἰκεῖν καὶ οὐκ Ἀθηναίων. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν Διοπεΐθης ἐπολέμει Καρδιανοῖς. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Φίλιππον καταφεύγουσι, καὶ ὅς ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι Καρδιανούς ὡς αὐτῷ προσήκοντας; ἀλλὰ δικάσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, εἴ τί φασιν ἡδικῆσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὐκ 89 ἤκουον τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοήθειαν τοῖς Καρδιανοῖς ἐπεμψεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Διοπεΐθης, τοῦ Φιλίππου περὶ τὴν μεσόγειαν τὴν ἀνω Θράκην πολεμῶντος πρὸς τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα, τὴν παράλιον Θράκην ὑπήκουον οὖσαν τοῦ Μακεδῶνος κατέδραμε καὶ ἐπόρθησε καὶ ἔφθη, πρὶν Φίλιππον ἐπανελθεῖν, ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενόμενος. διόπερ ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ δυνηθεὶς ὄπλοις αὐτὸν ἀμύνασθαι πέ-

[Ὁ λόγος . . . εἴρηται] According to Dion. Halic. (ad Amm. l. c. x) this oration was delivered in the Archonship of Sosigenes (B.C. 342—341) and in the winter (§ 45). Winiewski (Commen. p. 174) confirms this date. See also Clinton's Fasti Hell. vol. ii. 142.

τὴν μεσόγειαν τὴν ἀνω] This would be

the district between Mons Pangaeus or Pangaeum (Pirnari) in the south-west towards the sea, and the Haemus (Balkan or Emineh Dagh) on the north.

πρὸς τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν] So "mediam in Thraciam, exercitum in Odrysas et Dentheletos et Bessos duxit." Linn. xxxix. 53.

πομφεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κατηγορῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ λέγων αὐτὸν παραβεβηκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντάρκως. καὶ οἱ φιλιππίζοντες τῶν ῥητόρων κατατρέχουσι τοῦ Διοπίθους, καὶ κολλάζουσιν ἀξιούσιν αὐτόν. πρὸς οὗς ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐναντιούμενος διχῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διοπίθους ἵσταται. οὔτε γὰρ ἀδικὰ φησιν αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι (Φιλίππου γὰρ πολὺ πρότερον παραβάντος τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἀδικούντος τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, εἰκότως καὶ τοῦτον ἔργα πολεμίου διαπράττεσθαι) οὔτε συμφέρειν λέγει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κολάσαι τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ δύναμιν, ἥτις νῦν ἀποκρούεται Χερρονήσου Φιλίππον. τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐπὶ πόλεμον παρακαλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου πολλὴν ποιεῖται κατηγορίαν ὡς ἀδίκου καὶ παρασπόνδου καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιβουλεύοντος.

*Εδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας ἐν 90
 ὑμῖν μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιείσθαι λόγον μηδένα μήτε πρὸς
 χάριν, ἀλλ' ὁ βέλτιστος ἕκαστος ἡγείτο, τοῦτ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων ὑμῶν
 βουλευομένων· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔνιοι τὰ μὲν φιλονεικία, τὰ δ' ἡτνί- 5
 δήποτ' αἰτία προάγονται λέγειν, ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τοὺς πολλοὺς δεῖ πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφέντας, ἃ τῇ πόλει νομίζετε
 συμφέρειν, ταῦτα καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν
 2 σπουδὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς
 στρατείας, ἣν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτοῦ Φίλιππος ἐν Θράκῃ 10
 ποιεῖται· τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ πλείστοι περὶ ὧν Διοπίθης
 πράττει καὶ μέλλει ποιεῖν εἴρηνται. ἐγὼ δ' ὅσα μὲν τις

κατατρέχουσι] 'run down.' See note
 on καταβοάς, p. 6.

*Εδει μὲν] 'It were just indeed.' H.
 Wolf compares this introduction with the
 opening of Caesar's speech in Sallust
 (Catil. c. 51): "Omnes homines, P. C.,
 qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio,
 amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos
 esse decet. Haud facile animus verum
 providet, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quis-
 quam omnium libidini simul et usui pa-
 ruit." Its construction may also be com-
 pared with Thucyd. i. 32: Δίκαιον, ὦ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς κ.τ.λ.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔνιοι] 'but since there are
 some men who are impelled to speak, at
 one time from a spirit of contentiousness,
 at another from whatsoever motive it may
 be.' Party spirit would also express φιλο-
 νεικία.

πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφέντας] 'laying aside all
 other considerations.' The Codex S has
 ἀφελόντας instead of ἀφέντας, which Bek-
 ker adopts.

ἡ μὲν οὖν σπουδὴ] 'now the serious
 question (for you) is,' &c.

ἣν ἐνδέκατον] This statement shows
 what time and trouble it cost Philip to
 crush the Thracians. In § 35 it is asserted
 that he had been ten months in Thrace.

ἐγὼ δ'] 'but (as for myself) whatever
 charges any one has to bring against any
 one of those whom in conformity with
 the laws, you can punish when you wish,
 my opinion is that about these it is open
 for you to consider, either at the present
 time, or after some delay (κἂν ἐπισχοῦσι
 δοκῇ), as you may like.' The construc-
 tion seems to be κατὰ τοὺς νόμους κολά-
 ζειν.

- αἰτιάται·τινα τούτων, οὓς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶν
 ὅταν βούλησθε κολάζειν, καὶ ἤδη δοκῇ καὶ ἐπισχοῦσι
 περὶ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν·ἐγχωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ οὐ πάνυ δεῖ 15
 3 περὶ τούτων οὗτ' ἐμὲ οὗτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα ἰσχυρίζεσθαι· ὅσα
 δ' ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ πόλει Φίλιππος καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ
 περὶ Ἑλλάσποντον ὦν πειρᾶται προλαβεῖν, καὶ ἅπαξ
 ὑστερήσωμεν, οὐκέθ' ἔξομεν σῶσαι, περὶ τούτων δ' οἶομαι
 τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεύσθαι καὶ παρεσκευά- 91
 σθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς
 κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι.
 4 Πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων τῶν εἰωθότων λέγεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν,
 οὐδενὸς ἦττον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τεθαύμακα ὃ καὶ πρῶν 5
 τινὸς ἤκουσα εἰπόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν συμ-
 βουλευόντα ἢ πολεμεῖν ἀπλῶς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν συμ-
 5 βουλευεῖν. ἔστι δὲ, εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίαν Φίλιππος ἄγει καὶ
 μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχει παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην μηδὲν μήτε
 συσκευάζεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι δεῖ 10
 λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἰρήνην ἀκτέον, καὶ τά γε ἀφ' ὑμῶν
 ἔτοιμα ὑπάρχονθ' ὁρῶ· εἰ δ' ἂ μὲν ὠμόσαμεν καὶ ἐφ' οἷς
 6 τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιησάμεθα, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ γεγραμμένα
 κεῖται, φαίνεται δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὃ Φίλιππος, πρὶν Διοπεῖθην
 ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους οὓς νῦν αἰτιῶνται πε- 15
 ποιηκέναι πόλεμον, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδίκως
 εἰληφώς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμέτερα ἐγκαλοῦντα κύρια

περὶ τούτων δ'] Δέ is here again used in the apodosis of the sentence. Translate: 'Why, about these matters I think it is our interest to finish our consultations and preparations as quickly as possible, and not for clamours and charges about other things to steal away (or, run off) from these.' The term ἀποδρᾶναι is properly applied to a run-away slave, and the distinction between it and ἀποφεύγειν is well illustrated in Xenophon (Anab. i. 4. 8): εὐγε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν ὅτι οὐτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπη οἰχονται· οὐτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον.

οὐδενὸς ἦττον] Literally, 'less than nothing,' i. e. 'above every thing have I been surprised at what I heard.'

ἔστι δέ] The construction is not com-

pleted as commenced. A phrase like εἰρήνην ἄγειν should have followed the verb substantive, instead of which the sense is interrupted by οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν, so that ἔστι δέ must be separated from the rest of the sentence. Translate: 'But the fact is, if Philip keeps the peace, and does not either hold any of our possessions in violation of the peace, or keep raising (lit. packing) all the world against us, there is no need to say any more.' Demosthenes begins with ἔστι δέ, and then resumes with οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν.

εἰ δ' ἂ μὲν] 'but if the conditions to which we have sworn . . . are open to inspection, and lie recorded.'

ὑπὲρ ὧν] 'with regard to which, those resolutions of yours, reclaiming against the act, are still in force.'

ταυτὶ, πάντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον συνεχῶς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
καὶ βαρβάρων λαμβάνων καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευαζόμενος, τί
7. τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς πολεμεῖν ἢ ἄγειν εἰρήνην δεῖ; οὐ γὰρ 20
αἰρέσις ἐστὶν ἡμῶν τοῦ πράγματος; ἀλλ' ὑπολείπεται τὸ
δικαιοτάτον καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατον τῶν ἔργων, ὃ ὑπερβαίνουσιν
ἐκόντες οὗτοι. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν πρότερον
πολεμούνθ' ἡμῖν. πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο λέγουσι νῆ Δι', ὡς ἂν
ἁπέχῃται τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὁ Φίλιππος, οὐτ' 25
8 ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ποιεῖ πόλεμον. εἰ δ' ἐκ τούτων
τὰ δίκαια τίθενται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ταύτῃ ὀρίζονται, ὅτι 92
μὲν δῆπουθεν οὐθ' ὅσια οὐτ' ἀνεκτὰ λέγουσιν οὐθ' ὑμῖν
ἀσφαλῇ, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἅπασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐναντία συμ-
βαίνει ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἃς Διοπείθους κατηγοροῦσι καὶ
αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτούς. τί γὰρ δήποτε τῷ μὲν Φιλίππῳ 5
πάντα τᾶλλα ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν δώσομεν, ἂν τῆς Ἀττικῆς

πάντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον] 'and if during the whole time he has manifestly been continually seizing the possessions of the other Greeks and foreigners, and collecting men against us.' It should be observed that φαίνεται with a participle conveys a stronger expression of certainty than with an infinitive. So above, εἰ φαίνεται Φίλιππος means 'if it is clear that Philip has' &c.

δ' ὑπερβαίνουσιν . . . οὗτοι] 'which these men purposely pass over.'

πλὴν εἰ μὴ] 'unless indeed they mean to say this.' There is some difficulty in satisfactorily explaining this phrase. Πλὴν, however, appears to be connected with πλεόν, plenus, and πλήρης, with the signification of fullness or excess, so as to denote something over and above what has been already mentioned. And, as in Latin, 'praeter' (except) is used to denote both an exception to a somewhat general law, comprehending, it may be, a multitude of cases and individuals, as well as a further illustration of it in other and additional cases (besides), so it seems that πλὴν (further, or, more fully) came to signify 'excepting that,' as it does here. When used with εἰ, sometimes we find πλὴν εἰ without μὴ, as in the codex S followed by Dindorf, and sometimes πλὴν εἰ μὴ, as in the majority of the MSS. here. Either is admissible, πλὴν εἰ being simply 'except if,' and πλὴν εἰ μὴ, 'nisi

excipias quod,' or 'with this exception,' viz., 'unless they mean to say.' Lucian (Soloecista, c. 7) considers πλὴν εἰ μὴ a solecism, but he occasionally uses it. Hoogeveen (xlvi. 4) says: "Si dicimus πλὴν εἰ, continet τὸ πλὴν, conditionem exceptam, nec indiget τοῦ μὴ: sin πλὴν εἰ μὴ dicimus, in ipsa conditione negativa comprehenditur." But this does not explain much. Even without πλὴν we often find εἰ μὴ after a negative, where we should expect εἰ simply, as in the New Testament. Comp. also Xen. Anab. iv. 3. 6: οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ θπλα ἦν ἐχειν' εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός; also, vii. 1. 8: μὴ ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἰτίαν ἔξεις. The negative is repeated.

εἰ δ' ἐκ τούτων] 'but if they ground our rights on these principles and define the peace in this way.'

ὅτι μὲν δῆπουθεν] 'that assuredly.'

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'] 'and moreover it happens that in those very assertions they are inconsistent with the accusations which they make against Diopeithes.' The sense of οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ is 'not only is this far from being so, but' &c., οὐ μὴν negating a former proposition, and ἀλλὰ introducing a statement in strong contrast to it, or more agreeable to the real facts of the case. As Hoogeveen (xxxix. 7) observes: "Totius τοῦ οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ usus est ἐπανορθωτικὸς tollens superius, et quod aptius est repōnens."

ἀπέχεται, τῷ Διοπίθει δ' οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Θραξίν ἐξ-
 9 ἔσται, ἣ πόλεμον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν φήσομεν; ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία,
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐξελέγχονται, δεινὰ δὲ ποιοῦσιν οἱ ξένοι περὶ
 . κόπτοντες τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ Διοπίθης ἀδικεῖ 10
 κατάγων τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ δεῖ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ. ἔστω;
 γιγνέσθω ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω. οἶμαι μέντοι δεῖν, εἴπερ
 ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις ταῦτα συμβουλευόουσιν,
 10 ὥσπερ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν καταλῦσαι
 ζητοῦσι, τὸν ἐφεστηκότα, καὶ πορίζοντ' αὐτῇ χρήματα ταύτῃ 15
 διαβάλλοντες ἐν ὑμῖν, οὕτω τὴν Φιλίππον δύναμιν δεῖξαι
 διαλυθησομένην, ἂν ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πεισθῆτε, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 σκοπεῖτε ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ καθιστᾶσι τὴν πόλιν
 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δι' οὗ τὰ παρελθόντα πράγματα
 11 ἅπαντ' ἀπόλωλεν. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν 20
 πάντων πλέον κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος ἢ τῷ πρότερος πρὸς
 τοῖς πράγμασι γίνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων δύναμιν
 συνεστηκυῖαν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ προειδὼς ἃ βούλεται
 πράξαι, ἐξαίφνης ἐφ' οὓς ἂν αὐτῷ δόξη πάρεστιν ἡμεῖς δ'
 ἐπειδὴν πυθώμεθ' αὐτὴν γιγνόμενον, τηρικαῦτα θορυβοῦμεθα 25
 12 καὶ παρασκευαζόμεθα. εἴτ', οἶμαι, συμβαίνει τῷ μὲν, ἐφ'

ταῦτα μὲν ἐξελέγχονται] 'in this respect they (i. e. the supporters of such views) are proved to be in the wrong, but (it cannot be denied, say they, that) the mercenaries make terrible work by ravaging the Hellespont, and Diopeithes does wrong in detaining vessels.' But 'detaining' is only an approximation. For *κατάγειν* means to seize vessels in the straits, and convey them into port, for any sort of exaction, whether tolls or 'black-mail.' For this use of *κατάγειν* compare De Pace, § 25. Harporation (s. v.) has the following explanation: *κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, λέγεται ἀντὶ τοῦ ληΐζεσθαι, καὶ κακοῦν, καὶ μὴ εἶναι τοὺς πλεόντας, ὅπου βούλονται πλεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ οἰκεία χωρὶς τοῖς ληστεύουσι κατάγειν.* Comp. Xen. Anab. v. 1. 11: *εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζοντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα, κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά.* But in vi. 6. 3 *κατάγειν* is used simply of touching at a port, thus: *οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατήγον.* *εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς*] 'if they really give this advice in perfect good faith.'

τὸν ἐφεστηκότα] Comp. τοῦ ἐφεστῶτος οἰκέτου, Libanius, Vit. Demos. p. 3. 2, and Eurip. Alces. 527:

τοῖς τ' ἐφεστῶσιν φράσον, σίτων παρῆναι πλῆθος.

οὐδὲν ἄλλο . . . ἢ] 'they are simply bringing the state.'

δι' οὗ . . . ἀπόλωλεν] 'through which has come the ruin of our past measures.' Bekker and Dindorf read *ἀπολώλεκεν* from the codex S. The other MSS. have *ἀπόλωλε*, as in the text, which, with Rüdiger and Mr. Kennedy, I prefer.

τῷ πρότερος . . . γίνεσθαι] 'by his being first upon the scene of action,' or simply, 'in action.'

δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν] 'a standing army.'

ἐξαίφνης ἐφ' οὓς ἔν] 'comes in a moment upon whomsoever he wishes to attack.' Mr. Kennedy: 'Pounces on whom he pleases in a moment.' Jacobs: 'Steht augenblicklich Jedem gegenüber, den er ergreifen will.'

εἴτ', οἶμαι] 'then, methinks, the result

ἃ ἂν ἔλθῃ ταῦτ' ἔχειν κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἡμῶν δ' ὑστερίζειν, καὶ ὅσα ἂν δαπανήσωμεν, ἅπαντα μάτην 93 ἀνηλωκέναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι κωλύειν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι, ὑστερίζοντας δὲ τῶν ἔργων αἰσχύνῃν προσοφλισκάνειν.

- 13 Μὴ τοίνυν ἀγνοεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι καὶ νῦν 5
τᾶλλα μὲν ἐστὶ λόγοι ταῦτα καὶ προφάσεις, πράττεται δὲ
τοῦτο καὶ κατασκευάζεται, ὅπως ὑμῶν μὲν οἱκοι μενόντων,
ἔξω δὲ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως, μετὰ πλείστης
ἡσυχίας ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεται Φίλιππος διοικήσεται. θεω-
14 ρεῖτε γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πρῶτον, ὃ γίγνεται. νυνὶ δὲ δύναμιν 10
μεγάλῃν ἐκείνος ἔχων ἐν Θράκῃ διατρίβει, καὶ μετα-
πέμπεται πολλήν, ὥς φασιν οἱ παρόντες, ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας
καὶ Θετταλίας. ἐὰν οὖν περιμείνας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἐπὶ Βυ-
ζάντιον ἐλθὼν πολιορκῇ, πρῶτον μὲν οἴεσθε τοὺς Βυζαν-
τίους μενεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν, καὶ οὔτε 15
15 παρακαλέσειν ὑμᾶς οὔτε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσειν; ἐγὼ
μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τισι μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσιν ἢ ἡμῖν,
καὶ τούτους εἰσφρήσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑκείνῳ παραδώσειν

for him is, that he gains very quietly what he goes for.'

ὑστερίζοντας δέ] 'and are not only too late for action, but incur disgrace besides.'

ὅτι . . . τᾶλλα] 'that in every other respect these proceedings are mere talk and pretence, while the real object and contrivance is this,' &c. Mr. Long thus: 'All the rest is mere words *this* and *pretext*,' taking τᾶλλα for the nominative, and ταῦτα as a repetition to give more force to the passage.

ἔξω δὲ μηδεμιᾶς] This object would have been effected by the compulsory disbanding of such forces as Diopieithes had raised. Athens would then have had no army serving abroad (ἔξω).

τοὺς ἐτησίας] These winds blew from the north in July and August, and would therefore prevent the Athenians despatching a fleet to help the Byzantines. See note, c. Phil. i. § 35.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας] They had been ill-disposed towards the Athenians since the close of the Social War, but nevertheless the predictions of Demosthenes were soon fulfilled. In less than a year Philip be-

sieged Byzantium, and its inhabitants were glad to avail themselves of the aid of Athens to defend themselves. Diod. xvi. 77.

ὥσπερ νῦν] H. Wolf conjectured ἡσπερ instead of ὥσπερ. Rüdiger observes: "Videor mihi animadvertisse, post ὁ αὐτός dici plerumque ὥσπερ, post ceteros casus ὥσπερ."

εἰσφρήσεσθαι] Harpocration (s. v.) explains εἰσφρήσειν by εἰσάξειν, εἰσδέξασθαι, adding πάλιν δὲ τοῦνομα ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ. Aristophanes (Vespae 892) uses the future indicative thus: ὡς ἥνικ' ἂν λέγωσιν, οὐκ εἰσφρήσομεν, not εἰσφρησόμεσθα, but with a difference of meaning as there is between εἰσκομίζειν and εἰσκομίζεσθαι, and other corresponding forms. For οὐκ εἰσφρήσομεν is simply 'we won't let them in,' and οὐκ εἰσφρησόμεσθα, 'we won't let them into us,' as in the text it is said that the Byzantines would let the Athenians into their own city (εἰσφρήσουσιν). Comp. Eurip. Troades 624:

εἴσω τε μελᾶθρων κομψὰ θηλειῶν ἔπη
οὐκ εἰσφρούμην.

And Alcest. 1075: καὶ πῶς ἐπεισφρῶ

- τὴν πόλιν, ἂν περ μὴ φθάσῃ λαβὼν αὐτούς. οὐκοῦν ἡμῶν
 μὲν μὴ δυναμένων ἐνθένδ' ἀναπλεύσαι, ἐκεῖ δὲ μηδεμίᾳς 20
 ὑπαρχούσης ἐτοίμου βοηθείας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι
 16 κωλύσει. νῆ Δία, κακοδαιμονοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὑπερ-
 βάλλουσιν ἀνοίᾳ. πάνν γε, ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτοὺς δεῖ σῶς
 εἶναι συμφέρεи. γὰρ τῇ πόλει. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε
 δῆκόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὥς ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον οὐχ ἤξει· ἀλλ' εἴγε 25
 ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἥς ἔπεμψε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀμυ-
 17 νεῖσθαι, φησι τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ἡ τὸ
 συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο στράτευμα, καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ βοηθῆσαι 94
 δυνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τι κακῶς ποιῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἅπαξ
 διαλυθήσεται, τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἴῃ; κρι-
 νούμεν Διοπείθην νῆ Δία. καὶ τί τὰ πράγματ' ἐσται
 βελτίω; ἀλλ' ἐνθένδε βοηθήσομεν αὐτῷ. ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν 5
 πνευμάτων μὴ δυνώμεθα; ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἤξει. καὶ τίς
 18 ἐγγυητὴς ἐστι τούτου; ἄρ' ὁρᾶτε καὶ λογίζεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, εἰς ἣν ἔρρημόν
 τινες οἴονται δεῖν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι καὶ
 παραδοῦναι Φιλίππῳ; τί δ', ἂν ἀπελθὼν ἐκ Θράκης καὶ 10
 μηδὲ προσελθὼν Χερρονήσῳ μηδὲ Βυζαντίῳ (καὶ γὰρ
 ταῦτα λογίζεσθε) ἐπὶ Χαλκίδα ἢ Μέγαρα ἤκη τὸν αὐτὸν

τῇδε τῷ κείνης λέχει; where in Monk's note are two other instances of the use of this verb, also from Euripides.

ἡ 'κείνῳ] This is the reading of the codex S. The other MSS. have ἡ ἐκείνῳ. See note on c. Phil. i. § 7 (p. 81).

ἀναπλεύσαι] To sail up to the north, in consequence of the Etesian winds from that quarter.

νῆ Δία] 'yes, by Zeus (and let them, say some), for the men are infuriated, and are playing the fool exceedingly.' Comp. 1 Sam. xxvi. 21: "Behold, I have played the fool, and erred exceedingly."

τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ] The Athenian settlers there. Hesychius explains ἀμυνεῖσθαι by τιμωρήσεσθαι. Comp. c. Meid. § 98: τοὺς ἀσελγείς ἀμύνεσθαι.

ἂν μὲν τοίνυν] 'if then this now standing army (of Diopeithēs) be kept up.' Dobree well explains ἡ by περιῆ, σώζεται. Franke by ὑπάρχει.

βοηθήσομεν αὐτῷ] 'we shall send a force from here against him (Philip).'

The codex S has ἐν βοηθήσαιμεν.

τὴν ἐπιούσαν] Comparing § 44 (χειμῶνας ὑπομένειν), it appears that the 'coming season' must have been the spring; so that this oration was spoken towards the close of winter.

εἰς ἣν] 'before,' or, 'by which, certain persons think it necessary to get the Hellespont clear of you.'

ἐπὶ Χαλκίδα] Chalcis, the principal city of Euboea, on the narrowest part of the Euripus, was founded by the Athenians (Strabo x. 447), and continued under an aristocracy (οἱ ἱπποβόται) till a short time before the Persian war (B.C. 508). The Athenians then overpowered the government, and occupied the town and territory with a colony (κληροῦχοι) of 4000 men (Herod. v. 77). Afterwards, and, as it would seem, for nearly a century, the Chalcidians remained under the dominion of Athens, till B.C. 410, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, when, in concert with the majority of their coun-

τρόπον ὄνπερ ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν πρῶην, πότερον κρεῖττον ἐνθάδε αὐτὸν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑᾶσαι, ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν' ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ ; 15 ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τοῦτο.

- 19 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους χρὴ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἦν Διοπίθης πειράται τῇ πόλει δύνανται παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βασκαίνειν καὶ διαλύσαι. πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν αὐτοὺς προσπαρσκευάζειν καὶ συνευποροῦν- 20 τας ἐκείνῳ χρημάτων καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους.
- 20 εἰ γὰρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον, εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἂν βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς Διοπίθης νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὅποιουστινασοῦν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω) εὐθενεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους γίγνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως 25 συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατήγορόντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι ; τοῦτ' ἂν, οἶμαι, φήσειεν. εἰθ' ἂ Φίλιππος ἂν εὖξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' 95

trymen, and aided by the Boeotians, they regained their independence. The position of the city rendered its occupation of great moment to a force invading Greece from the north ; for the channel between its walls and the mainland of Euboea was so narrow, that the opposite shores were connected by projecting piers (χώματα) and a central wooden bridge, allowing a passage (ὁ διέκπλους ἀπελείφθη μὲν νηὶ) for only one ship (Diod. xiii. 47. Livy xxviii. 7). During the war between the Romans and Philip V. son of Demetrius, it was still (B.C. 200) connected with Euboea 'perpetuo ponte,' and Livy (xxxi. c. 23) thus describes its then importance : " Ut terra Thermopylarum angustiae Graeciam, ita mari fretum Euripi claudit " (Livy xxviii. 7 ; xxxi. 24). The modern name of the city is Negropont.

Μέγαρα] This city was a frequent object of Philip's attacks. Comp. F. L. § 99 : ὁσάκις πρὸς Πορθμῶ ἢ πρὸς Μεγάρους ἀκούοντες δύνανται Φίλιππον καὶ ξένους ἐθορυβεῖσθε, πάντες ἐπίστασθε.

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ] This reading makes against the observation of Rüdiger on τῆς αὐτῆς . . . ὥσπερ, § 14.

ἐπ' Ὀρεόν] The details of this affair are given c. Phil. iii. 126. It appears that Philip had at Oreus in Euboea a strong partisan named Philistides, who

prevailed upon his fellow-citizens to seize and imprison Euphraes, the leader of the opposite party, as a disturber of the public peace. This done, he was subsequently enabled to introduce a body of Macedonian troops from the then neighbouring army in Thessaly, by whose support he secured for himself as an instrument of Philip the rule over the city (De Cor. § 86. Grote xi. 622). Livy (xxviii. 5) thus describes its position : " Ab Demetriaco (Maliaco ?) sinu Chalcidem et Euripum petenti ad laevam prima urbiū Euboeae posita est." In the Macedonian war it was betrayed to the Romans, after a severe contest by " Plator, qui a Philippo praepositus urbi erat."

τοὺς ὅποιουστινασοῦν] 'whatever may be their character.'

εὐθενεῖν] 'to be in good condition.' There are three ways of writing this word,—εὐθενεῖν, εὐθηνεῖν, and εὐσθενεῖν, of which the first is the MS. reading for this passage. So also in the De Cor. § 353, Bekker with the best MSS. reads εὐθενοῦντων. The grammarian (of the 13th century) Thomas Magister (p. 382) also says, εὐθενεῖν κάλλιον ἢ εὐθηνεῖν, to which Mr. Shilleto (F. L. § 256) adds : " Saltem in Atticis εὐθενεῖν videtur praestare quemadmodum in Aeschyl. Eum. 895, 944, postulante metro, in 908 *haud repugnante* editur."

ἡμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν ; εἶτα ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἅπαντα ;

- 21 Βούλομαι τοίνυν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρρησίας ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιού- 5
μεν αὐτοὶ νῦν καὶ ὅπως χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματα εἰσφέρειν βουλόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι
22 τολμῶμεν, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοπεῖθαι δίδομεν, οὔθ' ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορί-
σῃται ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν πόθεν 10
καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαυτὰ, οὔτ' ἐπειδὴ περ
οὕτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ'
ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξια ἐπαινοῦ-
μεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιωμένοις τούτοις συναγω-
23 νυζόμεθα. ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν εἰώθατε ἐκάστοτε τὸν παρ- 15
ιούτα ἐρωτᾶν τί οὖν χρή ποιεῖν ; ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῆσαι
βούλομαι τί οὖν χρή λέγειν ; εἰ γὰρ μήτε εἰσοίσετε, μήτε
αὐτοὶ στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς
συντάξεις Διοπεῖθαι δώσετε, μήτε ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορί-
σῃται ἑάσετε, μήτε τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐβελήσετε, 20
οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ γὰρ ἤδη τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν τοῖς
αἰτιάσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις δίδοτε, ὥστε καὶ
περὶ ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων προ-
κατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθε, τί ἂν τις λέγοι ;
- 24 Ὅ τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίους μαθεῖν ὑμῶν 25
δεῖ. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως
δυναίμην. πάντες ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασι παρ' ὑμῶν

πρὸς ὑμᾶς] Several MSS. omit *πρὸς*, and Bekker incloses it between brackets. But it seems to be necessary.

ὅπως χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς] 'how we are managing,' or 'dealing with them.'

τὰς συντάξεις] 'the supplies, and payments agreed upon.' Stipendium condictum.

βασκαίνομεν] 'we grumble and inquire how he gets them.'

οὔτ' ἐπειδὴ περ οὕτως] 'nor being thus disposed are we willing to perform our own part.'

τὸν παριόντα] 'any one who comes forward to speak.'

ὥστε . . . προκατηγορούντων] 'so that you lend an ear to those who complain by anticipation even of those projects which they say he is about to carry out.' Dindorf reads *περὶ ὧν ἂν φῶσι*, the MSS. marked by Bekker as F, S, u, v, having *περὶ ὧν ἂν φάσιν*. But the *ἂν* is wanting in other MSS., and seems worse than useless here. The emphatic repetition of *καὶ περὶ* before *τούτων* is worth remarking.

Ὅ τι τοίνυν δύναται] 'now what such conduct may possibly effect,' C. R. K.; i. e. what may be the result of such proceedings.

στρατηγοὶ, ἣ ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν τιμῶμαι, καὶ παρὰ Χίων 96
καὶ παρ' Ἐρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι δύνωνται,
τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω, χρήματα λαμβά-
25 νουσιν. λαμβάνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν ἢ δύο ναῦς
ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζω δύναμιν πλείονα. καὶ διδόασιν οἱ 5
διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενὸς (οὐ
γὰρ οὕτω μαίνονται), ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς
παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας ἐμποροῦς, μὴ συλᾶσθαι, παρα-
πέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα· φασὶ δ' εὐνοίας
26 διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἔχει τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. καὶ 10
δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοπίθει 'στράτευσμ' ἔχοντι σαφῶς ἐστι.
τοῦτο δὴλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες οὗτοι· πόθεν
γὰρ οἴεσθε ἄλλοθεν τὸν μήτε λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν μηδὲν
μήτ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὁπόθεν μισθοδοτήσῃ, στρατιώτας τρέ-
φειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν 15
ἀγείρει καὶ προσαιτεῖ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει.
27 οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ προ-
λέγουσιν ἅπασι μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐκείνῳ διδόναι, ὥς καὶ τοῦ
μελλῆσαι δώσονται δίκην, μὴ τι ποιήσαντί γε ἢ συγκατα-

ἣ ἐγὼ πάσχειν] 'or I undertake to suffer any penalty.' Compare c. Phil. i. § 29: ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντὴς πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, εἰ μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχω.

In Attic law, *timân* is said of a court determining the punishment of a convicted offender, as in Plato, *Leg.* viii. § 9: *τιμᾶτω τὸ δικάστηριον ὃ τι ἂν δέη πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν τὸν ἡττηθέντα*. And *τιμᾶσθαι* is used of a complainant who prays a court to inflict a particular punishment upon an offender, or lays his damages at a certain amount, as in Plato, *Gorgias*, § 91: *κατηγοροῦ τυχὼν πάννυ φάυλου, ἀποθάνοις ἂν, εἰ βούλοιστο θανάτου σοι τιμᾶσθαι*. Here then *timômai* means, 'I fix as a punishment for myself (if what I say is not true) the submission to any suffering or penalty that may be inflicted on me.'

παρ' Ἐρυθραίων] One of the Ionian towns on the coast of Asia Minor.

ὠνούμενοι] 'by way of bargain that their merchants may not be injured at sea.' Paying 'black-mail,' as if the Athenian admirals were the Rob Roys of the Aegean.

εὐνοίας] 'benevolences.' It is curious

(as Mr. Kennedy has observed) that exactly the same name should have been given to the illegal contributions exacted in former times by the kings of England, e. g. Edward IV. and Henry VII. Shakespeare applies the same term to the exactions of Richard II. :

"And daily new exactions are devised
As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not
what." (Act II. Sc. 1.)

ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει] 'by these means does he go on.' The grammarian, Thomas Magister, explains *διάγειν* by *διαζῆν*. Compare Xen. *Anab.* i. 28. 16: *ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε*. Also, Dem. c. *Aristog.* § 94: *ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ χρηστέῃ δόξῃ διάγοντας*.

ὥς καὶ τοῦ] 'as he will be called to account for his intentions, to say nothing of his actions, whether by himself or with others.' Or, with Mr. Kennedy: 'being sure to be punished for his acts, either as principal or auxiliary.' Here *μή τι* may mean, 'not to say (*μή τι λέγων*) what will happen if,' &c. Comp. note on *μή τί γε δή*, Olyn. ii. § 23, p. 46.

πραξαμένω. τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι· μέλλει πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς 20
 Ἕλληνας ἐκδίδωσι· μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν
 οἰκούντων Ἑλλήνων· ἀμείνους μέντ' αὖ εἰεν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ
 28 τῆς πατρίδος κήδεσθαι. καὶ τό γ' εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
 ἐκπέμπειν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ δεινὰ
 ποιεῖ Διοπεΐθης καὶ κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρὸν, ὧ ἄνδρες 25
 Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλύσαι δύναται
 ἂν, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ νόμοι ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἰς- 97
 ἀγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δία δαπάναις καὶ τριήρεσι τοσαύταις
 ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ
 29 μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν
 ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τριήρεις 5
 ἐκπέμπειν καὶ χρήματα εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν,
 ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, πάραλος, ταῦτ'
 ἐστὶν ἱκανά. ταῦτ' ἦν εὖ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεα-

τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι] 'this is the meaning of the statements: he is going to undertake sieges; he is giving up the Greeks,' i. e. to the plunder of his soldiers.

τούτων] sc. the opponents of Diopeithes.

ἀμείνους μέντ' αὖ] 'at any rate (if they do care for the Asiatic Greeks) they would be better at caring for strangers than their country.' Πατρίδος κήδεσθαι is an Homeric expression, like κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, with a touch of irony in it.

κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα] 'detaining ships.' Literally: 'bringing them down' into port for plunder or exaction of tolls. See § 9.

μικρὸν πινάκιον] 'a brief missive.' Literally, a small tablet on which any thing was written. It can hardly here mean 'a summons,' for Demosthenes was deprecating the removal of Diopeithes from his command. Dobree compares Xen. Hell. v. 2. 34: Οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη, ὥστ' ἐκείθεν πάντα ὑπηρετῆσθαι ὅσων ἂν δέησθε. So also Harpocration, s. v.: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Φιλίππικοις ὅταν λέγῃ, μικρὸν πινάκιον πάντα ταῦτα, ἐν ταῦθα τυχὸν πινάκιον λέγεται, εἰς δ' ἐγγράφεται τὰ ἐγκλήματα κατὰ τῶν εἰσαγγελλομένων.

λέγουσιν . . . εἰσαγγέλλειν] 'the laws prescribe the impeachment of men who commit such wrongs.' An εἰσαγγελία,

in its original and most comprehensive sense, was a denunciation of any kind, but most commonly it was an information laid before the council (Βουλή), or the assembly of the people (Ἐκκλησία) at Athens, followed up by the consequent impeachment and trial of state criminals under novel or extraordinary circumstances. See Εἰσαγγελία, Dict. of Antiq.

οὐ μὰ Δία] 'and not, by Zeus, to watch ourselves (i. e. our own generals) at much expense, and with such a number of triremes.' That this is the meaning is proved by ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς below. Demosthenes here ridicules the idea of sending out ships at a great expense, for the purpose of coercing Diopeithes in the event of his not submitting to the commands of the State.

λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις] i. e. λαβεῖν ὥστε εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις. Franke.

πάραλος] One of the two state vessels (the other was the Σαλαμῖνα), used to fetch state criminals home for trial or punishment, and for other public purposes.

ταῦτ' ἦν] 'such would have been the course of right-minded persons; whereas the present conduct of these persons is that of men who are malignant, and who would ruin the State;' or, with Mr. Kennedy: 'thus would men of discretion act; malignant and mischievous politicians would proceed as these do.'

ζόντων δὲ καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτοι
 30 ποιοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους, δεινὸν 10
 ὃν οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη
 διάκεισθε ὥστε, ἂν μὲν τις εἴπῃ παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοπίθης
 ἔστι τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἴτιος ἢ Χάρης ἢ Ἀριστοφῶν ἢ
 ὃν ἂν εἴπῃ τις τῶν πολιτῶν, εὐθέως φατὲ καὶ θορυβεῖτε
 31 ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει· ἂν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ τις τὰ ληθῆ, ὅτι 15
 “ληρεῖτε, Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων τούτων Φίλιππος ἔστ' αἴτιος· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἦγεν
 ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει,” ὡς μὲν οὐκ
 ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἔχετε ἀντιλέγειν, ἄχθεσθαι δέ μοι
 32 δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων 20
 (καὶ μοι πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω, ἔστω
 παρρησία)· παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τῶν πολιτευ-
 ομένων ἐνιοι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλε-
 ποὺς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ῥαθύμους
 καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτους. ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν αἴτιον εἴπῃ τις ὃν 25
 ἴστε ὅτι λήψεσθε παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς, φατὲ καὶ βούλεσθε· ἂν
 δὲ τοιούτον λέγῃ τις, ὃν κρατήσαντας τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἄλλως 98
 δ' οὐκ ἔστι κολάσαι, οὐκ ἔχετ', οἶμαι, τί ποιήσετε, ἐξελεγ-
 33 χόμενοι δὲ ἄχθεσθε. ἐχρῆν δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ-
 ναντίον ἢ νῦν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολιτευομένους ἐν μὲν ταῖς
 ἐκκλησίαις πρᾶους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὑμᾶς ἐθίζειν εἶναι 5
 (πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν ταύταις
 ἔστι τὰ δίκαια), ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου

δεινὸν ὃν οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν] ‘bad as it is, is not the worst.’

Ἀριστοφῶν] There were two Athenians of this name, distinguished by appellations derived from their respective townships; namely, ὁ Κολυττεύς, from the township of Colyttus, and ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, from Azenia, another township. The former is alluded to here; and judging from the characters with whom he is associated, he must have been a general as well as an orator. Comp. De Cor. § 85.

εὐθέως φατέ] ‘you immediately assent, and applaud him as speaking rightly.’

καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι] ‘and to fancy that you are as it were losing something.’ Wolf takes it differently, and, I think,

incorrectly, thus: ‘eum, qui verum dicat, rempublicam laedere.’

παρασκευάκασιν . . . ἐνιοι] ‘some of your statesmen have for a long time trained you to be.’

ἐξελεγχόμενοι δέ] ‘but you are annoyed on having it brought home to you.’

ἐχρῆν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] ‘whereas in the very reverse way to what is the case, all your statesmen should have accustomed you to be’ &c. So in Latin: ‘quod contra debuerat.’

ἐν ταύταις ἔστι τὰ δίκαια] ‘in these (are discussed) your rights as regards yourselves and your allies,’

φοβερούς καὶ χαλεπούς ἐπιδεικνύναι· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς
 34 ἐχθρούς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐν ἐκείναις ἔσθ' ὁ ἀγών. νῦν
 δὲ δημαγωγοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ χαριζόμενοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν 10
 οὕτω διατεθείκασιν ὥστ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν
 καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούοντας, ἐν δὲ
 τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων
 ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διὸς, εἰ λόγον ὑμᾶς
 ἀπαιτήσκειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὧν νυνὶ παρείκατε καιρῶν διὰ 15
 35 ῥαθυμίαν, καὶ ἔροινθ' ὑμᾶς, “ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πέμπετε
 ὥς ἡμᾶς ἐκάστοτέ πρέσβεις, καὶ λέγεθ' ὥς ἐπιβουλεύει
 Φίλιππος ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ ὥς φυλάττεσθαι
 δεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ;” ἀνάγκη φάσκειν
 καὶ ὁμολογεῖν· ποιούμεν γὰρ ταῦτα. “εἴτ', ὦ πάντων 20
 36 ἀνθρώπων φαυλότατοι, δέκα μῆνας ἀπογενομένου τάνθρω-
 που καὶ νόσῳ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποληφθέντος
 ὥστε μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε, οὔτε τὴν Εὐβοίαν
 ἡλευθερώσατε οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐκομίσασθε,
 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ὑμῶν οἴκοι μενόντων, σχολὴν ἀγόντων, 25
 ὑγιαίνοντων,” εἰ δὴ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιούντας ὑγιαίνειν

νῦν δὲ δημαγωγοῦντες] ‘but now by fawning upon you and humouring you beyond all bounds.’

ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι] ‘while, as regards your operations and circumstances, you are now in peril for your most vital interests;’ or, more simply, ‘you are in the very extremity of peril.’

παρείκατε] From παρίημι.

δέκα μῆνας] This must allude to Philip's then absence in Thrace. Comp. § 2: τῆς στρατείας, ἣν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονὶ Φίλιππος ἐν Θράκῃ ποιεῖται. The sickness (νόσῳ ἀποληφθέντος) must refer to some illness of Philip not otherwise known of; for it is not probable that Demosthenes is speaking of his severe attack ten years before in Thrace. Comp. Olyn. iii. § 6, p. 53: ὥς γὰρ ἡγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεώς. The allusion is clearly to some incident of recent date.

οὔτε τὴν Εὐβοίαν] Hostilities, probably fomented by the intrigues of Philip, broke out in Euboea (B.C. 349) between the Athenians and some of the inhabitants. They continued with various success till

the peace of B.C. 346 (Grote xi. 481). Afterwards, and probably about B.C. 343, Philip again interfered in Euboea, and reduced some of its towns under the dominion of his partisans. A probable approximation to the time is easily obtained. For in the second Philippic (B.C. 343) no mention is made of attacks on Euboea. But in the next year Demosthenes (F. L. § 204) asserts that Philip's soldiers were in Euboea, and (§ 326) that he was providing bases of operation (ὁρμητήρια) against the Athenians. It is not, however, stated, as here, that he had then established ‘tyrants’ (κατέστησε τυράννους) in Euboea, and therefore we may reasonably conclude that this was done during the campaign in Thrace, and by means of his generals and army in Thessaly. Rüdiger, Comment. Hist. in locum. Grote xi. 621.

ἐκομίσασθε] This word is similarly used in the sense of recovering in c. Phil. i. § 10: τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν κομίσασθε. Compare the note on εἰσφρήσεσθαι, § 15, p. 178.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν] ‘and yet he indeed.

φήσαιεν “ δύο ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησε τυράννους, τὸν μὲν 99
 ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτείχισας, τὸν δ’ ἐπὶ Σκίαθον,
 37 ὑμεῖς δ’ οὐδὲ ταῦτ’ ἀπελύσασθε, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο ἐβούλεσθε,
 ἀλλ’ εἰάκατε καὶ ἀφέστατε δῆλον ὅτι αὐτῷ, καὶ φανερόν
 πεποιθήκατε ὅτι οὐδ’ ἂν δεκάκις ἀποθάνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον 5
 ὑμεῖς γε κινήσεσθε. τί οὖν πρεσβεύεσθε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε
 καὶ πράγμαθ’ ἡμῖν παρέχετε ;” ἂν ταῦτα λέγωσι, τί ἐροῦ-
 μεν ἢ τί φήσομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ
 ὀρώ.

38 Εἰσὶ τοίνυν τινὲς οἱ τότε ἐξελέγγειν τὸν παριόντα οἶον- 10
 ται, ἐπειδὴν ἐρωτήσωσιν τί οὖν χρή ποιεῖν ; οἷς ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ
 δικαιοτάτον καὶ ἀληθέστατον τοῦτ’ ἀποκρινούμαι, ταῦτα
 μὴ ποιεῖν ἂ νυνὶ ποιεῖτε, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον
 ἀκριβῶς ἐρώ. καὶ ὅπως, ὥσπερ ἐρωτῶσι προθύμως, οὕτω

εἰ δὴ . . . φήσαιεν] The subject is *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. But some MSS. have *εἰ δέ τι . . . φῆσαι*.

τυράννους] Philistides at Oreus, and Cleitarchus at Eretria.

τὸν μὲν . . . ἐπιτείχισας] ‘setting up one as an advanced post right against Attica, and the other as a menace to Sciathus.’ Eretria in Euboea lies opposite Attica, while Oreus in the north is but a short distance from Sciathus, an island off the Magnesian coast of Thessaly belonging to Athens. As for ἐπιτείχισας, it is not often* that this word is used of a *person*, ἐπιτείχισμα being always applied to an advanced *position* threatening an enemy, and even to a fortified place in an enemy’s country, as Deceleia in Attica, during the last ten years of the Peloponnesian war. Mitchell, in Reiske’s Index, translates κατέστησε τυράννους, τὸν μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιτείχισας, amusingly and absurdly, thus: ‘to put on the nose, like a pair of spectacles.’ Comp. c. Phil. iv. § 9: τυραννίδα ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπετείχισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ.

ὑμεῖς δ’ οὐδὲ ταῦτα] ‘and yet you have not even rid yourselves of these annoyances.’ Rüdiger translates: ‘ne hac quidem culpa vos purgastis, sc. ut hinc illum expelleretis,’ comparing c. Androt. § 3: ἐγὼ τοίνυν ταῦτα μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀγωνιζόμενος παρ’ ὑμῖν ἀπελυσάμην. But the meaning of the verb clearly depends upon ταῦτα, which in legal pro-

ceedings (as in the c. Androt.) might be charges or imputations for the defendant to clear himself of. In the text it means the annoyances from which the Athenians had not rid themselves.

ἀφέστατε . . . αὐτῷ] ‘you have stood out of the way for him.’ Comp. Soph. Ajax v. 657:

ἐξίσταται δὲ νυκτὸς αἰαντὸς κύκλος,
 τῇ λευκοπῶλφ φέγγος ἡμέρᾳ φλέγειν.

ὑμεῖς γε] Omitted in the codex S.

τί ἐροῦμεν] ‘what shall we reply, or what shall we say?’ The double question is used apparently for greater emphasis.

οἱ τότε ἐξελέγγειν] ‘who think they confute and silence the speaker.’

ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν] ‘that you should cease from doing what you are doing now, not but that I will also reply by going closely into details.’ Here οὐ μὴν forcibly denies the assumption that he is confuted, and ἀλλὰ corrects it by the assertion that he will meet his opponents on every point.

καὶ ὅπως] ‘and would that with the same alacrity that they put questions, they would in like manner be willing to act also.’ An imperative like ὁράτωσαν or δρῶντων is understood. Rüdiger compares c. Meid. § 272: ὅπως ἐπέξει τῷ μιᾶρῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύσει. So Epist. i. 14: καὶ τοῦθ’ ὅπως μὴ ψεύσεται. Also, F. L. § 133: καὶ ὅπως γε ἂν τι τούτων γένηται τούτους ἐπαινέσσεθε, καὶ μέντοι κἂν τι τούτων ἐναντίον, ὅπως τούτοις ὀργιεῖσθε.

39 καὶ ποιεῖν ἐβελήσουσιν. πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 15
τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαίως γινῶναι, ὅτι τῇ πόλει
Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην λέλυκε (καὶ παύσασθε
περὶ τούτου κατηγοροῦντες ἀλλήλων) καὶ κακόνους μὲν
ἐστὶ καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει,
40 προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ 20
τοῖς μάλιστα οἰομένοις αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι (εἰ δὲ μὴ, σκεψά-
σθωσαν Εὐθυκράτην καὶ Λασθένην τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους, οἱ
δοκοῦντες οἰκειότατ' αὐτῷ διακεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν
προῦδοσαν, πάντων κάκιστ' ἀπολώλασιν), οὐδενὶ μέντοι
μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμεῖ οὐδ' ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ σκοπεῖ 25
μᾶλλον οὐδὲ ἐν τῶν πάντων ἢ ὅπως ταύτην καταλύσει.
41 καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως τρόπον τινὰ πράττει· οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς
ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔσται
αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν ὑμεῖς δημοκρατήσθε, ἀλλ' ἐάν 100
ποτε συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα, ἃ πολλὰ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνθρώπῳ,
ἥξει πάντα τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα καὶ καταφεύξεται πρὸς
42 ὑμᾶς· ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοῖς πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατα-
σχεῖν ἀρχὴν εὖ πεφυκότες, ἀλλ' ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλύσαι καὶ 5
ἔχοντ' ἀφελέσθαι δεινοὶ, καὶ ὅλως ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς ἀρχεῖν
βουλομένοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελέ-
σθαι ἔτοιμοι. οὐκ οὖν βούλεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν

τοῦτο . . . γινῶναι] Here we must supply *χρῆ* from *τί οὖν χρῆ ποιεῖν*. 'This you ought to be assuredly convinced of in your own minds.'

καὶ παύσασθε] "copula καὶ hic habet vim cohortandi et impellendi." Rüdiger. Translate, 'Pray cease.' Compare the use of *καὶ* in the New Testament, as in Luke vii. 12: *ὥς δὲ ἤγγισε τῇ πόλει τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἰδοὺ . . .*, where *καὶ* is simply emphatic, as one might say, 'Do look.'

ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει] Comp. note on the corresponding passage, c. Phil. iv. § 13.

καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα] 'nay, even to those who are most persuaded that they are obliging him.'

πάντων κάκιστ' ἀπολώλασιν] 'have been ruined in the most wretched way of all.' The word *ἀπολώλασιν* does not imply that they were put to death, but that they were ruined and lost. So F. L.

§ 118: *δικαίως ἀπολωλέναι κρίνεται*, 'he is judged to have deservedly become a ruined man.' See De Cor. § 60.

ἢ ὥπως] The codex S has *πῶς*, which I do not think correct, though Dindorf retains it.

καὶ . . . τρόπον τινὰ] 'and naturally enough in some sort does he thus act.' The words *νῦν γὰρ δὴ* occur after *τινὰ* in some MSS., but not in the best.

ἕως ἂν] 'so long as you under a democracy.'

πάντα . . . πρὸς ὑμᾶς] 'all who are now under restraint will come to and take refuge with you.'

ἐστὲ γὰρ . . . εὖ πεφυκότες] 'you are not yourselves well qualified for aggrandizement, and gaining dominion.'

καὶ ἔχοντ' ἀφελέσθαι] 'and for depriving the usurper of his conquest.'

οὐκ οὖν βούλεται] 'he does not wish then that a spirit of freedom should pro-

παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, οὐ
 43 κακῶς οὐδ' ἀργῶς ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ 10
 τοῦτο δεῖ, ἔχθρον ὑπειληφέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημο-
 κρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκείνον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο πεισθή-
 σεσθε ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐκ ἐβελήσετε ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
 σπουδάζειν· δεύτερον δ' εἰδέναι σαφῶς ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα
 πραγματεύεται καὶ κατασκευάζεται νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν 15
 πόλιν παρασκευάζεται, καὶ ὅπου τις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεται,
 44 ἐνταῦθ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀμυνεῖται. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ' εὐήθης
 ἐστὶν ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς ὃς ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν μὲν
 ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴποι Δρογγίλον καὶ
 Καβύλην καὶ Μάστειραν καὶ ἃ νῦν ἐξαιρεῖ καὶ κατα- 20
 σκενάζεται;) τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα
 λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χεიმῶνας καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύ-
 45 νους ὑπομένειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων
 καὶ τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοσούτων
 προσόδων οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἑάσειν ὑμᾶς 25
 ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 Θρακίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν. οὐκ ἔστι 101

ceed from you, and be on the watch for the chances he may offer,—no, not by any means, nor does he in those matters reason badly or idly.' The explanation of οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ is not easy here. But it seems as if οὐδὲ repeats the previous negative in οὐκουν, and adds πολλοῦ (i. e. διαστήματι) δεῖ, so that the sense would be, 'no, he does not wish it, and he is far from wishing it.'

πρῶτον μὲν δὴ] 'first of all then I insist.' The particle δὴ indicates a repetition of what was said in § 39.

ἀμύνεται] All the other MSS. except 'S et correctus Y' have ἀμυνεῖται in the last clause. Rüdiger reads ἀμυνεῖται in both clauses, Bekker in the last only.

εὐήθης . . . οὐδεὶς δς] So Olyn. i. § 15: τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεῦρο ἔχοντα, ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν;

τῶν . . . κακῶν . . . ἐπιθυμεῖν] 'sets his heart upon those wretched affairs in Thrace.' Mr. Kennedy translates τῶν κακῶν 'these miseries'; Jacobs, 'Arm-seligkeiten.'

Δρογγίλον] As might have been ex-

pected, nothing is known of these places except that Καβύλη (in Strabo Καλύβη) is said (Harpocr. s. v.) to have been πρὸς τῷ Ἀξίῳ ποτάμῳ κατὰ μέσον τῆς Θράκης. The Axios (Vardar) runs into the Gulf of Saloniki. Strabo (vii. 6, p. 330) says: ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ τῶν Ἀστών ἔθνος ἐν τῇ πόλει Καλύβη, Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντος. He should have called it Πονηρόπολις, 'Rogues' Town.'

Μάστειραν] Harpocraton (s. v.) proposes Βάστειραν, or Πίστειραν, or Ἐπίμαστον, on the ground that Anaximenes in the eighth book of his Philippics mentions those cities but not Μάστεира.

ἃ νῦν . . . κατασκευάζεται] 'the places which he is now taking and occupying.' τῶν ἀργυρείων] 'the silver mines at Laurium in Attica.'

ὕπὲρ δὲ . . . χειμάζειν] 'while he winters in the dark and the cold for the sake of the millet and the rye in the Thracian caverns.' These σιροί, or σιρροί, were underground caves in which the Thracians stowed their grain. Suidas (s. v.) explains the word by ὀρύγματα, ἐν οἷς κατατίθεται

ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτων γενέσθαι κύριος καὶ
 46 τὰλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται. τί οὖν εὖ φρονούντων ἀν-
 θρώπων ἐστίν; εἰδότας ταῦτα καὶ ἐγνωκότας, τὴν μὲν
 ὑπερβάλλουσαν καὶ ἀνήκεστον ταύτην ῥαθυμίαν ἀπο- 5
 θέσθαι, χρήματα δ' εἰσφέρειν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀξιούν,
 καὶ ὅπως τὸ συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο συμμενεῖ στράτευμα ὄραν
 καὶ πράττειν, ἢ ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ἔτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν
 ἀδικήσουσαν καὶ καταδουλωσομένην ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἑλλη-
 νας, οὕτω τὴν σώσουσαν ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἅπασιν 10

τὰ σπέρματα. So Varro (de re rust. i. 57): "Quidam granaria habent sub terris speluncas, quas vocant σειρούς, ut in Cappadocia et Thracia." And in a letter (53) of the Emperor Julian: ὁ Ζεῦ, πῶς μὲν καλῶς ἔχει, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν Θράκη διδάγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα σιροῖς ἐγγεμαίνειν. The Βάραθρον at Athens was a pit into which criminals condemned to death were thrown. Hence the term is applied to any place of horrors. Harpocration (s. v.) explains it here by οἶον ἐν τῷ δλέθρῳ. With regard to ὕλραι, it is not easy to determine what kind of grain is meant. Homer (Iliad v. 196) mentions it as food for horses: κρὶ λεῦκον ἑρεπτόμενοι καὶ δόλρας, and Pliny (xviii. 20), identifying it with the 'arınca,' says, "exteritur in Graecia difficulter: ob id jumentis dari ab Homero dicta." But he adds: "ex arinca dulcissimus panis: ipsa spissior quam far et major spica," and tells us that it is indigenous in Gaul, though plentiful in Italy ("Galliarum propria, copiosa et Italiae est"). Hence, Harduin (ad Plin. l. c.) believes that the old 'riguet' of Dauphny is a corruption of 'arinca;' but if there is any connexion between them, the derivation would be the other way. Herodotus (ii. 36, 77) distinguishes the ὕλραι of the Egyptians from the wheat and barley on which other men live: ἀπὸ πυρέων καὶ κριθέων ὅλλοι ζῶουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ δολυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία, τὰς ζεῖας μετεξέτεροι καλέονσι. On the other hand, referring to Thrace, Xenophon (Anab. vii. 1. 13) says of it (B.C. 400): εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλὰ κριθὰ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, and Hesychius says: ὕλραι, εἶδος σπέρματος, ἢ βρώμα τι, μεταξὺ σίτου καὶ κριθῆς· οἱ δὲ, αὐτὴν τὴν κριθήν. ἄλλοι καρπὸν τινὰ σιτικόν, ζεῖαν τινὲς ζέαν. Other authori-

ties are quoted in Spengel's Commentaries on Dioscorides, tom. ii. p. 455, but without giving any definite information. Nor is this strange; for, as Pliny says, "frumenti genera non eadem ubique: nec ubi eadem sunt, iisdem nominibus." Conversely it would seem that different writers apply the name ὕλραι to different kinds of grain, and perhaps Demosthenes himself used the term without really knowing its precise meaning. In the LXX Version of the Old Testament we find (Exod. ix. 32), ὁ δὲ πυρὸς καὶ ἡ ὕλραι οὐκ ἐπλήγη, where our Version is, "The wheat and the rye were not smitten;" also (Ezek. iv. 9), καὶ σὺ λάβε σεαυτῷ πυροῦς, καὶ κριθᾶς, καὶ κύαμον, καὶ φακόν, καὶ κέγγρον, καὶ ὕλραι, . . . καὶ ἐμβαλεῖς αὐτὰ εἰς ἄγγος ἐν ὀστρακινόν· καὶ ποιήσεις αὐτὰ σεαυτῷ εἰς ἄρτους, where our Version reads, "Take thou also unto thee wheat and barley and beans and lentils, and millet and *fitches* (i. e. vetches), and put them in one vessel, and make thee bread thereof." Perhaps a recollection of Homer suggested this translation; but the other ingredients of the bread make it probable that 'rye' or 'spelt' was meant. The corresponding Hebrew word is *cusmeth*.

εἰδότας ταῦτα καὶ ἐγνωκότας] 'being assured and convinced of this.' Demosthenes here uses two words of similar meaning to give greater force to what he says.

καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους κ.τ.λ.] 'and to call upon your allies to contribute, and to provide and arrange for the keeping up of the present standing force.' Comp. § 17: ἂν μὲν τοῖνυν ᾗ τὸ συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο στράτευμα, where ᾗ is synonymous with συμμενεῖ.

ἔτοιμον] Some MSS. have ἐτόιμην.

- 47 ἔτοιμον ἔχητε. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους οὐδέ ποτ'
οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράξαι, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ
δύναμιν, καὶ τροφήν ταύτῃ πορίσαντας καὶ ταμίας καὶ
δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἐν τῇ τῶν χρημάτων φυλακῇ ἀκρι-
48 βεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω ποιήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημά- 15
των λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. καὶ οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ ταῦτ' ἐβελήσητε
ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ
Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, οὗ μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν,
ἢ πολεμήσετ' ἐξ ἴσου. 20
- 49 Εἰ δέ τω δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης μεγάλης καὶ πόνων
πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ
ἀλλ' ἐὰν λογίζηται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα γενησόμενα,
ἂν ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλῃ ποιεῖν, εὐρήσει λυσιτελοῦν τὸ ἐκόντας
50 ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τις ἐγγυητὴς ὑμῖν θεῶν 25
(οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ' οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο ἀξιόχρεως τηλι-
κούτου πράγματος) ὥς, ἐὰν ἄγῃθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα
πρόησθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκείνος ἥξει,
αἰσχροὺς μὲν νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιον 102
ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς
προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκα ῥαθυμίας τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας
Ἑλληνας εἰς δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγε αὐτὸς μὲν
τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὲν 5
ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύ-

οὐ γὰρ ἔστι] On the sentence οὐ γὰρ ἔστι . . . τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Dobree observes: "Haec omnia dele (forsan et reliqua, ad ἴσου, v. 20) huc illata ex Philip. iv. p. 137, 7, quae ipsa sunt consarcinata ex Phil. i. p. 49, init. 46, fin. 47, init. 49, 18, &c." But an examination of the passages is far from satisfying me that the text, whether here or in the fourth Philippic, is made up of portions of the first. Naturally there is a similarity of ideas and language, but this does not prove imitation or suggestion.

βοηθείαις] 'with hasty levies.' Mr. Grote would perhaps translate the words 'by hasty outmarches.' Comp. μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (c. Phil. i. § 36), and Livy v. 37: "tumultuario exercitu rap-

tim ducto."

ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ δύναμιν] 'but after levying a force and providing it with maintenance, and paymasters, and pay-clerks, and taking such steps as to secure the strictest watchfulness over your funds, you must then (δεῖ λαμβάνειν) demand the account of the expenses from those officers, and of the operations from the generals.'

οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ'] 'for certainly no mortal could guarantee such a result.' καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων] 'and of the present position of the city, and of the past deeds of your forefathers.'

ἢ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι] 'than have given utterance to such ideas.'

- 51 νεσθε, ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ, τοῦ-
ναντίον δὲ προΐσμεν ἅπαντες, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείονων ἐάσω-
μεν ἐκείνων γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ
ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρησόμεθα ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ ἀναδύομεθα ἢ τί μέλ- 10
52 λομεν; ἢ πότε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν
ἐβελήσομεν; ὅταν νῆ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ. ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἂν
τις ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἤδη
πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρελήλυθε, τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων
ἀπεύχεσθαι δήπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι 15
ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστη ἀνάγκη ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν
γιννομένων αἰσχύνῃ, καὶ μείζω ταύτης οὐκ οἶδ' ἦντιν' ἂν
εἴποι τις· δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος αἰκισμὸς,
ἃ μῆτε γένοιτο οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.
- 53 Πάντα τοίνυν τᾶλλ' εἰπὼν ἂν ἡδέως, καὶ δείξας ὅν 20
τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐάσω·
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθύς ἀναστάς
τις λέγει τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν
δύναμιν μεγάλην ὡς χαλεπὸν, καὶ “διαρπάζειν τινὲς τὰ
χρήματα βούλονται” καὶ τοιούτους λόγους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναβάλ- 25
λουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν ὃ τι
54 βούλεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτων περιγίγνεται ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ σχολή 103
καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν, ἃ δέδοιχ' ὅπως μήποθ' ἡγήσησθε

ποῖ ἀναδύομεθα] ‘on what shall we fall back?’ Suidas explains ἀναδύεσθαι by φεύγειν, ἀναβάλλεσθαι. Comp. Homer (Iliad vii. 217): ἀλλ' οὐπως ἔτι εἶχεν ὑποτρέσαι, οὐδ' ἀναδύναι *Αψ λαῶν ἐς θυμῶν. Comp. Epist. i. § 14: καὶ τοῦθ' ὅπως μὴ ψεύσεται, μηδ' ἐξηπατῆσθαι μηδὲ πεισθῆναι παρακροῦσθαι φήσας, ἀναδύσεται. Also § 84 of this Oration.

τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων] ‘and that of slaves you surely must deprecate being realized.’ The codex S omits μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ.

ἢ ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] ‘shame for his proceedings.’ This seems to be an adaptation from c. Phil. i. § 13: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ εἶναι.

ἃ μῆτε γένοιτο] ‘which I would pray may never happen, and are not even fit to be spoken of.’

λέγειν ἄξιον] “Valde suspicor omnia, ὅταν νῆ Δία . . . λέγειν ἄξιον, primo e

loco Philip. i. p. 43, § 13, et aliunde compacta ab auctore Philippicae quartae p. 138. 15, atque inde huc translata.” Dobree.

Πάντα τοίνυν] ‘Now, though I would gladly describe and show how in every thing else certain politicians impose upon you.’ Observe this construction of καταπολιτεύονται with an accusative, for κατὰ in composition generally governs a genitive. But comp. F. L. § 362: ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς καταπολιτεύσατο Φίλιππος.

ἐπειδὴν . . . ἐμπέσῃ] ‘when any question arises bearing upon Philip.’

ἀναβάλλουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς] ‘by which they amuse you;’ literally, ‘put you off.’

ἐκ δὲ τούτων περιγίγνεται] Comp. Xen. Anab. v. 8. 26: καὶ περιεγένητο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

ἃ δέδοιχ'] ‘which I fear you may hereafter think to have been purchased too dearly.’

- ἐπὶ πολλῶ γεγενῆσθαι, τούτοις δὲ αἱ χάριτες καὶ ὁ μισθὸς
ὁ τούτων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς
δεῖν πείθειν, οἱ πεπεισμένοι κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ 5
55 πολέμου πράττοντα· ἂν γὰρ ἐκείνος πεισθῇ, τά γ' ἂφ'
ὑμῶν ἔτοιμα ὑπάρχει νομίζειν δ' εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσ' ἂν
εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἃ πεισόμεθα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ
ἐθέλωμεν ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ “διαρπασθήσεται τὰ χρήματα”
τῷ φυλακῇν εἰπεῖν, δι' ἧς σωθήσεται, κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ 10
56 τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀφεστάναι. καίτοι ἐγὼ γ' ἀγανακτῶ καὶ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυπεῖ
τινὰς ὑμῶν, εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, ἃ καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ κολά-
ζειν τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστι, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν
ἐφεξῆς οὕτως Φίλιππος ἀρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' 15
ὑμᾶς ἀρπάζων.
- 57 Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστι τὸ αἴτιον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ τὸν
μὲν οὕτω φανερώς στρατεύοντα, ἀδικούντα, πόλεις κατα-
λαμβάνοντα, μηδένα τούτων πώποτ' εἰπεῖν ὡς πόλεμον
ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲ προῖεσθαι ταῦτα συμ- 20
βουλεύοντας, τούτους τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖν αἰτιᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ
58 διδάξω ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν ἣν εἰκὸς ἐστι γενέσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν,
ἂν τι λυπῆσθε τῷ πολέμῳ, εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντας
τὰ βέλτιστα τρέψαι βούλονται, ἵνα τούτους κρίνητε, μὴ
Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε. καὶ κατηγορῶσιν αὐτοῖς, μὴ δίκην 25
δῶσιν ὧν ποιοῦσι νῦν. τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς δύναται τὸ λέγειν ὡς
ἄρα βούλονται πόλεμόν τινες ποιῆσαι παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ περὶ
59 τούτου ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα ἀκριβῶς 104

ὁ μισθὸς ὁ τούτων] ‘their reward for these speeches.’

νομίζειν δ' εἶναι χαλεπὰ] ‘and that you should think that the grievous thing is not our expenditure for our preservation.’ Νομίζειν depends on οἶμαι ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν.

τῷ φυλακῇν εἰπεῖν] ‘by suggesting some guardianship, by which they will be kept safe.’

εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα] ‘if your treasury causes you distress, supposing it will be plundered.’

μηδὲ προῖεσθαι ταῦτα] ‘nor to submit to such sacrifices.’

ἔν τι λυπήσθε] ‘should you suffer at

all in the war.’

μὴ δίκην δῶσιν] ‘instead of being brought to account.’

τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς δύναται] ‘this is the meaning of their saying.’

ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη] ‘is this controversy.’

Ἡ διαδικασία is not any suit whatever, but one between two private persons claiming the ownership of any thing one against the other, and therefore not a suit founded on a contract or delict. In English law an Interpleader Issue would be such a διαδικασία. Οὐχ ἀπλῶς πᾶσα δίκη διαδικασία καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷς περὶ τίνος ἀμφισβήτησις ἐστίν, ὅτε προσήκει μᾶλλον. Bekk. Anecd. p. 236.

- ὅτι οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενὸς πόλεμον καὶ ἄλλα
πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως· καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν
πέπομφε βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς μὴ προσ-
ποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἂν εἴη 5
60 τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐξελέγχοι. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἦν, τί φήσομεν; ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν
ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ὀρεΐταις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ
χώρα, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον, πρὶν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσ-
βαλεῖν αὐτῶν, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ 10
χώρα τὸ στράτευμα παρῆν ἔχων. ἦ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύ-
νεσθαι κελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐκοῦν ὑπό-
λοιπον δουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδέν ἐστι μεταξὺ τοῦ
61 μῆτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μῆτ' ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἑᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν οὐχ
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ὑμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ 15
γὰρ ὑφ' αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι βούλεται Φίλιππος,
ἀλλ' ὁλῶς ἀνελεῖν. οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν
ὑμεῖς οὐτ' ἐβελήσετε οὐτ', ἂν ἐβελήσητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε
(ἀρχεῖν γὰρ εἰώθατε), πράγματα δ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἂν
καιρὸν λάβητε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων δυνή- 20
σεσθε.
- 62 Ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος προσήκει
οὕτω γινγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ
μισεῖν καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν

εἰ μέντοι . . . αὐτόν] 'if however we wish to assume that he is not waging war against us.'

πρότερον, πρὶν ἢ . . . προσβαλεῖν] The codex S, which Dindorf follows, has οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων. But this could only mean that although Philip came up to and attacked the very walls of Pherae, he nevertheless denied that he was at war with the inhabitants. But so barefaced a falsehood could not have been perpetrated by Philip, nor is it to be supposed that Demosthenes would so far have forgotten himself as to impute it to him in an assembly of Athenians. I therefore, with Bekker, prefer the ordinary reading.

οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίοις] Oreus was occupied by Philip's troops in B.C. 342, Pherae apparently in B.C. 344, Olynthus in B.C.

347, the year before the peace. Comp. c. Phil. iv. § 68. Grote xi. 621.

ἕως] 'until,' the ἂν being omitted as the incident had really occurred.

οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων] 'is not with equal interests at stake.'

Ὡς οὖν . . . οὕτω γινγνώσκειν] 'you ought then to have this conviction, that the struggle is even for your most vital interests.' Such a combination of ὥς and οὕτω with a genitive is by no means uncommon.

μισεῖν καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι] 'to execrate and cudgel to death.' In Bekker, Anecd. p. 438, is the remark: ἀποτυμπανίσαι: οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλὰ τυμπάνοις ἀποκτείνειν· τύμπανον δὲ ἐστὶ ξύλον, ὥσπερ σκῆπτρον. Reiske translates the words by 'fustigatione necare,' on which Mr. Shilleto (F. L. § 150) truly remarks, that

ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ 25
 πόλει κολάσῃτ' ἐχθροὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη
 τούτοις ὥσπερ προβόλοις προσπταίοντας ὑστερίζειν ἐκεί-
 63 νων. πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ 105
 ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὖ
 ποιῶντα, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἤδη ;
 οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δούς ὑπηγάγετο εἰς τὴν νῦν παροῦ-
 64 σαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς ὅσα τοὺς 5
 τάλαιπῶρους Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δούς Πιτιδαίαν ἐξηπά-
 τησε καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγεται τὴν Βοιω-
 τίαν αὐτοῖς παραδούς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ
 χαλεποῦ· ὥστε καρπωσάμενοί τινα ἕκαστοι τούτων ἥλεο-
 νεζίαν οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν ἃ δὴ πάντες ἴσασι, οἱ δ' ὅ 10

“‘fustuarium’ is the Latin word: ‘fustigatio’ rests on no authority but the traditionary one of scholars.” Amongst the Romans it was a military punishment.

ὥσπερ προβόλοις . . . ἐκείνων] ‘but falling upon these as a sort of stumbling-block, you must be baulked of the others.’ Harpocration (s. v.) explains πρόβολος thus: αἱ εἰς θάλασσαν προκείμεναι πέτραι καὶ οἷον ἀκταὶ τινες. The derivation of the word in fact shows that it means any obstacle thrown in the way of any body. Pabst translates thus: ‘Es ist unvermeidlich, dass Ihr an sie wie an Klippen anstosst, und dadurch aufgehalten werdet.’ In military operations a πρόβολος is a ‘caltrop,’ or ‘crowfoot,’ made with three or more spikes or claws radiating from a centre like the claws of a ‘crow’s-foot,’ to be thrown over ground in the way of cavalry, making it considerably more dangerous to gallop across than even a Kentish wood-land after a fall of trees. Also, a low prickly shrub, resembling the ‘crow-foot’ in shape. Compare Virgil, Georg. i. 153: “Lappaeque tribulique,” and Matt. vii. 16: ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα ;

ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς] ‘that he insults you.’ From the apology implied by οὐδὲν γὰρ . . . ἢ τοῦτο, we might suppose that this phrase was either a strong or a strange one. And this idea is apparently supported by Lucian, Soloec. c. 10: τὸ μὲν σὲ ὑβρίζειν, τὸ σώμᾳ ἐστὶ τὸ σὺν, ἦτοι πλῆγῳ ἢ δεσμοῖς ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· τὸ δὲ εἰς σὲ, ὅταν εἰς τι τῶν σῶν γιγνῇται ἢ ὑβρις. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις γυναῖκα ὑβρίζει

τὴν σὴν, εἰς σὲ ὑβρίζει. Franke. But some passages in the speech c. Meid. show that this distinction is not always observed. Thus we have in § 26: ἐμοῦ μὲν ὕβρισε τὸ σῶμα (though the reading is not certain); but in § 34: ὦν δ' εἰς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσθαι φημί: in § 58, εἰς δούλον ὑβρίζειν: in § 105, οὐ μόνον εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὤφετο δεῖν ὑβρίζειν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς φυλέτας δι' ἐμέ: in § 136, τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὰναλῶμεθ' ὑβρίσειν.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους] ‘and does service at any rate to others while deceiving them, and yet threatens you already.’

οἷον Θετταλοὺς] ‘as, for instance, it was by many gifts that he ensnared the Thessalians into their present servitude.’ Comp. Olyn. ii. § 7.

ὅσα . . . πόλλ' ἕτερα] ‘to what an extent he imposed upon the Olynthians in former times, giving them Potidaea and many other places,’—Anthemus for instance.

ὑπάγεται] The MSS. have ὑπάγει, but in c. Phil. iv. § 72 the reading is ὑπάγεται as above it is Θετταλοὺς ὑπηγάγετο. And in Xenophon (Hell. v. 4. 24) we find ὑπάγειν θανάτου, ‘to bring to trial on a capital charge.’ Also, Herodotus ix. 93: ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν. The literal and exact meaning of ὑπάγεσθαι is ‘covertly to draw to oneself,’ i. e. to ensnare. Rüdiger thus: “lenociniis et insidiis aliquem inducere, protrahere.”

πολέμου . . . χαλεποῦ] Against the Phocians.

- 65 τι ἂν ποτε συμβῇ πείσονται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὦν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε, σιωπῶν ἄλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, πόσα ἐξηπάτησθε, πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε. οὐχὶ Φωκίας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, Δορίσκον, Σέρρειον, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν; οὐ νῦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιανῶν ἔχει 15
 66 καὶ ὁμολογεῖ; τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἄδεια ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ'
 67 ὑμῖν, κὰν ἀφηρημένοι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ᾗτε. οὐκ ᾗν 20 ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εἰ πε-

οὐχὶ Φωκίας] scil. ἐξηπάτησθε. The Athenians were deceived as regarded the Phocians and Pylae, by representations of Philip's intentions made before the peace was agreed upon, and with regard to the other places and Cersobleptes, by the delay in procuring the ratification of the peace from Philip, which enabled him to prosecute his conquests in the meanwhile and to retain them afterwards. See the Introductions to the De Pace and this Oration.

Δορίσκον] Doriscus was a large plain on the coast of Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus (Maritza). There was a Persian fort there in the time of Xerxes, and on his march to Greece he there reviewed all his troops. Herod. vii. 59. Serrheium, which Pliny (iv. 11) couples with Zone, was a fort near it. By τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης must be meant 'the places bordering upon Thrace' (quae ad Thraciam vergunt), i. e. in the district north of Chalcidice, and lying between Thessalonica in the w. and Amphipolis on the e. For τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης Schäfer says: "Scribe τὰ πρὸς Θράκης. Sic enim semper Attici. Aristoph. Av. 1358: εἰς τὰ πρὸς Θράκης ἀποπέτου. Plinius Pac. 283: ἐς τὰ πρὸς Θράκης χωρία." "But the idiomatic brevity of the comedian is no rule for the measured fullness of the orator or historian, and in Thucydides the phrase is τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης. Dindorf, however, says, "restitui τὰ πρὸς S."

ἄδεια . . . δέδοται] 'impunity is allowed for speaking in favour of our enemies, and it is safe for an individual who has been bribed to speak in his own person before you.'

μὴ σὺν εἰ πεπονθότων] 'unless the

Olynthian community had shared in the advantage by enjoying (the revenues of) Potidaea.' With Schäfer I prefer σὺν εἰ πεπονθότων 'diremtis verbis,' as we find in Thucyd. iii. 13: ἔξεν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτούς, though the division is contrary to the authority of MSS. Rüdiger, on the contrary (as Bekker), has συνευπεπονθότων (conjunctim), following the MSS., and alleging the analogy of ἀντευποιεῖν and ἀντευπείσεται, in Plato (Gorg. § 161): μόνῃ αὕτῃ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τὸν εὖ παθόντα ἐπιθυμεῖν ποιεῖ ἀντευποιεῖν, ὥστε καλὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ σημείον εἰ εὖ ποιήσας ταυτὴν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀντευπείσεται. But even here we find εὖ παθόντα 'diremtis verbis,' and some MSS. have, correctly, ἀντ' εὖ ποιεῖν, and ἀντ' εὖ πείσεται, without violating a principle which regulates the formation of compound verbs in Greek. For the adverb εἰ does not enter into composition with verbs, as ποιεῖν πάσχειν, σέβειν, τρέφειν, τυγχάνειν, so as to form εὖποιεῖν, εὖπάσχειν, εὖσεβειν, &c.; but with nouns, as in εὐεργέτης, εὐπαθής, εὖσεβής, εὐτροφος, εὐτυχής, from which are formed εὐεργετεῖν, εὐπαθεῖν, εὖσεβεῖν, εὐτροφεῖν, εὐτυχεῖν. So there is no such compound as ναυπήγνυμι, but ναυπηγέω, from ναυπηγός, nor could there be τηλεγράφω, though we might have τηλεγραφέω, if there were a noun τηλέγραφος, as γεώγραφος gives γεωγραφέω. See Lobeck, Phryn. 561, where it is stated that Galen uses ἰδιοπαθεῖν, δευτεροπαθεῖν, and ὑστεροπαθεῖν, de Loc. Affect. i. 3. 338. Dr. Donaldson in his Greek Grammar (p. 164) illustrates the rule by comparing εὖ ποιεῖν and συνέρδειν with εὐεργετέω, συνεργέω, from εὐεργέτης and σύνεργος.

- πονθότων τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῇ Ποτίδαιαν καρπού-
σθαι οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Θετταλία τὰ Φιλίππου
μηδὲν εὖ πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Θετταλῶν τῇ τοὺς
τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φιλίππου αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν 25
ἀποδοῦναι οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλὲς, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν
68 ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν οὐ 106
μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιανῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκό-
τος Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος ὑμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα
τὴν Εὐβοίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντος, ἀσφαλὲς
*69 ἔστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. καὶ γὰρ τοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ 5
πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐξ ἀωνύμων
καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐκ
μὲν ἐνδόξων ἀδοξοι, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἄποροι· πόλεως γὰρ
ἔγωγε πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους, πίστιν, εὐνοίαν, ὧν
70 ἀπάντων ἔσθ' ὑμεῖς ἄποροι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων ὀλιγώρως 10
ὑμᾶς ἔχειν καὶ ἔαν ταῦτα φέρεσθαι ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ
μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς
δ' ἔρημοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ, τῇ μὲν τῶν ὀνίων ἀφθονία λαμ-
71 προὶ, τῇ δ' ὧν προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι. οὐ
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περὶ θ' ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίους 15
τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βουλευομένους· ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν
ἄγειν φασὶ δεῖν, καὶ τις ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ δύνανται
παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος.
72 Εἴτα φησὶν ὅς ἂν τύχῃ παρελθόν “οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις
γράφειν, οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἄτολμος εἶ καὶ μαλακός.” 20

μηδὲν εὖ πεπονθότος] This is the common reading, and that of the codices S, Y. Bekker adopts *μη συνέυπεπονθότος*, which is more likely to have been invented or imitated by a copyist than the other, and is objectionable on the grounds just stated. Dindorf adopts it ‘*divisim*.’

κατασκευάζοντος . . . τὴν Εὐβοίαν] ‘turning Euboea into a sort of fortress to threaten us.’ Comp. above in § 44: *ἂ νῦν ἐξαίρει καὶ κατασκευάζεται.*

ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον] Demosthenes inferred this from the movements of Philip, just as the similar designs of Russia were manifested from her advances in the direction of Constantinople.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ . . . φέρεσθαι] ‘but from you

being indifferent to these things, and suffering them to be lost.’ This clause as here written stands in the margin of the codex S, and in a corrupted form in its text. It also occurs c. Phil. iv. § 69. So also the clause *ὕπηρετοῦντας . . . ἐκείνων* (§ 62) stands in the margin of S, and is found c. Phil. iv. § 63. From this coincidence Dindorf (Praefat. xxi) thinks it possible that the two clauses may be interpolations. But nothing certain or even very probable can be determined on such data.

τῇ μὲν τῶν ὀνίων . . . καταγέλαστοι] ‘illustrious in the abundance of your supplies for market, but ridiculous in the provision of what it is your duty to have.’

ἐγὼ δὲ θρασύς μὲν καὶ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὐτ' εἰμὶ
 μήτε γενοίμην, ἀνδρειότερόν μέντοι πολλῶ πάνυ τῶν
 73 ἱταμῶς πολιτευομένων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι. ὅστις
 μὲν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παριδὼν ἂ συνόψει τῇ πόλει,
 κρίνει, δημεύει, δίδωσι, κατηγορεῖ, οὐδεμιᾶ ταυτ' ἀνδρεία 25
 ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐνέχυρον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς
 χάριν ὑμῖν λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύς 107
 74 ἔστιν· ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις
 ἐναντιοῦται βουλήμασι, καὶ μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ
 τὸ βέλτιστον αἰεὶ, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται
 ἐν ᾗ πλειόνων ἢ τύχη κυρία γίνεται ἢ οἱ λογισμοί, τού- 5
 των δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν παρέχει, οὗτός
 75 ἔστ' ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ χρησίμος γε πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν,
 οὐχ οἱ τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν χάριτος τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως
 ἀπολωλεκότες, οὓς ἐγὼ τοσούτου δέω ζηλοῦν ἢ νομίζην
 ἀξιόους πολίτας τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔροίτό με 10
 “εἰπέ μοι, σὺ δὲ δὴ τί τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν πεποίη-
 κας;” ἔχων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν
 καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοράς καὶ λύσεις αἰχμα-
 76 λώτων καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων

ἐγὼ δὲ θρασύς] ‘but bold, and reckless, and shameless, I neither am nor wish to be.’

τῶν ἱταμῶς πολιτευομένων] ‘than your men of headstrong measures.’ The adverb *ἱταμῶς* is connected with *ἴτης*, in the sense of a bold, forward man, who will go ahead. Compare Arist. Nub. v. 445: *θρασύς, εὐγλωττός, τολμηρὸς, ἴτης*.

κρίνει . . . κατηγορεῖ] In litigation, *κατηγορία* precedes *κρίσις*, and therefore we should have expected *κατηγορεῖ* before *κρίνει*. But possibly Demosthenes adopted the order of the text for emphasis and impressiveness. By *δημεύει* he means that other orators ingratiated themselves with the Athenians by advocating the confiscation of the property of any victims of popular indignation. Comp. Xen. Hell. i. 7. 10: *θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι*.

ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐνέχυρον] ‘but having as a security for his own safety the popularity of his speeches and measures with you, he is bold without danger.’

ἐν ᾗ πλειόνων . . . λογισμοί] ‘in which

more depends upon fortune than calculations.’ C. R. K.

οὐχ οἱ . . . ἀπολωλεκότες] ‘not those who for an ephemeral popularity have thrown away the best interests of the State.’ Comp. Olyn. iii. § 26: *προπέπονται τῆς παραντίκα χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα*.

λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων] ‘captives ransomed.’ Comp. De Cor. § 332: *εἰ τινὰς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην*. Also, F. L. § 183. Demosthenes did this when an ambassador for the second time to Philip at Pella, in B.C. 346. He served the office of trierarch at eighteen years of age (*εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐξελθὼν, ὅτε σύνδυο ἦμεν*, c. Meid. § 197). He was choragus when about thirty-two (*παρελθὼν ὑπεσχόμην ἐγὼ χορηγήσειν ἐτελοντῆς*, c. Meid. § 19).

φιλανθρωπίας] ‘other such acts of humanity.’ Observe the plural, as *ἀλήθειαι*, c. Leoc. § 3, and *τὰς εὐτορίας*, De Pace, § 8. So ‘satietares’ and ‘excellētia.’ Cic. de Amic. § 67.

- εἴποιμι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων πολιτευμάτων οὐδὲν πολι- 15
τεύομαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἕτεροι, κατ-
ηγορεύει καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύειν καὶ τὰλλ' ἃ ποιοῦσιν
οὔτοι ποιεῖν, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ τούτων πώποτ' ἐμαντὸν ἔταξα
οὐδὲ προήχθην οὔθ' ὑπὸ κέρδους οὔθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας,
77 ἀλλὰ διαμένω λέγων ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πολλῶν ἐλάττων εἰμὶ 20
παρ' ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς δ', εἰ πείθοισθέ μοι, μείζους ἂν εἴητε
οὕτω γὰρ ἴσως ἀνεπίφθονον εἰπεῖν. οὐδέ γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
δικαίου τοῦτ' εἶναι πολίτου, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' εὕρισκιν
ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πρῶτος ὑμῶν ἔσομαι εὐθέως, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν
78 ἄλλων ὕστατοι· ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς 25
τῶν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι, καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον αἰεὶ,
μὴ τὸ ῥᾶστον ἅπαντας λέγειν· ἐπ' ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις 108
αὐτῇ βαδιεῖται, ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ προάγεσθαι
διδάσκοντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.
- 79 Ἦδη τοίνυν τινὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοιούτῳ τι λέγοντος, ὥς
ἄρα ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν αἰεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ 5
λόγοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, δεῖ δ' ἔργων τῇ πόλει καὶ πράξεώς
τινος. ἐγὼ δ' ὥς ἔχω περὶ τούτων, λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ
οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. οὐδ' εἶναι νομίζω τοῦ συμβουλευόντος
ὑμῖν ἔργον οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι
80 τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ῥαδίως οἶμαι δείξειν. ἴστε γὰρ 10

οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν τούτων] 'I have not ever mixed myself up, no, not in any one of these proceedings.' He means to say that his position in the State had never been amongst the men who had adopted such tactics. He had taken different ground, aloof from them. Comp. De Cor. § 76: ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ.

οὕτω γὰρ . . . εἰπεῖν] 'for thus, perhaps, may I speak without offence.'

ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι] 'but the State ought to keep pace, in its advancement, with the measures of good citizens.'

ἐπ' ἐκείνο μὲν] 'for to the latter (i. e. what is most agreeable) will nature herself lead; to the former a good citizen must lead (the State) on by his counsels.' Here ἐκείνο and τοῦτο are used differently from their ordinary application. 'Hic' and 'ille' are sometimes similarly used in Latin. Thus, Cic. de Amic. c. 2,

§ 10: "Cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum judicavit. Hujus enim facta, illius dicta laudantur." But ἐκείνο, it may be noticed, is often thus applied by Demosthenes. With προάγεσθαι, in an active sense, comp. Isoc. Paneg. § 103: προάγεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ διανυμαχεῖν.

οὐδ' εἶναι] So the codex S. The other MSS. have οὐκ. But if οὐδέ was not suggested by the negative in οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, Demosthenes may mean that he admits the fact of not being a man of action; and *not only so* (οὐδέ), but avows that he does not even think that, as a statesman, he ought to be any thing else than an adviser. Translate: 'Nor do I think a counsellor of yours has any business but to suggest the best measures.'

- δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι Τιμόθεός ποτ' ἐκείνος ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημηγό-
ρησεν ὡς δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας σῶζειν, ὅτε
Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντο αὐτοὺς, καὶ λέγων εἶπεν οὕτω πως·
“εἰπέ μοι, βουλευέσθε,” ἔφη, “Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ,
τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατ- 15
ταν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἡδη
81 πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;”
οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐποιήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς· ἐκ
δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπράχθη. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν
εἶπεν ὡς οἷόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπερ- 20
ραθυμήσατε καὶ μηδὲν ὑπηκούσατε, ἄρ' ἂν ἦν γεγονός τι
τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλει; οὐχ οἷόν τε. οὕτω τοῖνυν
καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω νυνὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ὁ δέυνα
εἶπη, τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλ-
τιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος. 25
- 82 Ἐν κεφαλᾷ δ' ἃ λέγω φράσας καταβῆναι βούλομαι.
χρήματα εἰσφέρειν φημὶ δεῖν, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν
συνέχειν, ἐπανορθοῦντας εἴ τι δοκεῖ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, μὴ 109
οἷς ἂν τις αἰτιάσῃται τὸ ὅλον καταλύοντας· πρέσβεις
ἐκπέμπειν πανταχοῦ τοὺς διδάζοντας, νοθεύοντας, πρᾶξ-
83 οντας ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται τῇ πόλει παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα τοὺς
ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δωροδοκοῦντας κολάζειν καὶ μισεῖν 5

Τιμόθεός ποτ' ἐκείνος] 'that celebrated Timotheus,' the son of Conon. Demosthenes alludes to an incident of B.C. 358, when the Euboeans invoked the aid of Athens against Thebes. Comp. De Cor. § 123: Θηβαίων σφετεριζομένων τὴν Εὐβοίαν. Diod. xvi. 7. Grote xi. 307.

οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;] 'will you not haul your ships down?' 'Nonne deducetis?'

ἀπερραθυμήσατε] A word not in Scott and Liddell (Ed. 2), and which cannot be briefly 'done into English' except by such a phrase as 'had you flinched,' or 'played the shirk.' Translate here: 'Had you indolently shrunk from action, and altogether disregarded his advice.'

τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα] 'but counsel, the best which he can give for his knowledge.'

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν] That of Diopieithes. μὴ...καταλύοντας] 'not disbanding the

whole force upon any accusations any one may make.' Dindorf reads *δοῖς* from the codex S, instead of *οἷς*.

παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα] *Praeter haec omnia*, 'besides all this,' says Schäfer, comparing adv. Lept. § 177: παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνο ἔτι ἀκουστέ μου. But it rather seems to mean, 'while you are doing all this,' according to the force of *παρὰ* in *παραχρήμα*. Comp. De Pace, § 2: παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, and Aesch. c. Ctes. § 170: ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεῖνα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐγκαταλιπῇ τὸν δῆμον. So Thucyd. i. 41: πάντων ἀπερίσπτοι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν, 'regardless of every thing in comparison of victory,' i. e. by the side of victory; and Soph. Antig. 34: τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔγειν οὐχ ὥς παρ' οὐδέν, 'to hold the matter as of no small account,' i. e. not to place it alongside of, and parallel to, nothing.

πανταχοῦ, ὡς οἱ μέτριοι καὶ δίκαιοι ἑαυτοὺς παρέχοντες
 εὖ βεβουλευσθαι δοκῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς. ἂν
 οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι χρήσθε καὶ παύσησθε ὀλιγωροῦντες
 ἁπάντων, ἴσως ἂν, ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἔτι βελτίω γένοιτο. εἰ
 84 μέντοι καθεδεῖσθε ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβηθῆναι καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι 10
 σπουδάζοντες, ἂν δὲ δέη τι ποιεῖν ἀναδύμενοι, οὐχ ὁρῶ
 λόγον ὅστις ἄνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἃ προσήκει δυνήσεται
 τὴν πόλιν σῶσαι.

ἄχρι . . . σπουδάζοντες] 'in earnest only so far as clamour and applause.' Compare c. Phil. iv. § 1: τοσοῦτον χρόνον
 σπουδάζετε ὅσον ἂν κάθησθε ἀκούοντες. ἀναδύμενοι] 'holding back.' See note on § 51, p. 191.

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC III.

THE Third Philippic, or as Dionysius Hal. (ad Amm. l. c. 10) calls it, the Tenth Harangue against Philip, was delivered in the same year as, and very shortly after, the speech de Chersoneso (B.C. 341). At that time Philip was prosecuting his conquests in Thrace, sending mercenaries (§ 22) into the Chersonese to oppose the Athenians, and menacing the cities on the Propontine coast, especially Byzantium (§ 45). All this was most hostile, not to say fatal to the interests of Athens, and fraught with peril to the permanent independence of Greece. At the same time it appears that some of the inhabitants of the Chersonese sent an embassy (§ 87) to Athens, requesting pecuniary and other assistance against Philip. Possibly on the occasion of this request, and certainly with a deep and growing conviction that his country was in imminent danger from Philip, Demosthenes again addressed his countrymen on the subject, and repeated his previous arguments and warnings in the following oration.

The attacks which in the next year (B.C. 340) Philip made upon (*καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ ποιούμενος καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν*, de Cor. § 86) Perinthus and Byzantium (Diod. xvi. 74. 77. Dion. Hal. vi. 741), and his incursion into the Chersonese showed the alarm of Demosthenes to have been well founded, and the vigour which the Athenians subsequently displayed in resisting Philip, proved that his eloquence was not without effect (de Cor. § 99). In fact, Dionysius Hal. (de Thucyd. vi. 947) calls it the greatest of the Philippics (*ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου κατηγοριῶν*), and it certainly is one of the most vigorous and powerful of the harangues of the Athenian orator (Grote xi. 625). "In fire and variety (says a writer in the Edinburgh Review, xxxvi. 104) it is surpassed by none of the lesser orations, and by some" (persons, of course) "it is preferred to all the rest." Schäfer (Arnold) in his recent work (ii. 448),

Demosthenes und seine Zeit (A.D. 1856), says of it, "Die Rede ist mit vorzüglicher Sorgfalt entworfen und durchgearbeitet und gilt nach dem übereinstimmenden Urtheile alter und neuer Kritiker als die grösste Staatsrede des Demosthenes." It was also the last of his orations specially directed against Philip.

But there is a remarkable fact connected with it, viz. that two editions have come down to us, one found in the codex S, with many sentences omitted, which however are added by a later hand in the margin. The fuller edition is preserved in the other MSS., except one or two, which want the additions in question, or have them in the margin. Various conjectures have been made on the subject, some thinking that the additions were made by Demosthenes himself in a revised edition, others that they are the work of a rhetorician not much later in point of time. Some again have thought that the shorter edition is the condensation of another writer, an opinion against which Dindorf pertinently objects, that the author of a compendium would have omitted more than this short edition omits, and would *not* have omitted the names of certain individuals (§§ 69 and 85) which are not found in it. Nor, again, is it probable that Demosthenes would designedly have left to posterity two different copies of one speech, and yet the additions in question are of such a character, that it would be idle to contend they were not his. The natural conclusion then is, that the variations in the MSS. arose from the copyists, but how or when we have no means to determine.

IX.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

B.C. 341.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀπλῇ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις· Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικοῦντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Πολλῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου 110
δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ
τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων
γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράτ- 5
τειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὑβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει,
2 εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμένα
ὀρώ, ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάβασθαι μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς δ' ἢ
εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες. ἐβούλοντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτο-
νεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἔμελλε τὰ πράγμαθ' ἔξιν, οὐκ 10
3 ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν αὐτὰ διατεθῆναι. πολλὰ

εὖ οἶδ' This is the reading of several MSS., but Bekker and Dindorf omit the εὖ, which is not found in the codex S. In the speech Pro Phorm. we have (§ 3): ἐξ ὧν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, and (§ 39): χρηστὸν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φήσεαις ἔν, with ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τούτων. Comp. Lucian, Dialog. Mort. ii.: οὐ γὰρ ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἡδυνήθη, and Xen. Anab. vii. 3. 20: εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι. καὶ λέγειν . . . πράττειν] Some MSS.

have πράττειν ἅπασι προσήκει or προσ-ἦκειν.

εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα] 'have been so far neglected and abandoned that I fear, although it is a harsh thing to say, that it is nevertheless true, (that) even if' &c.

οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι] 'I do not think they could have been brought to a worse plight than they are now in.' Some MSS. omit αὐτά.

μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια τοῦ ταύθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ οὐ
 παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίκται, μάλιστα
 δ', ἅνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς 15
 μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ
 δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
 4 πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, οὐκουν οὐδ' ὑμᾶς οἶονται δεῖν ἔχειν,
 ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ
 διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ μὲν πόλις 20
 αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, 111
 Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται.
 αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μὲν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷτια δὲ
 5 τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ἀξιῶ δ', ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐάν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λέγω, μηδε- 5
 μίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε
 γὰρ ὧδί. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω
 6 κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ
 τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδῶκατε, καὶ πολ-
 λούς ἄν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ὑμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας 10
 ὅ τι βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων
 πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευέειν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε.
 7 εἴθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν,

οὐ παρ' ἐν] 'it is not by one or two causes that our interests have been brought to this.' The preposition *παρά* is here used to denote causation, just as we might say, 'it was all along of his lying on the ground that he caught cold.' The cause and effect seem to be connected by a sort of parallelism, one being generated as the other is developed. See Arnold, *Thucyd.* i. 41 and 141. Also c. *Phil.* i. § 14: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βῶμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. In *Thucydides* i. 141 we have the same phrase as in c. *Phil.* i. § 14: ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἴεται βλάψειν. See note on *παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα*, *De Chers.* § 83, p. 199.
 ἅνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς] 'if you properly sift it.'

ταῦτα φυλάττοντες] 'while maintain-

ing that position of affairs in which they have credit and influence.'

οὐκουν . . . ἔχειν] "Omit. pr. S;" says Bekker, who with Dindorf reads *οὐκοῦν*. But some MSS. have *οὐκουν*, and as Rüdiger observes, "duplex negatio huic loco bene convenit."

παρ' αὐτῆς] 'from its citizens.' See *De Chers.* § 28: ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς.

αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι] 'now politics of this sort.'

ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις] 'that you have allowed a measure of it even to foreigners and to slaves.'

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευέειν] 'whereas from your councils you have altogether banished it,' sc. freedom of speech.

εἴθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν] Compare the same sentiment and expressions in the preceding oration (§ 34).

- ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχά- 15
των ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε,
οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· εἰ δ' ἂν συμφέροι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελή-
σεται ἀκούειν, ἔτοιμος λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάννυ φαύλως
τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν, ἐὰν
ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ', ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπ- 20
8 ἀγορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἔστιν ὃ μέλλω
λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι,
τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἔστι
τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων
9 ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ 25
πάνθ' ἂν προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς 112
ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς
ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πό-
λεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἤττησθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
κεκίνησθε. 5
- 10 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν· Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει
πολεμεῖν καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν
παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα
καὶ ῥᾶστα αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως ἀτόπως
ἐνιοὶ διάκεινται, ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου 10
11 καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ἀδικοῦντος ἀνέχεσθαί τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων
πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ποιούντες τὸν πόλεμον,

[ἔτοιμος λέγειν] The verb substantive is here omitted, and ἔτοιμος used without it, as is the case very often with *φροῦδος*. Comp. *ματαίος ἡ σπουδή* (§ 82), and c. Phil. i. § 33: *ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐβελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτι οὐκ ἔτοιμος*.

[τὸ χεῖριστον] Comp. the same sentiment as expressed c. Phil. i. § 3.

[οὐδ' ἤττησθε ὑμεῖς] 'nor have you been worsted, no, you have not even stirred yourselves yet.' Rüdiger observes: "οὐ κεκράτηκε, ἤττησθε, κекίνησθε, haec verba in quibus inest gradatio quaedam, desumpta sunt ab urbium et munimentorum expugnatione." But we need not suppose that Demosthenes was so exact and technical in his illustrations. Nor does *πόλεως* mean the 'city' only, but the

'state.'

Εἰ μὲν οὖν . . . πολεμεῖν δεῖ, §§ 10—12] "in marg. rect. S," says Bekker. In other words, the passage is not found in the body of the text of the MS.

[οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει] 'nothing else need the speaker have proposed and counselled to us but the safest and readiest means of repelling him.' The construction *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει*, without *ἂν*, is more emphatic than with it.

[ἀνέχεσθαί τινων] 'they listen to some persons saying frequently in the assemblies;' i. e. they allow them to say so, and believe them.

[ὡς ἡμῶν τινὲς] 'that some of us are the persons who are causing the war.'

- ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτων ἔστι
 γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμυνόμεθα γράψας τις καὶ συμβου- 15
 λεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλε-
 12 μον. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι,
 εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην
 ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ
 πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο, ἢ ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, φημὶ 20
 ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα γράφειν
 13 καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιῶν· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὄπλα
 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ-
 νομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις
 αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρήται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν 25
 ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ
 14 ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαί. εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμ- 113
 βάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος πάντα τᾶλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει,
 πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν
 παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν
 ἀναλίσκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς 5
 μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.
 15 Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν
 ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστατοι· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίξῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ,
 τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποιήκε δεῖ τεκμαί- 10
 16 ρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων

ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι] 'it is necessary to be on our guard, and to set ourselves right in this matter.' Rüdiger thinks διορθοῦσθαι synonymous with φυλάττεσθαι, in the sense of *praecavere*, and translates thus: "opus est, ut caveam et avertam." He compares adv. Αἰατ. § II.: διωρθωσάμην ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, 'I took measures to secure myself.' Compare also Soph. Antig. 83: τὸν σὺν ἐξόρθου πότμον.

ὡς ἀμυνόμεθα] 'a way of defending ourselves,' or, 'a means of defence.'

ἐγὼ δὲ . . . διορίζομαι] 'I then first of all am for discussing and determining this.'

περὶ τοῦ πότερον] 'on the question, whether we ought to have war or peace.'

καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν] 'and not to delude you.'

προβάλλει] So the Codex S. The common reading is *προβάλλεται*.

οὐ διαφέρομαι] 'I do not quarrel with this.'

ἔπειτα . . . λέγει] 'in the next place he speaks of a peace which is kept by you towards Philip, but not by Philip towards you.'

τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν] 'and this is what Philip is purchasing by all the monies which he expends, namely, that he himself may attack you, and yet escape from being attacked by you.'

τοῦτο μὲν] 'for to take one instance;'
 τοῦτο δέ, 'to take another.'

τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους
 ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν
 ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακ-
 τῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο 15
 δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις
 Φωκέων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ
 παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν
 17 ἐκείνου πάροδον· καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρώην ὡς φίλος καὶ
 σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὰ 20
 τελευταῖα τοῖς ταλαιπώροις Ὀρεΐταις τουτοιτοῖς ἐπισκεψομέ-
 νους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν· πυν-
 θάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἐν
 αὐτοῖς, συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς
 18 τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι. εἴτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἱ ἐποίησαν 25
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακὸν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἰσως,
 τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα 114
 βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προρρήσεως πολεμήσῃν, καὶ ταῦθ'
 19 ἔως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν
 ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων

ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον] 'that one of two things must be, either they must cease to dwell in Olynthus or himself in Macedonia.'

ἀγανακτῶν] 'he used to complain of it, and sent ambassadors to justify himself.'

εἰς Φωκέας] Dr. Donaldson (Gram. p. 192) remarks: "εἰς Φωκέας strictly speaking designates the name of the country, whereas ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους is a personal reference; from which mode of speaking arose the use of ὡς alone with names of persons, in nearly the same sense as εἰς with names of things; e.g. πρέσβεις πέμπομεν ὡς βασιλέα, for ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα. c. Phil. i. § 55."

ἤριζον πολλοί] 'many contended.' Aeschines and his party in B.C. 346.

τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον] His passage southwards, through Thermopylae.

Ὀρεΐταις] See De Chers. § 60.

ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν] 'that he had sent his soldiers out of kindness to visit those poor men of Oreus.'

ὡς νοσοῦσι] 'that they are in trouble.' The word νοσεῖν well corresponds with

ἐπισκεψομένους.

εἴτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν] So the codex S. The other MSS. have οἶεσθε οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι. Translate: 'Well then, think you that in the case of those persons who would have done him no injury, though perhaps they would have secured themselves from suffering it, he would choose to deceive them rather than to attack them after a previous declaration; but that against you he will first declare war, and then carry it on, and that too so long as you are willing to be deceived?' For ἔως ἂν, in this sense, see De Cherson, § 41: ἔως ἂν ὑμεῖς δημοκρατήσθε. It is used differently with an aorist (for, until) in § 15 above and in § 23. Comp. Xen. Hell. ii. 1: ἔως θέρος ἦν, 'so long as it was summer.' See also the examples given by Mr. G. Kennedy, Remarks on Mr. Mitchell's Aristophanes, p. 12.

ἀβελτερώτατος] 'the weakest of all men.' Hesychius explains ἀβέλτερος by δὲ τὸ βέλτιστον μὴ γινώσκων, a derivation which certainly makes one wish for a better.

ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς 5
αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν
καὶ φιλονεικίαν. ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν
παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς
ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκείνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ
πόλει.

10

20. Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὃ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν
ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ
πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἄν; οὐδεὶς δὴ ποῦ. ὁ τοῖνυν
Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγонуίης, οὐπω
Διοπείθους στρατηγούντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ 15
νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρείου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας
21 ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν. καίτοι
ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμόκει. καὶ
μηδεὶς εἶπη, τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; 20
εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν,
ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος. τὸ δ' εὖσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἄν
τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίῃη, τὴν αὐτὴν
22 ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἣν
βασилεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμέτεραν ἐγνώκασιν 25

εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων] 'if when you the injured party bring no accusation against him, but lay the blame on some of yourselves.'

καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ . . . ὑμᾶς] 'and should take away the pretexts of his hirelings, by which they amuse you.' Comp. De Chers. § 53.

τὸν ἄγοντα . . . σκέψαιτ' ἄν] 'would judge of the man who kept peace, or was at war with himself.'

Ἱεροῦ ὄρους] The Ἱερὸν ὄρος was a fort near Serrheim and Doriscus, on the coast of Thrace. See De Chers. § 65, and De Halqn. § 38. From Xenophon, Anab. vii. 1. 14, we learn that it lay on the direct road from Byzantium to the Thracian Chersonese.

ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγός] This was Chares, who was then co-operating with Cersobleptes.

τί ἐποίει;] 'what was his conduct while acting in this way?' i.e. what else was he doing but carrying on war?

ὠμωμόκει] This is not true. The peace had indeed been agreed to by his envoys at Athens, but it was not ratified and sworn to by Philip, till after his return from Thrace. But the object of Demosthenes in making the remark was to show that these overt acts of hostility had not been condoned by a subsequent peace, and therefore that Philip must be considered as actually at war with Athens. The codex S has *ὀμωμόκει*, but almost all the other MSS. retain the augment. Comp. *διωφάρκτο*, Xen. Anab. vii. 8. 14.

εἰ μὲν γάρ] 'for whether those things are trifling, or were of no moment to you, this would be a different question,' from that which we are now upon.

βασίλειός] 'the king.' Such an appeal to the authority of the king of Persia is somewhat remarkable. But the growing power and threatening position of Philip would naturally induce the Athenians to court the friendship of any state strong enough to protect or assist them. Philip

εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκείνους ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν 115
 23 τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ποιοῦντα, λύειν 5
 φημι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τέχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γὰρ, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευ-
 αζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ 10
 24 τοξεύῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑμῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τὰκείνου φρονῆσαι. εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ
 μηχανήματα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν 15
 25 ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς

complains of it, naturally enough. Epist. §§ 6 and 7.

ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα] 'writes us word so.' Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον] 'I say that by his attack on Megara, and setting up a tyranny in Euboea, and by his present advance against Thrace, and by his intrigues in the Peloponnesus, and all the operations which he is carrying on with his army.' The attempt on Megara (B.C. 343) was suggested by Perilaus, a Macedonian partizan, who solicited the assistance of the Macedonian troops, then probably in Phocis, to seize upon the city and crush the government. The Megarians applied to Athens for troops to prevent it, and Phocion was sent with a body of Athenian Hoplites for this purpose. He marched with so much skill, that he was not only enabled to secure the city, but to rebuild the long walls to its port Nisaea (on the Saronic Gulf), so that the Athenians could always approach it, and throw in succours by sea. The Macedonian troops might have been despatched from Phocis (then occupied by them) to Pagae, the port of the Megarid, on the Corinthian Gulf. F. L. §§ 337-374. 385. Grote xi. 621. Plut. Phocion c. xv. Winiewski, Comment. p. 145.

τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ] Comp. c. Phil. ii. § 17: τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συνεσβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει. Also De Cor. § 99.

τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας] 'who are posting their engines of war against a city.' To the sentence ending with προσαγάγωσιν we may apply Cicero's remark, De Orat. i. § 161: "Tantus cursus verborum fuit, et sic evolavit oratio, ut ejus vim atque incitationem adspexerim, vestigia ingressumque vix viderim."

τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς] 'by what then would you be endangered in the event of any thing happening?'

Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας] Megara on the west and Euboea on the east, if occupied by Philip, would have served as ὀρμητήρια, or bases of operation against Athens. So (F. L. § 241) ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατασκευασθόμενα ὀρμητήρια ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο] 'can I then affirm that the man who is directing such a machination as this against the city is keeping peace with you?' Here he completes the parallel with τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας above. Comp. Milton, P. L. i. 760:

"Nor did he scape, by all his engines."

- ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν
 ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ, ἐὰν μὲν ἀμύνησθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσιν
 φημί, ἐὰν δὲ ἀναβάλλησθε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε
 δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν 20
 ἄλλων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστε
 οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρονήσου νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαν-
 26 τίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύναι μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι
 πάθωσι, καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων
 ἂν δέωνται ἀποστεῖλαι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων 25
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. βού- 116
 λομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
 οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν ὀρθῶς λογιζώμαι, μετὰσχητε
 τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἐὰν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ 5
 τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖθις ὡς ὑγιαίνουντί μοι
 προσέχητε.
- 27 Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 Φίλιππος ἡῤῥηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες,* καὶ ὅτι πολλῶ παραδοξότερον ἦν 10
 τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ
 προείληφε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ'
 28 ὅσα τοιαυτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ὁρῶ

αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι] 'I date his hostilities against you.' Comp. Thucyd. i. 71: μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὥρισθω, i. e. μέχρι τοῦδε προελθοῦσα ἐνταῦθα ὥρισθω. Rüdiger says: "ὀρίζομαι, notio terminos constituendi cum affirmatione conjungitur."

ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ] 'that I do not think we have now to consider at all about the Chersonesus or Byzantium, but that we should indeed succour them, and take care that they come to no harm, &c., and yet deliberate for all the Greeks, as being in great danger.' Mr. Kennedy's translation is very spirited: 'So much do I dissent from your other counsellors, that I deem any discussion about Chersonesus or Byzantium out of place. Succour them—I advise that—watch that no harm befalls them; send all necessary supplies to your troops in that quarter, but let your deliberations be for the safety of all Greece, as being in the utmost peril.'

καὶ τοῖς . . . ἀποστεῖλαι] Omitted by the codex S.

ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι] 'to be wandering, and out of my mind.' The old grammarians explain τετυφῶσθαι by ἐκπλήττεσθαι, ἐξεστηκεῖν, ἐμβεβροντήσθαι. Comp. F. L. § 241: ἐγὼ μαίνομαι καὶ τετύφωμαι. Thomas Magis., p. 842, derives it ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κεραυνωθέντος τυφῶνος. Harpocration adds ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τυφωνικῶν καλουμένων πνευμάτων. A simpler and more natural derivation is from τύφος, a smoke, mist, or cloud, the accompaniments of storms and volcanic eruptions.

ἐξ ἐκείνου] 'from what he was then.'
 ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκός] 'I see that all men, beginning with you (i. e. and you amongst the first), have conceded to him (a license), which has from time immemorial been the cause (or subject) of all the wars of Greece.'

συνγεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξα-
 μένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ 15
 πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; τὸ
 ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἓνα οὕτως περικόπτειν καὶ
 λωποδυντεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις
 29 ἐπιόντα. καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη
 καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα 20
 ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἴσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι
 τουτουσί τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις
 30 μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ'
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, 25
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότε οὔσιν Ἀθηναίοις,
 ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες 117
 ὦντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν
 31 ἡδικημένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασιν
 καὶ παρελθούσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ

τὸ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται] 'the privilege of doing what he likes, and of thus openly pillaging and plundering the Greeks individually, and attacking and enslaving their cities.' Compare De Chers. § 9: περικόπτοντες τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. Περικόπτειν literally means to lop off the extremities, as c. Meid. § 187: τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς περιέκοπτεν, and c. Timocr. § 138: οἱ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τῆς Νίκης περικόψαντες. Hence to strip or fleece. Λωποδύτης is literally a clothes-stealer, who takes and slips into the clothes of a bather or traveller (λώπη). Comp. διπτυχὸν ἄμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχουσ' εὐεργέα λώπην, Odys. xiii. 224.

ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία] That is, from about the end of the Persian war, b.c. 477, three years after the battle of Salamis, to the close of the Peloponnesian, b.c. 405. In the third Olynthiac, § 28, however, Demosthenes states that the Athenian supremacy lasted for forty-five years, but he qualifies his assertion by adding, that during that time the other Greeks submitted *willingly* to it. This term of years then would end at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, or b.c. 432, its commencement being in b.c. 477. See Clinton's Fasti Hell. ii. Appendix vi. p. 248. The exact number of seventy-three years is stated as seventy

in round numbers by other writers, as Lysias (Ἐπιτάφιος, § 55), Plato (Epist. vii. p. 443), and Isocrates (Panegy. § 122). So also by Demosthenes, below, § 33.

τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα] From b.c. 405, when the Lacedaemonians won the battle of Aegospotami, to b.c. 376, when they were defeated in the battle of Naxos by the Athenians under Chabrias.

τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην] b.c. 371.

βούλοισθε] From the codex S. The common reading is βούλεσθε, but the optative is better for repeated action or volition.

οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ] 'no not by any means.' τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν] 'in the first place against you, or rather against the Athenians of that time, when they seemed to conduct themselves harshly towards certain states, did all the rest, even those who had no charge to bring against them, think it right to wage war in conjunction with those who were wronged.'

ἐπειδὴ... ἐκινῶν] 'when they were attempting to aggrandize themselves, and disturbing existing regulations to an unreasonable extent.' This they did after the close of the Peloponnesian war, when they endeavoured to establish oligarchies in their dependencies, and set up governors

- πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστη- 5
 κότα ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ
 32 μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν;
 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν
 ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃ τι ἡδικοῦμεθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ
 ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους ἐωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν ὠόμεθα 10
 33 δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις
 ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προ-
 γόνοις ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττω ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν
 οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἑλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ 15
 πολλοστὸν μέρος τούτων ἐκείνα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ βραχείος
 34 λόγου ῥάδιον δεῖξαι. Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ
 Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐῶ,
 ἃς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνῆρκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ'
 ὠκλήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸ Φωκέων 20
 35 ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνγρημένον σιωπῶ. ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς
 ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται

(ἀρμостаί) in them to support the Lacedaemonian interests, and control the free action of the inhabitants.

οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες] 'though we could not have specified any injury inflicted on one by the other in the outset.' The Peloponnesian war originated not in any direct attack of the Athenians or Spartans upon each other, but in the struggle between the Epidamnians and Corcyraeans, and the events to which it gave rise. Thucyd. i. 24.

τρισὶ καὶ δέκα] This oration was delivered in B.C. 342—341, and before B.C. 355, says Mr. Grote xi. 363, "Philip had captured Pydna and Potidaea, founded the new town of Philippi (in the place of Crenides), and opened for himself the resources of the adjoining auriferous regions; he had established relations with Thessaly, assisting the great family of the Aleuadae against Lykophron and Peitholaus, the despots of Pherae." It appears to have been in B.C. 354—353, that he attacked Methone, "the last remaining possession of Athens on the Macedonian coast."

οἷς ἐπιπολάζει] 'during which he has been uppermost,' literally, 'on the surface.' But the word has somewhat of a

contemptuous signification. Rüdiger translates it, 'oben an schwimmen.' Jacobs by 'oben schwimmt.' Demosthenes, of course, wishes to insinuate by it that Philip's power was of an unsubstantial character, and so far like any light object which might readily float upon the surface of a stream, and 'go on swimmingly,' but only for a time. Comp. the French *survager*.

ἐπὶ Θράκης] In the Chalcidian peninsula. The Thracian, not the Macedonian Methone, is here referred to. By τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης, says Arnold (Thucyd. i. 57), are meant "The people Thracewards, or living in the direction of Thrace; a general term applied to the Greek states which lined the Aegean from Thessaly to the Hellespont."

ὥστε μηδ' εἶ] 'so that a visitor would not readily tell whether they have ever been even inhabited at all.'

τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις] Dionysius Hal. (vi. 1120) omits τὰς πόλεις, and Schäfer thinks the words ought to be erased, as having originated from the insertion of a διπτογραφία, or various reading. But they are found in all the MSS.

καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις
 οὐκ ἦδη τυραννούνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν 25
 36 καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφει 118
 "ἐμοὶ δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλο-
 μένους;" καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ
 ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ'
 Ἀμβρακίαν, ἥλιον ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοπον- 5
 νήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσε πρῶτην, οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐθ'
 37 ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τὰνθρώπου. καὶ ταῦθ'
 ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν
 πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν,
 οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορωρύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις 10

τετραρχίας κατέστησεν] He has established tetrarchies, i. e. he has divided the country into four provinces, with a viceroy over each. See c. Phil. ii. § 24. Compare the words of Admetus, Eurip. Alces. 1106 (Bothe): ἀστοῖς δὲ πάσῃ τ' ἐννέπω τετραρχία.

κατ' ἔθνη] 'by provinces.'

καὶ οὐ γράφει] 'nor does he write thus, and yet fail to carry it out in his actions.'

Ἀμβρακίαν] 'he had marched against Ambracia.' Ambracia (now Arta) was a city of Epirus, on the left bank of the river Arachthus (now Arta), founded (B.C. 360) by colonists from Corinth, and at one time actively engaged in maritime commerce (Harpoc. s. v. Strabo, vii. 457). On Philip's expedition against it, Mr. Grote (note, xi. 613) well remarks that as "his enterprises against Ambracia and Leucas are not noticed in the Second Philippic, but only in orations of later date, we may perhaps presume that they did not take place till B.C. 344—343." (Comp. de Halonn. § 33.) That they were unsuccessful appears from § 35: ἐποίησαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνῳ καὶ μὴτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μὴτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὁρμήσαι. But subsequently he appears to have gained possession of the city, for it is recorded (Diod. xvii. 3) that on the accession of Alexander the Great, the Ambraciotes expelled the Macedonian garrison then occupying their city. An Athenian expedition to Acarnania, which is stated by Demosthenes, c. Olympiod. § 27, to have been undertaken in B.C. 343, was probably occasioned by the designs of

Philip upon Ambracia. Thirlwall, Hist. Greece, vi. 19. Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. p. 142. Winiewski, Comment. p. 157.

ἥλιον ἔχει] That is, under his controul. If Demosthenes (F. L. § 295) tells the truth, Philip gained a footing in Elis by aiding the designs of an oligarchical party here. This interference was attended by bloodshed and civil war: τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα . . . εἰς Πελοπόννησον εἰσελθὼν τὰς ἐν Ἠλιδι σφαγὰς πεποίηκε, καὶ τοσαύτης παρανομίας καὶ μανίας ἐνέπληξε τοὺς τालαιώρους ἐκείνους, ὥσθ', ἵν' ἀλλήλων ἄρχωσι καὶ Φιλίππῳ χαρίζονται, συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πολλὰς μισφόνειν.

οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλάς . . . χωρεῖ] So Juv. x. 168: "Unus Pella eo juvenis non sufficit orbis." Mr. Kennedy quotes Virgil, Aen. ix. 644: "Nec tē Troja capit." Comp. c. Meid. § 253, ἡ πόλις αὐτὴν οὐ χωρεῖ. The omission of γῇ with βάρβαρος is unusual in prose, and indicates that γῇ is understood with ἡ Ἑλλάς. Comp. Aeschyl. Persae 184:

ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα
 κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ἡ δὲ βάρβαρον.

In Xenophon (Anab. v. 5. 16) we have εἰς βάρβαρον γῇν.

τὰνθρώπου] The rapid succession of ideas from οἴχεται to the end of the sentence, is remarkable as a characteristic of Demosthenes, described by the old grammarians as an ἐπιτροχασμὸς ἀπ' ἐννοίας μεταπηδῶν ἐπ' ἐννοίαν, 'a running over, and leaping from one idea to another.'

διορωρύγμεθα] 'we are so intrenched in our separate cities,' i. e. each city was

ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόν-
των οὔτε τῶν δεόντων πράξαι δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι,
οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι,
38 ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορώμεν, τὸν
χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται ἕκαστος 15
ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ
περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ
τῷ πάνυ πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται,
39 οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου. καὶ μὴν κάκεῖνό γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα 20
μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες,
ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γε ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡδικοῦντο,
καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ
υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγωνὼς γνήσιος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς
μηδ' ὀρθῶς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ 25
κατηγορίας, ὥς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὥς οὐ κληρονόμος
τούτων ὦν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δούλος 119
ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαί-
νετο, Ἡράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες
40 ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκείνος
πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας 5

as much isolated and separated from the rest as if intrenchments had been made round them.

κοινωνίαν] 'an association for help and friendship.'

ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς] 'each one having resolved to make the most of the time during which his neighbour is being ruined.'

ἐπεὶ ὅτι ... ἀγνοεῖ δήπου] 'for none assuredly can be ignorant, that like a return or crisis of a fever or any other disease, he is coming upon even those who seem to be now very far removed from him.' The term *περίοδος* is applied to the period or fixed interval after which certain intermittent maladies, as agues, return with more or less severity. And Demosthenes means to say, that the attack of Philip even upon the most distant of the objects of his ambition, though delayed, was nevertheless as certain as the return of the most severe attacks of an intermittent malady, or the ultimate crisis of a fever, however mild and ma-

nageable in its earlier stages. With *καταβολή* comp. ἡ καταβολὴ αὐτῆ τῆς ἀσθενείας. (Plato, *Gorg.* § 157.) In the Lexicon of Timaeus it is explained as *περιοδική λήψις πυρετοῦ*. On *περίοδος* Wolf quotes from Galen: *περίοδος ἐστὶ χρόνος ἐπιτάσεως καὶ ἀνέσεως ἐν νοσήματι γινόμενος*, and he derives *καταβολή*, παρὰ τὸ *καταβάλλειν τὸν πυρετόντα*.

ἀλλ' οὖν ... ἡδικοῦντο] 'that at any rate they were wronged by those who were at least genuine people of Greece.'

καὶ τὸν αὐτόν] 'and a man might have felt this in the same way, as in the case of a legitimate son who, being born to a large property, managed it in any way improperly or incorrectly, (he would feel) that in this respect itself he was deserving of blame and animadversion, but that (nevertheless) it could not be said that he did so, being an intruder and not the heir of the property.' In *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ, ὑπολάβοι* must be supplied after *ὥσπερ ἂν*.

ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι.

- 41 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῷ 10
πόλεις ἀγγηρῆκεναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγω-
νοθετήσοντας πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ
τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρόδων ἐστὶ, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένους
42 τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν 15
τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἅπασι
μέτεστι; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύ-
εσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον
ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν, τύραννον 20
43 Φιλιστίδην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὁμως ταῦθ' ὀρῶντες οἱ

οὐδὲ βαρβάρου] 'not even an alien from a place which it is honourable to mention.' Jacobs thus: 'nicht einmal ein Barbar aus einem mit Ehren genannten Lande.' On ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον, Reiske remarks: "e Macedonia nulla mancipia exportabantur. Hoc nequius interpretatus Demosthenes colligit, tam improbos esse natura Macedonas, ut nemo Athenis illinc habere velit servum, et Macedonici generis servos esse nequissimos."

ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας] Prettystrong abuse this, and not very generous either. Comp. de Coron. § 162: περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὕλεθρος γραμματεῦς.

Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης] 'And yet in what does he fall short of the height of insolence?'

ἀγωνοθετήσοντας] 'to direct the games.' By δούλους Demosthenes means Philip's officers.

κύριος... μέτεστι] "In margine rect. S." Bekker. That is, this clause is not in the body of the text.

τὴν προμαντείαν] 'pre-audience,' i. e. the privilege of consulting the oracle before any one else, on those days when answers were given to inquirers. The same privilege was conferred upon Croesus and the Lydians by the Delphians, in return for the offerings and presents which he made to the temple and themselves.

Herod. i. c. 54.

ἧς οὐδέ] 'to which right not even all the Greeks have a claim.'

εἰς Πορθμόν] Porthmus, now Porto Bufalo, was the port of Eretria, a city which Strabo (x. p. 686) tells us was founded by the Athenians before the Trojan war, and next to Chalcis, the largest in Euboea. It was burnt by the Persians when they first invaded Greece (Herod. vi. 101).

τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν] From this passage it might seem that Philip's attempts upon Porthmus, or rather Eretria, were contemporaneous with that on Oreus, the ancient Histiaea. But from c. Phil. iv. § 10, it seems that the attack upon Oreus was not made till a short time after (μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον) that on Megara, which so far as we can make out was in B.C. 343. The seizure of Oreus, therefore, was probably effected in B.C. 342. But it appears from § 69 that Philip made more attacks than one on Eretria, the first of which clearly preceded that on Megara (c. Phil. iv. § 9), though only by a short interval, and therefore may be supposed to have been made in B.C. 344. The date of the first attack on Porthmus is further defined by the short interval between it and Philip's operations in Thrace towards the close of B.C. 346.

- Ἑλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν
 χάλαζαν, ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ'
 ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδείς ἐπιχειρῶν.
 44 οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδείς 25
 ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμ- 120
 βρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον
 ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδῶσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον
 45 ἀφῆρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους
 ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγί- 5
 στην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοῖνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες
 μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέ-

καὶ... χάλαζαν] 'and just as they would with a hailstorm (which destroys crops and fruit) so methinks do they look on.' Instead of ὥσπερ with the codex S, Bekker reads *ὅνπερ*.

τοῦτο γάρ] 'for nothing can go beyond this at last,' viz. that instead of revenging the wrongs done to Greece, each people quietly submits to the injustice inflicted on itself.

Λευκάδα] Leucas (now Santa Maura) was originally connected with the mainland of Acarnania. Homer (Odys. xxiv. 377), in describing Νήρικον, *εὐκτίμενον πολέθρον*, in Leucadia, calls it Ἀκτὴν Ἠπειροῖο. Afterwards the Corinthians when colonizing it cut a channel through its isthmus, and thus made an island there (Strabo x. p. 451). Then, again, in the Peloponnesian war, and probably by the silting up of the channel, it had become a peninsula (Thucyd. iii. 81). At any rate, if the channel or cut (Dioryctus) then existed, it was not navigable by ships of any burden, for the Lacedaemonians carried their ships across the isthmus: οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ὑπερενεγκόντες τὴν Λευκαδίαν ἴσθμῳ τὰς ναῦς ἀπεκομίζοντο. In the time of Livy (xxxiii. 17) it was again wholly or partly an island: "Leucadia nunc insula et vadoso freto quod perfossum manu est ab Acarnania divisa, tum peninsula erat, occidentis regione arctis faucibus cohaerens Acarnaniae." The geographical condition of the locality in modern times is exhibited by a map in Arnold's Thucydides, Vol. i. Plate 5. It shows the present passage as a 'new canal.'

Ναύπακτον] Now Lepanto, on the

north shore of the Corinthian Gulf, in the country of the Locri Ozolae. Some of the Messenians when driven from their country by the Spartans, B.C. 455, were settled here by the Athenians, but driven from it by the Spartans at the end of the Peloponnesian war (Paus. iv. 26). The Achaeans lived on the opposite side of the gulf, and were dislodged from the town by Epaminondas (Diod. Sic. xv. 75). They subsequently recovered it, as appears by this passage, but afterwards it became and continued an Aetolian city till the Roman conquest of Greece (Strabo x. p. 633).

Ἐχίνον] There were two cities of this name (Steph. Byz. s. v.), one in Acarnania, the other in Phthiotis, on the Maliac Gulf, near the borders of Thessaly, which Livy (xxxiii. 13) mentions with Pharsalus and Larissa Cremaste. The latter is meant here. It is still called Echino.

οὐχ ἡμῶν] 'does he not of our possessions—I say nothing of the rest—but does he not keep the greatest city of the Chersonesus, Cardia?'

μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα] 'we are all slack and faint-hearted.' This is the common reading, but Harpocration, s. *μαλακίζομεν*, states that there was another reading, *μαλκίομεν*. Accordingly Dindorf and Rüdiger have substituted *μαλκίομεν*, from the codex S, but without sufficient authority or necessity. Rüdiger interprets *μαλκίειν* by 'obligere,' 'hebetescere.' Harpocration explains it by *τὸν ὄργον φρίττειν*, which Dindorf (Praef. p. vi) calls 'parum accurata interpretatio. Nam locis scriptorum allatis omnibus una apta est mollescenti torpentine sig-

- 46 πομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι.
καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε,
ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἐκάστου κύριος γένηται, ποιήσῃν ; 10
- Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτῶν ; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας
αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοιμῶς πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ
Ἕλληνες, αὐτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότε, ἦν, ὧ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαῖς, δ νῦν οὐκ
47 ἔστιν, δ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέραν 15
ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης
οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττάτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται καὶ
ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα. τί
οὖν ἦν τοῦτο ; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς
παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων αἰεὶ βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα 20
χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον
48 ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρία μεγίστη
τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ συγ-
γνώμη. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, δν ἡ
τύχη καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων καὶ τοῖς 25
μηδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα ἃ προσήκει πρατ-
49 τόντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν 121
λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. νῦν δ'
ἅπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται 5

nificatio." Scott and Liddell explain the noun μάχη by 'numbness from cold.'

καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν] 'and yet what do you think will be done by the man who behaves thus insolently to all, when he is become master of each of us, one after the other?'

ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα] 'which maintained the freedom of Greece.' Comp. ἄγειν εἰρήμην, ἡσυχίαν.

μάχης . . . ἡττάτο] "notanda locutio pro ἐν μάχῃ." Schäfer.

νῦν δ' ἀπολωλός] 'and the present loss of which has ruined all.' The verb λυ-μαίνομαι is rarely if ever found in the active form, except in later writers. Comp. c. Meid. § 218: Ἰππαρχος λελύμανται τὸ ἱππικόν. Also c. Phil. iv. § 84.

οὐδὲν ποικίλον] 'nothing recondite or

subtle.' Comp. Plato, Gorg. § 102: οὐδὲν ποικίλον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί.

χαλεπώτατον ἦν] 'for a man to be convicted of bribery was the most grievous thing of all.'

τὸν καιρὸν ἐκάστου] 'the favourable moment then for every particular operation.' Compare De Pace, § 11, and the note, with what is here said on Fortune.

ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα] 'all these principles have disappeared by sale, as if from a market, and in their stead have been imported those by which Greece is ruined and diseased.' Mr. Kennedy compares Shakespeare, Macbeth iv. 3:

"O nation miserable

When shalt thou see thy wholesome days again?"

δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων, ὅφ' ὦν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ· συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μῖσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ· τάλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἡρτηται.

50 ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωμάτων πλήθος καὶ χρημάτων πρόσ- 10
οδοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τάλλα, οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἄχρηστα, ἀπράκτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίνονται.

51 Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾶτε δήπου καὶ 15
οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τὰναντία εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐμαν-
τοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἃ κενοὶ κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρό-
πολιν, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνεν τούτων 20
τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπου-
52 δάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα; “Ἀρθμιός”
φησὶ “Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ πολέμιος
τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ καὶ 25
γένος.” εἰθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν τοῦτ' ἐγένετο· ὅτι 122
-τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν.
53 ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ
θεωρεῖτε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν τότε

ἡρτηται] See note on ἀπαρτημένοι, p. 85, and on § 60, p. 221.

τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς] ‘of supplies in general.’

νῦν ἅπασι] ‘all the Greeks now have those things in much greater abundance and force than the men of those times.’

οὐχ ἵνα . . . τὰ γράμματα] “om. pr. S.” Bekker.

ὡς . . . προσήκει] ‘how seriously you ought to visit such conduct.’

ἄτιμος ἔστω] ‘let him be an outlaw,’ i. e. let him lose all the benefits which, though a foreigner, he would have had at Athens, by the ‘jus gentium,’ or international law, and those to which he was entitled as a proxenus of Athens. For Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 259) says that he was such, and that the Athenians πρόξενον

ἔντα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεκέρυζαν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐρχοσιν. From Plutarch (Themis. i. 6) we learn that Themistocles proposed the resolution in question, and from the incidents amongst which it is mentioned it seems to have been contemporary with the Persian war. Mr. Blakesley referring to the story of Arthmias being sent with secret-service money, for the purpose of sowing dissension among the allies, observes that “there is no direct evidence of this in Herodotus, but there is not wanting very plain indirect evidence that such a policy was pursued.” The word ἔστω is omitted in the text of the codex S. Bekker’s note is: “ἔστω, supra vers. rect. S.”

τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια] ‘what must have

Ἀθηναίων τῶν ταῦτα ποιοούντων, ἥ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐκῆνοι 5
 Ζελεΐτην τινὰ Ἀρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐά
 ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν
 54 καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. τοῦτο
 δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἥν οὕτωςί τις ἂν φήσειεν ἀτιμίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ 10
 Ζελεΐτῃ, εἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν μὴ μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν;
 ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νό-
 μοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῶ φόνου δικάσασθαι, ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς
 ἦ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, “καὶ ἀτίμος” φησὶ “τεθνάτω.” τοῦτο

been the sentiment and what the spirit of those Athenians who then acted so.' But the word *ἀξίωμα* is almost untranslatable here. It implies a spirit of self-respect, by which they were induced to expect and demand (*ἡξίου*) from themselves certain actions and principles as alone worthy of their position—a standard of requirement which they set up as right for themselves to aim at. Comp. De Cor. § 190: *ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο*.

δοῦλον βασιλέως] Compare the speech of Xerxes to Artabanus (Herod. vii. 11), where he speaks of Pelops as *ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος*.

ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐά ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας] “Qu. an Scholion,” Dobree. Zeleia was a town of Mysia, about twenty-four miles from Cyzicus, on the river Asopus, and is mentioned by Homer (Iliad ii. 824) as being at the foot of Ida.

τὸῦτο δ' ἐστίν] ‘and this is not what one would mean by “infamy” in the ordinary sense.’ With this usage of *οὕτως* compare St. John iv. 6: *ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ*, i. e. just as a weary man would.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν] ‘the Athenian franchises.’ But as before observed he would have had some rights as proxenus.

ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει] ‘but this is not what it means’ (i. e. the inscription); ‘but in the statutes for homicide, there is a provision for cases in which the law does not allow a prosecution for murder, but the killing is sanctioned, “and let him die an outlaw,” says the legislator (i. e. without any penalty or punishment for the deed).’ Harpocration (s. v.) observes that *ἀτίμος* is here used in a peculiar sense: *τοῦτο ἰδίως ἔταξε Δημοσθένης Φιλίπποῖς ἡγῶν ὃν ἂν τις ἀποκτεῖνας οὐχ ὑπόκειται ἐπιτιμῇ*. But in Andocides,

de Myst. § 97, we find this extract from a law: *πολέμιος ἔστω Ἀθηναίων καὶ νηποιὶ τεθνάτω*. Hence Dindorf infers that the clause quoted in the text should be *ἀτίμος ἔστω καὶ νηποιὶ τεθνάτω*, observing that *ἀτίμος* cannot mean *νηποιὶ*, and that in the previous oration, De F. L. § 308, the inscription on the *στήλη* closes with *συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος*, and omits *καὶ ἀτίμους*. Nor again, he urges, is it likely that the Athenians would have visited the sins of the father upon the children, by a resolution which in Attica at least would have secured impunity to any one who might murder them. “Quamobrem (says Dindorf) quaerendum esse puto an totum hoc τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν . . . ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι ab Demosthene sit scriptum an veteris sit additamentum falsarii, Harpocratiane antiquioris.” But this supposition would not remove all the difficulties of the case; for even in the F. L. § 308, it is expressly stated (*ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔργοις βαθυμῆτε, ὧν θάνατον κατεγνώκασιν οἱ πρόγονοι*) that the penalty of death was implied by the resolution passed against Arthmius and his kindred (*τῶν γραμμάτων λεγόντων Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ πολέμιον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος πάν*). And manifestly it was, for they were declared *ἐχθροὶ καὶ πολέμιοι*. Moreover, all the MSS. contain the passage in question, and it is more reasonable to suppose that Demosthenes overstated his case, or varied his statement of facts, than that the MSS. should be all wrong in such a matter and to such an extent.

τοῦτο δὲ λέγει] ‘this then is what it means, that whoever killed any of those persons should be unpolluted;’ that is, that he should be considered as free from

δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. 15
 55 οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτη-
 ρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἶ
 τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ'
 ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὓς
 αἰσθοντο ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως 20
 τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος
 56 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχθ' ὑμεῖς
 οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἴστε
 αὐτοῖ· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παρα-
 πλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ 25
 Ἑλληνες. διόπερ φημὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς καὶ 123
 βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι. τίνος
 εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιείσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.]

57 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος· παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι 5
 βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππος ἐστι τοιοῦ-
 τος οἰοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν ἦρχον
 καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ'
 οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμύνατο κακείνους ἡ πόλις καὶ

the blood of the slain man in consequence of the homicide being justifiable, and therefore not even requiring purification. On the other hand, as we learn from the story of Adrastus, *συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἔων*, a person who had committed an involuntary homicide required and was a proper subject for purification, previous to his ultimate restoration to his civil rights. Herod. i. 35, with Mr. Blakesley's note.

ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν 'that they even branded them on pillars,' literally, 'they made them pillar-men.'

ἴστε . . . τίνος "omittit pr. S."

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ] If we admit the genuineness of these words, we must suppose that the *γραμματεὺς*, or secretary of the assembly, stood by the orator and read from a record (*γραμματεῖον*) some energetic vote of former times, which Demosthenes wished to serve as a model in his own. But there is nothing whatever in the text in any way intro-

ducing such a resolution, or referring to it; it stands quite unconnected with the remainder of the speech, and does not bear upon anything in it. Moreover, the MSS. vary as to the precise expression, and some (O, u, v), though not of high authority, omit it altogether; I therefore agree with Rüdiger in bracketing it. Dobree would expunge it (*cetera hujus lineae delenda*). Dindorf thinks it the addition of a grammarian, who did not understand that the severity of the orator's remarks was calculated to excite the anger of the Athenians, which he therefore endeavoured to deprecate by his questions, *τίνος εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιείσθε*;

Ἔστι τοίνυν] 'Well then, as you wish me to speak out, I will.' We must suppose that his audience had made some sign of assent, which encouraged him to proceed.

ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδέν] 'and nothing withstood them.' The Persian king was an ally of Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian war.

- 58 οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν 10
 εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς
 πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον· ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινήσ-
 θαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμο-
 νίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ
 59 πέντε, τὴν ὥραιαν αὐτὴν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας 15
 τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρα-
 τεύμασιν, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως
 εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι
 παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ
 60 τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁράτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλείστα τοὺς 20
 προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ
 μάχης γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα
 ὀπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς,
 ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρητῆσθαι στρατόπεδον.
 61 ἔπειδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ 25
 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανήματ' 124
 ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς
 οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει.

οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη] 'was not swept away from off the earth.' Comp. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 133: Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνηρπάσθη.

οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι . . . ἐπιδεδωκέναι] 'I think that nothing has been more altered and improved than the operations of war.' ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους] 'I hear that the Lacedaemonians of that day, and all the Greeks, used for four or five months during the summer season only, to invade and lay waste the country of their adversaries with heavy-armed men and troops of their own nation, and then return home again.' Thucydides illustrates this system of campaigning in his account of the Peloponnesian war. The Lacedaemonians invaded Attica when the crops were nearly ripe, and after destroying all they could, they returned home, and repeated the operation in the year following. With τὴν ὥραιαν αὐτὴν, Franke compares c. Dionys. § 33: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐπιδιμήσαντας παραχειμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ὥραν.

οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως] 'and so old-fashioned were they, or rather national in their

ways.' They did not engage mercenaries, but served in person, and they met force by force, not by treachery and intrigue.

χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι] Mr. Kennedy compares the well-known lines of Ennius:

"Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes

Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique."

νόμιμόν τινα] 'their warfare was of a legitimate and open kind.'

τὰ πλείστα] 'the traitors have caused most of the disasters.'

τῷ . . . ἐξηρητῆσθαι] 'by his having attached to himself.' On ἐξηρητῆσθαι Franke observes: "non sine contemptu dictum: sed quod a se suspensum sibi adjunctum habet, quod . . . pone se trahit." Comp. Eurip. Alcest. 183: παῖδες δὲ πέπλων μητρὸς ἐξηρητῆμένοι. But some MSS. have ἐξηρητῆσθαι, which Rüdiger adopts.

ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'with these forces,' i. e. supported by, or relying on them.

ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ] 'he puts his machines in position, and besieges them.'

οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος] 'nor is there any

- 62 ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότες καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ
 προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν 5
 εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου
 βλέποντας ἐτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάτ-
 7-8 τεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν
 μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνί-
 63 ζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτῇ- 10
 μαθ' ἡμῶν ὑπάρχει, ἅν περ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν
 ἐθέλωμεν. ἃ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἥς ἄγειν καὶ
 φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ
 ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἦσκηται.
- 64 Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις 15
 ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ
 καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας
 μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς
 πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει
- 65 κολάσσητε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνοις. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς 20
 ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δύνασθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι οὐδὲ βούλεσθε.
 ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφῖχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί
 λέγῳ (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖ-

season of intermission "during which he
 reposes."

ἐτραχηλισθῆναι] 'to be unhorsed,'
 So Xenophon, *Cyrop.* i. 4. 8: μικροῦ
 κακείνου ἐξετραχίλισεν, scil. ὁ ἵππος.

οὐχὶ συμπλακέντα] 'and not to come
 to close quarters with him, and so fight it
 out.' The infinitive depends on the pre-
 vious δεῖ. The advice here given was the
 same as that of Pericles in the Pelopon-
 nesian war.

ἐν περ . . . ἐθέλωμεν] 'if we are will-
 ing to do our duty.' To the illustrations
 of the difference in meaning between θέλω
 and βούλομαι, p. 19, add Eurip. *Alces.*
 231:

Ἀδμηθ' (ὁρᾷς γὰρ τὰμὰ πράγμαθ' ὥς ἔχει)
 λέξαι θέλω σοι, πρὶν θανεῖν, ἢ βούλομαι,

where Alcestis uses θέλω to signify what
 was in her own power during her lifetime,
 and βούλομαι for what she wished, but
 could not herself perform or secure after
 death. In fact, λέξαι θέλω σοι is the
 French 'Je vais vous dire.' And the line
 (*Iliad* i. 399):

ὅππότε μιν ξυνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον
 ἄλλοι,

proves that Homer does not always (as
 Butmann implies) "use βούλομαι of the
 gods, where ἐθέλω would be used for
 other persons."

ἥς . . . ἔστι πολλήν] Namely, the sea-
 coast. The Latin phrase for φέρειν καὶ
 ἄγειν is 'ferre, agere.' Thus Livy xxxiii.
 13: "Aequum censebat, ut belli praeda,
 rerumque quae ferri agique possent, Ro-
 manos: ager urbesque captae Aetolos se-
 querentur." It is also used metaphori-
 cally thus: "Hi ferre agere plebem ple-
 bisque res." Livy iii. 37.

τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ] 'upon cal-
 culation and principle.' Franke observes
 here "odium ratione, non temere signifi-
 cat; μισῆσαι enim est odium concipere,
 μισεῖν odiisse."

πρὶν ἂν] With a subjunctive, after the
 negative in οὐκ ἔνεστι.

οὐ . . . βούλεσθε] Dindorf reads οὐ δυ-
 νήσεσθε (from the codex S), omitting
 οὐδὲ βούλεσθε.

σθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνη), ὥστε λοιδο-
ρίας ἢ φθόνου ἢ σκώμματος, ἥστινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας 25
ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ
τοιούτοι, λέγειν κέλεύετε, καὶ γελᾶτε, ἃν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. 125
καὶ οὐχὶ πῶ τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ
πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς
παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροῶσθαι. λέξω 5
δ' ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

67 Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν
Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ
βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράτ-
τοντες. πότεροι δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι 10
τοὺς ἱππέας προῦδοσαν, ὧν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώ-
λετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς
τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συγκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες
οὕτως ὥστε τὸν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπείσθη. 15

68 Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα
κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἑρετρίᾳ,
ἐπεὶδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος
εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤγον τὰ
πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ 20

μή τι δαίμονιον] 'lest some evil genius
is driving the state (to ruin),' *is at work*
ἡσινος ἂν τύχητε] 'any object that
takes your fancy.'

οὐχί πω . . . δεινόν] ‘and this, bad as it is, is not yet the worst of all.’ Comp. De Chers. § 30: δεινὸν ἢν οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν. πολιτεύεσθαι] ‘to follow their politics.’ Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ] ‘In Olynthus some of the statesmen were in the interest of Philip, and serving him in every thing; some on the patriotic side, and labouring that their fellow-citizens should not be enslaved.’

ταὺς ἱππεὺς προὔδωσαν] When Philip was besieging Olynthus, several successful sorties were made from the town. But the treachery of Lasthenes proved its ruin, for he led 500 men into an ambuscade, as concerted between Philip and himself, and Olynthus was soon afterwards

captured in B.C. 348. F. L. § 300. Diod.
xvi. 53.

'Απολλωνίδης] This person afterwards became an Athenian citizen (c. Neaer. § 121). Apollonides of Cardia (de Halon. § 40), in the Chersonese, was a different person.

ἀπαλλαγέντος] By Phocion, after the battle of Tamynae (b. c. 350—349). See De Pace, § 5, p: 118. Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. 134.

ἐφ' ὅμας ἦγον] 'were for bringing the government over to me.' Comp. Herod. v. 70: ὁ Κλειόμενης ἐξεβαλλὰ Κλεισθένα, and the amusing illustration of this use of the imperfect quoted by Mr. Blakesley on v. 77, from Aristoph. Nubes, v. 60. Also below, § 73: οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδισσαν.

ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων] 'and listening to them generally or rather exclusively.'

πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς
 Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπέισθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγον-
 69 τας ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ σύμ-
 μαχος καὶ φίλος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ
 τείχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράν- 25
 νους, Ἰππαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'
 ἐξελέλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι,
 70 τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ 126
 τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὁρεῶ Φιλιστίδης
 μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ
 Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ 5
 71 ταῦτ' ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δέ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ
 παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐνθάδ' οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς
 δούλοι ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζειτο καὶ
 προὔπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὁρειτῶν, πόλλ'
 ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν 10
 ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθό-
 μενος ἅ πράττουσιν. συστράφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ
 72 καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτανεύοντες παρ'
 ἐκείνου, ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ὡς
 συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν 15
 Ὁρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπαλίσαι,
 τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ταῦτα παθεῖν
 ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οὐ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης

καὶ γὰρ τοι] 'and accordingly.' This was probably about B.C. 344. See § 42, and the note.

ἐξελέλακεν] The Eretrians, who perhaps were then desirous of negotiating a treaty with the Athenians.

τότε μὲν ... Παρμενίωνος] omit. pr. S. Εὐρυλόχου] Eurylochus and Parmenion were Philip's generals. Demosthenes (F. L. § 77) describes the latter as δεσπότη διακονῶν. Probably he was occupying Thessaly at the time.

ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ] 'was intriguing for Philip.' Comp. Xen. Anab. i. 1. 4: Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ. ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι] Scil. ἔπραττεν ὅπως, 'was labouring that.'

ἐνέδειξεν] 'he laid an information against them.' In Athenian law ἐνδείξις was a technical term for various kinds of information lodged against different offenders, but especially in matters of state.

χορηγὸν ... πρυτανεύοντες] Metaphors suggested by religious and political life at Athens.

ἀπάγουσι] The technical term for such an act.

τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο] 'was not angry with them, but said that he deserved such a punishment, and rejoiced over it.' On ἐπιτήδειον Schäfer observes, "Sic Latine idoneus pro dignus." Comp. Xen. Anab. ii. 3. 11: ἐπαιεῖν ἂν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον.

ἡβούλουτ' ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοίτο, 20
 ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἷα ἔπαθε μέμνη-
 73 μένοι. οὕτω δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλ-
 μῆσεν οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν.
 πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέ-
 74 μισαι. τῆνικαὐτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προϋδίδουσιν. 25
 τῆς δὲ πόλεως οὕτως ἀλούσης αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σῶζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ 127
 τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἐτοιμοὺς ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβα-
 λόντες, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος
 ἐπέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ
 καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ. 5
 75 Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τοῦ καὶ τοὺς
 Ὀλυνθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας ἡδῖον
 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 ἑαυτῶν; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελ-
 76 τίστου λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς 10
 χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκῃ σκοπεῖν
 ὅπως σωθήσεται· οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ
 συμπράττουσιν. εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν
 ἔφασαν· πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην,
 ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τᾶλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', 15
 ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγω· οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς ἡδὴ χαριούνται,
 ταυτ' ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλύπον οὐδὲν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον
 77 σωθήσεσθαι, προσήσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ

κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν] 'were ar-
 ranging their plot.'

οὐ πρότερον . . . προσήεσαν] Though a
 negative clause precedes, πρὶν is here fol-
 lowed by an Indic. Comp. § 64, where a
 Subjunctive follows, and the cause of
 the difference will be self-evident.

ῥῆξαι φωνήν] So Herod. v. 93: ἅπας
 τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας.

διασκευασάμενοι] 'in battle array,' i.e.
 having broken up their camp.

τοὺς τότε σῶζοντας] 'having banished
 some, and killed others, of those who
 formerly rescued themselves, and were
 ready to do any thing whatever to Eu-
 phraeus.' See § 71. I prefer αὐτοὺς, with

Rüdiger and Schäfer, to αὐτοὺς with Bek-
 ker. Philip's partisans had been saved from
 the attack of Euphraeus by a rising of the
 populace, συστραφέντες ἀνθρώποι πολλοί.
 ἡδῖον . . . ἔχειν] 'being more favourably
 disposed towards.'

ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν] "Plene, ἢ πρὸς
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν." Schäfer.

οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς] 'while the others by
 the very means whereby they gratify their
 hearers, co-operate with Philip.'

ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν] 'until they were
 taken in the snare.'

οἱ μὲν . . . χαριούνται] 'the one advised
 measures of immediate gratification.'
 προσήσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται] 'but of which

τελευταία οὐχ οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προτίεντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις 20 ἡττάσθαι ἐνόμιζον. ὁ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ πάθηθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰδῆτε ἐκ λογισμοῦ μηδὲν
78 ὑμῖν ἐνόν. καίται μὴ γένοιτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι γὰρ μυριάκις κρείττον ἢ κολακείᾳ τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ 128 ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς. καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐ-
79 τοὺς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν· καλήν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτ-
ἀρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύουσιν γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλω-
80 νίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν 10 ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμέ-

animosities were the result.' These words and *καὶ ἐλόθουν οὐδέν*, are either omitted in the codex S. and other MSS., or placed in the margin. Dobree says: "Valde suspicor hic decurtandum esse cum codice S." Mr. Kennedy translates thus: 'The one made speeches to please for the moment, and gave no annoyance: the other offered salutary counsel that was offensive.'

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 'And in many cases at last also did the people give way, not so much from complaisance or in ignorance, but quietly submitting because they thought they were ruined in their main interests,' or 'that their all was lost.'

ἐπειδὰν . . . ὑμῖν ἐνόν 'when upon reflection you see that nothing can be done by you.' After these words the codices S, Y, have in the margin the following clause: *καὶ τοὺς εἰς ταῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐκ ὀρρωδῶ ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι, ἢ γὰρ ἐξεπίτηδες ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπάγουσι τὴν πόλιν*. But it is wanting in most of the MSS., and not very spirited or worthy of Demosthenes. Harpocration, however, quotes the words *δυσωποῦμαι, ὑπάγουσι*, as from the Philippics.

καὶ προέσθαι . . . τινάς Omitted by S.
καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοί 'a noble return

indeed have the commonalty of Oreus received.' "The literal translation 'fine' or 'pretty' expresses the sense completely, but is too colloquial." Lord Brougham in *Edinb. Review*, xxxvi. 104.

πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε] This incident is not otherwise known, but it was probably connected with the events consequent upon the battle of Tamynæ (De Pace, p. 118). From § 68 of this speech it appears that Plutarch and his mercenaries were then ejected from Eretria, and the people being masters of the situation, some of the Eretrians wished to place themselves under the protection of Philip, and others under that of Athens. Therefore we may presume that the Athenians despatched the envoys here mentioned, but without effect, for the result was (§ 69) that Philip was enabled to invest Cleitarchus with the sovereignty, in which the latter treated the Eretrians as here described. From the *De Cor.* (§§ 99 and 101) it appears that he was afterwards expelled from Eretria by the Athenians, and that the envoys whom he then sent to Athens were entertained by Aeschylus.

τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν 'to cherish such hopes as you do.'

- νους, τηλικαύτην ἡγείσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε
 81 [μηδὲν], μηδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἦ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν
 κακείνῳ γε αἰσχρὸν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν συμβάντος τινός
 “τίς γὰρ ἂν ψήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γὰρ 15
 τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.” πόλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν
 ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἃ τότε εἰ προείδοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώ-
 λοντο. πόλλ' ἂν ὤρεϊται, πολλὰ φωκείς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπο-
 82 λωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν
 σώζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἃν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον ἦ, τότε χρὴ 20
 καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύ-
 μους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μῆθ' ἐκὼν μῆτ' ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνα-
 τρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέροσχη,
 83 μάταιος ἡ σπουδὴ. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἕως ἐσμὲν σφῶι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, 25
 ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον,—τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως
 ἐρωτήσων κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δὲ, ὥστε 129
 ἂν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσατε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι
 καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρα-

ὥστε . . . μηδ' . . . ἦ] ‘that you will
 never suffer any thing serious, whatever
 may happen.’ Something of this sort
 must be the meaning of this passage,
 which can scarcely be complete as it stands
 in the MSS. without *μηδέν*. I agree with
 Dobree in thinking that this word is
 wanting, either before *μηδ' ἂν* or *δεινόν*.—
 Rüdiger observes, “*inest τι in ὀτιοῦν*,”
 so as to make *δεινόν τι*, but this is not
 satisfactory. Dindorf in his last edition
 reads *μηδέν, μηδ' ἂν*; but as there is no
 MS. authority for *μηδέν*, I have bracket-
 ed it.

τίς γὰρ ἂν ψήθη] So Cicero de Off. i.
 c. 23: “Nec committere ut aliquando
 dicendum sit, Non putarem.”

νῆ τὸν Δία] ‘but so it is by Zeus,
 for he ought to have done so and so,
 and not to have done something else.’
 Schäfer would prefer τὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ
 ποιῆσαι, and we certainly might have
 expected it.

τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι] ‘to keep on the look
 out for this.’ From many passages in
 Demosthenes it appears that he uses *σκο-
 πεῖν* and *σκοπεῖσθαι* without any percepti-
 ble difference of meaning.

ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον] ‘the most noble

character’ or pretensions.

πάλαι τις] ‘some sitting here have
 for some time, I dare say, been longing
 to ask.’ The *ἂν* in *ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως* is not
 to be taken with *ἐρωτήσων*, the clause
 in which it is found being a sort of paren-
 thesis, or afterthought. The punctua-
 tion if minute would be thus: *πάλαι τις,
 ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως, ἐρωτήσων κάθηται τοῦτο
 ποιήσας or ἐρωτήσας* being mentally sup-
 plied to complete the intermediate clause.
 The startling interruption of the train of
 ideas by the unexpected question *τί ποιῶ-
 μεν*; is most spirited, and must have been
 highly effective in awakening and fixing
 the attention of the hearers.

καὶ γράψω δέ] ‘yes, and I will also
 move a resolution, and accordingly if you
 wish, do you pass it.’ Comp Soph. Electr.
 v. 1172: *ὥστε μὴ λίαν στένε*. In § 80
 above, Schäfer notices the construction
 of *ὥστε* with an infin., and compares
 Herod. i. 189: *ἐπηπείλησε ῥῥῳ δὴ μιν
 ἀσθενέα ποιῆσειν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ
 γυναικάς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ μὴ βρε-
 χούσας διαβήσεσθαι*.

αὐτοὶ πρῶτον] ‘first of all taking mea-
 sures for defence, and making preparations
 yourselves.’

- τιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δῆπου δουλεύειν συγχω-
 ρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῶν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· 5
 84 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα αὐτοὶ παρὰσκευασάμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι φανερά τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ
 τοὺς ταῦτα διδάζοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῖ,
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω
 (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦ- 10
 τον ἔασαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἢ ἂν μὲν πείσῃτε,
 κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων,
 ἂν τι δέη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμασιν.
 85 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστῶσης πόλεως
 ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρουσι 15
 πρεσβεῖαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι καὶ κατηγο-
 ρίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ
 Ἑγήσιππος καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκούργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνων
 86 καὶ μῆτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μῆτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον 20
 ὁρμήσαι. οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγ-
 καῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ
 εὐηθες τὰ οἰκεία αὐτοὺς προἰεμένους τῶν ἄλλοτρίων φάσκειν
 κηδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόν-
 87 των τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν 25
 ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημί δεῖν καὶ τᾶλλα

ὡς βασιλέα] In the Epist. Phil. § 6, Philip complains thus on the subject: εἰς τοῦτο παρανομίας ἐφίχθε καὶ δυσμενείας, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃ πρέσβεις ἀπεσ-
 τάλλατε πείσοντας αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν.

οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ] 'for not even is it foreign to his interests.'

χρόνους γε ἐμποιῇτε] 'that you may introduce delays in the operations.' Comp. c. Aristoc. § 111: οἱ γραψάμενοι καὶ χρό-
 νους ἐμποιήσαντες. F. L. § 180: οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τὸν κήρυκα, οὐδ' ἐποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα. Acts xv. 33: ποιήσαντες δὲ χρόνον ἀπελύθησαν, where Messrs. Wil-
 kinson and Webster quote as from Plato, Epist. 6: ἀναγκαῖον ἴσως ἐνιαυτὸν γ' ἔτι ποιῆσθαι. But this seems to be an error for ἀναγκαῖον ἴσως ἐνιαυτὸν γ' ἔτι πονῆσαι, Plato, Epist. 7.

πρὸς ἄνδρα] 'against a man, the direc-
 tion of whose life and power is uncertain, and not against the power of a state or

corporate body which never dies.'

αἱ πέρουσι πρεσβεῖαι] In b.c. 344 to Argolis and Messenia. Comp. De Cor. § 99. c. Phil. ii. § 21. For κατηγορίαι, which is not very satisfactory, Winiewski (Comment. 158. 172) conjectures, though doubtfully, καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν. Droysen, καὶ Ἀμβρακίαν. But as Thirlwall observes (vi. 18), the present text seems sufficiently defended by a passage in the De Chers. § 37: τί οὐν πρεσβεύεσθε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε; The embassy to Acarnania is attested by Aesch. c. Ctes. § 97.

ἃς ... περιήλθομεν] 'with which we travelled over the Peloponnesus.' The colleagues of Demosthenes here named were of the same side in politics as himself, and according to Arrian i. 10. 7, Lycurgus and Polyuctus were two of the friends of Demosthenes, whom Alexander required to be surrendered to himself, b.c. 335. φάσκειν] 'to give it out.'

- ὅσα ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, καὶ
 πρώτους ἂ χρὴ ποιοῦντας τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας 130
 συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, βουθετεῖν ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πό-
 88 λεως ἀξίωμα ἐχούσης ἡλικίον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε
 Χαλκιδεῆς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπο-
 δράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε ἀγαπητὸν 5
 γὰρ, εἰν αὐτοὶ σώζονται τούτων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν
 τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτῆ-
 σαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων.
 εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲν
 89 αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εὖρη τοὺς 10
 ποιήσοντας, εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, εὖρηντ' ἂν πάλαι ἔνεκά γε τοῦ
 μηδὲν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν; ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν· ἔπειτα
 δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν
 ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γένηται.
 90 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἶομαι καὶ 15
 νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνομένων.
 εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω.
 ὁ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὧ πάντες θεοὶ, συνενέγκοι.

Χαλκιδεῆς] In Euboea. They seem to be mentioned simply as any other small state might have been.

ἀγαπητόν] 'one ought to be content.'

οὐ μήποθ' εὖρη] The construction is indicated by δέδοικα in the next sentence.

εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν] These words are not found in several MSS., and Bekker prints them in brackets after γενήσεται. But, as Dobree says: "Si servanda sunt, ponenda sunt post τοὺς ποιήσοντας," and as I cannot think that any copyist would have taken the trouble to invent them, and they are not unworthy of Demosthenes, I agree with Rüdiger in admitting them.

ἔνεκά γε] 'so far at least as your own unwillingness to do anything' would have found them.

Some of the MSS. of this oration have the number 580 subscribed, as that of the lines contained in it. But this must refer to the shorter editions, for one page of 29 lines in Reiske's edition contains about 30 lines of the ancient copy, and as there are 21 such pages in this oration, the number of MS. lines would be 630.

P.S. In Lord Brougham's Inaugural Discourse at Glasgow (1825), are the following remarks on § 79: "Δουλεύουσι γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι, says the Grecian master, to describe the wretched lot of those who had yielded to the wiles of the conqueror, in the vain hope of securing their liberties in safety. Compare this with the choicest of Mr. Burke's invectives of derision and pity upon the same subject—the sufferings of those who made peace with Regicide France—and acknowledge the mighty effect of relying upon a single stroke to produce a great effect, if you have the master hand to give it. 'The king of Prussia has hypothecated in trust to the Regicides his rich and fertile territories on the Rhine, as a pledge of his zeal and affection to the cause of liberty and equality. He has been robbed with unbounded liberty, and with the most levelling equality. The woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confiscated; and the people are put to bear a double yoke, in the exactions of a tyrannical government, and in the contributions of a hostile conscription.'"

INTRODUCTION TO PHILIPPIC IV.

THIS oration appears to have been delivered in B.C. 341—340, a short time after the Third Philippic, and on the same subject, viz. the necessity of an energetic resistance against Philip. To effect this object, the author advocated an alliance with Persia more strongly than in c. Phil. iij., and not without success, for a negotiation was immediately opened with that power, which led to the relief of Perinthus then besieged by Philip. From a remarkable passage (p. 141) in the speech it appears that Athens was at the same time distracted by dissensions between the rich and the poor, whom the orator endeavoured to reconcile by dwelling upon the necessity of union and concord. In connexion with this subject observations are made about the Theoric fund, which differ so much from the sentiments of Demosthenes, as expressed in the Olynthiac Orations, that Böckh (Lib. ii. § 13) and other modern critics, as Valckenaer, F. A. Wolf, A. G. Becker, and Rüdiger, do not consider this oration genuine. This opinion is apparently supported by the further fact, that it contains many passages which occur in other speeches, and doubts about its authorship were entertained even in ancient times. One Anastasius of Ephesus, and others of the *τεχνογράφοι* it is said, thought the speech was not genuine (*νοθεύουσι τὸν λόγον*) on account of a strange expression in it (*ἀλλὰ μανδραγόραν πεπωκόσιν*, § 7). But clearly this is an insufficient reason for such a conclusion, and with regard to the Theoric fund, it is quite possible that Demosthenes may at different times of his political life have entertained different opinions on the same subject, or at any rate have thought it prudent to *advocate* different measures. Modern English statesmen have acted apparently with similar inconsistency in matters of the greatest importance, as the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, while their different speeches on these same topics differed from one another

quite as much as any expressions in the Fourth Philippic do from any previous declarations of Demosthenes. At any rate, it appears that the proposal to re-appropriate the Theoric fund had caused considerable discontent amongst the poorer citizens at Athens, and that this discontent was creating disunion between the rich and the poor at a time when unanimity was of the most vital importance for the very existence of Athens as an independent State. Under these circumstances Demosthenes might with good reason waive or modify his previous sentiments, and therefore the allegation of inconsistency is far from being conclusive. Again, though there is certainly more weight in the objection that the Fourth Philippic repeats almost 'totidem verbis' passages which are found in other orations, still even this fact may be accounted for, without supposing it to be altogether a spurious compilation. For if, as the scholiast Ulpian supposes, it was delivered upon some sudden emergency, or unexpected news of Philip's proceedings in Thrace (*πρὸς τινὰ ἐξαίφνης ἐπαγγελίαν*), Demosthenes not having time to compose an entirely new address, might well have repeated himself and reiterated to the Athenians some of his previous counsels and admonitions. Moreover, it should be observed, that Dionysius Hal. (ad Amm. 738), in describing this speech as the eleventh harangue against Philip, refers to it as undoubtedly genuine, without any hint whatever that it was written by another person than Demosthenes. And it may be fairly urged that if any writer had wished to publish a speech of his own as the composition of Demosthenes (though one cannot understand the motive for such a wish), he would have taken care to make it agree with his recorded sentiments and previously expressed opinions, and not have copied him by wholesale. Mr. Grote (xi. 498) referring to this Philippic and the *Περὶ Συντάξεως*, observes, "Whether these two orations were actually delivered in their present form, may perhaps be doubted. But I allude to them with confidence, as Demosthenic compositions, put together out of Demosthenic fragments and thoughts."

A very different view however has been taken in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1821 (xxxvi. 87), by Lord Brougham, who argues with considerable ingenuity that in the repetitions of this oration there are "so many variations and additions," and of such a character "as plainly to show that the orator sometimes improved upon the first thought, and sometimes adapted it to the new occasion." And his Lordship adds, "Nothing can be more instructive than an attentive consideration of the alterations, especially where they are made not merely with the view of adapting an old sentence to a new purpose, but because the orator saw that he might increase its force by some

happy turn or new thought which had suggested itself since the first composition."

On the other hand, it is observed, that "The repetition of whole sentences, without a single alteration, clearly proves the pains which Demosthenes had bestowed upon the composition of each part, and the value which he set upon the result. It demonstrates that the choice and disposition of words had been a work of mature deliberation and of some difficulty; for his retaining the self-same words in the same order when he wishes a second time to express the same ideas, shows that he considered the first selection and arrangement as preferable to any other." Now, if we assume that Demosthenes was really the author of the unaltered repetitions, exactly as we find them in this Oration, these last remarks are in the highest degree probable. But Westermann (*Quaes. Demos.* pp. 137—166) has, I think, proved that the alterations and additions alleged to be improvements, are not undeniably such, and an examination of them, as they occur in the speech, may convince the reader that the noble and learned Reviewer's reasoning on this subject, however ingenious and instructive, is sometimes based upon questionable data.

On the whole, then, perhaps the most probable supposition is, that Demosthenes composed the greater part of the speech himself, with some repetition of what he had said before; and that its original framework has been altered by the subsequent interpolation of extracts from his other orations. But really nothing certain can be determined on the subject, however strong may be the conviction that Demosthenes did not compose the Fourth Philippic, in the state in which it has come down to us. And even admitting all that Westermann alleges to be true, it would not at all controvert Lord Brougham's doctrine as to the care and elaboration which Demosthenes bestowed upon his Orations.

X.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Δ.

B.C. 341—340.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Καὶ οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχει τῷ φθάνοντι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἴδιον, πλὴν τὸ περὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας πολίτευμα· διαφοροῦμένων γὰρ τῶν πλουσίων πρὸς τοὺς πένητας, ὁ Δημοσθένης καταπαύειν πειρᾶται τὴν στάσιν, τῷ μὲν δήμῳ παραινῶν μὴ δημεύειν τὰς τῶν πλουσίων οὐσίας, τοῖς δὲ 131 πλουσίοις μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ἀπόροις τοῦ δημοσίου λήμματος. πείθει δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα περὶ συμμαχίας πρεσβεύεσθαι.

•Καὶ σπουδαία νομίζων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ὧν βουλευέσθε, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῇ πόλει, πειράσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν. οὐκ ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδ' ἐκ μικροῦ χρόνου συνειλεγμένων, ἐξ ὧν φαύλως ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 5 τῶν πάντων δυσκολώτερον εἰς τὸ παρὸν, ἢ ὅτι ταῖς γνώμαις ὑμεῖς ἀφεστήκατε τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον σπουδάξετε ὅσον ἂν κάθησθε ἀκούοντες, ἢ προσαγγεληθῇ τι νεώτερον, εἴτ' ἀπελθὼν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ μόνον 2 οὐδὲν φροντίζει. περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέμνηται. ἡ μὲν οὖν 10

τὸ πολίτευμα] 'the political advice.'

ἀναγκαῖα] 'of vital moment to the State.'

οὐκ ὀλίγων δ'] 'and though not a few are the faults, nor in a short time accumulated, from which we are in this

wretched condition.'

δυσκολώτερον] 'more untoward.' Literally, more ill-tempered or cross-grained.

ταῖς γνώμαις . . . τῶν πραγμάτων] 'you have your minds alienated from business.'

ἀσέλγεια καὶ πλεονεξία, ἣ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους Φίλιπ-
πος χρήται, τοσαύτη τὸ πλῆθος ὅσῃν ἀκούετε· ὅτι δ' οὐκ
ἐνὶ ταύτης ἐκείνουν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκ λόγου καὶ δημηγορίας,
οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δῆπου. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴδ' ἀφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἄλλων
3 τοῦτο μαθεῖν δύναται τις, ὡδὶ λογισάσθω. ἡμεῖς οὐδαμοῦ 15
πώποτε, ὅπου περὶ τῶν δικαίων εἰπεῖν ἐδέησεν, ἡττήθημεν
οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἐδόξαμεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων πανταχοῦ κρατοῦμεν 132
καὶ περιέσμεν τῷ λόγῳ. ἄρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνῳ φαύλως
ἔχει τὰ πράγματα ἢ τῇ πόλει καλῶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῦ
4 ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν μετὰ ταῦτα βαδίξῃ τὰ ὄπλα,
πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐτοίμως κινδυνεύσων, ἡμεῖς δὲ καθώμεθα 5
εἰρηκότες τὰ δίκαια, οἱ δ' ἀκηκοότες, εἰκότως, οἶμαι, τοὺς
λόγους τὰ ἔργα παρέρχεται, καὶ προσέχουσιν ἅπαντες
οὐχ οἷς εἵπομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς δικαίοις ἢ νῦν ἂν εἵπομεν, ἀλλ'
οἷς ποιοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα οὐδένα τῶν ἀδικουμένων σώ-
ζειν δυνάμενα· οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ πλείω περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν. 10
5 τοιγάρτοι διεστηκότων εἰς δύο ταῦτα τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι,
τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ μῆτε ἄρχειν βία βούλεσθαι μηδενὸς μῆτε
δουλεύειν ἄλλῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐξ ἴσου
πολιτεύεσθαι, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπι-
θυμεῖν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὑπακούειν, δι' ὅτου ποτ' ἂν οἴωνται τοῦτο 15
6 δυνήσεσθαι ποιῆσαι, οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως, οἱ τυραν-
νίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, κεκρατήκασι παν-
ταχοῦ, καὶ πόλεις δημοκρατουμένη βεβαίως οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις
ἔστι τῶν πασῶν λοιπὴ πλὴν ἢ ἡμετέρα. καὶ κεκρατή-
κασιν οἱ δι' ἐκείνου τὰς πολιτείας ποιοῦμενοι πᾶσιν, ὅσοις 20

πάντων πανταχοῦ] 'in argument we vanquish and get the better of all on all occasions.' Rüdiger considers this assertion too arrogant for Demosthenes to have made it. But the ἡμεῖς does not necessarily refer to the writer himself; it may apply to the Athenians in general.

πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν] 'with the intention of freely perilling all he has.'

τοὺς λόγους . . . παρέρχεται] "Inepte confudit Phil. ii. init. usque ad p. 66. 20, et Olyn. ii. p. 21. 20, vel similem locum." Dobree.

ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα] 'and these our doings,' scil. ταῦθ' ἃ ποιοῦμεν. On οὐδὲν γὰρ . . .

λέγειν, Reiske observes: "Juvat enim atrocitati orationis temperare: quanquam gravius et vehementius vos increpare licebat."

τοιγάρτοι] 'accordingly, the inhabitants of states being divided into these two parties, one including those who neither wish to govern any one by force, nor to be the slaves of another.'

οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου] "Mira locutio pro ἐκείνης τῆς προαιρέσεως," says Dobree, but it may well mean the men of Philip's party.

οἱ δι' ἐκείνου τὰς πολιτείας] 'those who keep up their government through him.'

πράγματα πρᾶττεται, πρῶτῳ μὲν πάντων καὶ πλείστῳ τῷ
 τοῖς βουλομένοις χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἔχειν τὸν δώσοντα
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονι τούτου τῷ
 δύνάμιν τὴν καταστρεφομένην τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις αὐτοῖς
 7 ἐν οἷς ἂν αἰτήσωσι χρόνοις παρῆναι. ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ μόνον 25
 τούτοις ὑπολείπομεθα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνε-
 γερῆθῆναι δυνάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μανδραγόραν πεπωκόσιν ἢ τι 133
 φάρμακον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον εἰκόκαμεν ἀνθρώποις· εἴτ', οἶμαι,
 (δεῖ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, λέγειν τάληθῇ) οὕτω διαβεβλή-
 μεθα καὶ καταπεφρονήμεθα ἐκ τούτων, ὥστε τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ
 τῷ κινδυνεύειν ὄντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡμῖν ἀντι- 5
 λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποῦ συνεδρεύσουσι, τινὲς δὲ καθ'
 αὐτοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγνώκασιν.
 8 Τοῦ χάριν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω καὶ διεξέρχομαι; οὐ γὰρ
 ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς προαιροῦμαι
 ἢ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο γινῶ καὶ εἰδῇ, 10
 ὅτι ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ ῥαθυμῖα, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἰδίους
 βίοις, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἀμελου-
 μένων ποιεῖ τὴν αἰσθησιν εὐθέως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ
 9 τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαντᾷ. ὁρᾶτε Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον·
 ταῦτα γὰρ πρῶτον ὠλιγορήθη μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἃ πολλοὺς 15
 ὑμῶν οὐδὲ γνώριμά ἐστιν ἴσως. ταῦτα μέντοι ἐαθέντα καὶ
 παροφθέντα ἀπώλεσέ Θράκην καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην σύμ-
 μαχον ὄνθ' ὑμῶν. πάλιν ταῦτ' ἀμελούμενα ἰδὼν καὶ
 οὐδεμιᾶς βοηθείας τυγχάνοντα παρ' ὑμῶν κατέσκαπτε

μανδραγόραν] Mr. Kennedy quotes
 Shakespeare, Othello, Act III. sc. iii. :

"Not poppy, nor mandragora,
 Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
 Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet
 sleep

Which thou ow'st yesterday."

Reiske observes: "Citat hunc locum
 Hermogenes p. 250, 9. referens ad τὰς
 τραχείας ἐννοίας, et Aristides ad τοὺς
 ἀτόπους εἰκασμούς p. 266, orationem
 reddentes vehementem et concitatam."
 Comp. Lucian, Timon, c. 2: πῶς γὰρ,
 ὅπου γε καθάπερ ὑπὸ μανδραγόρα καθεύ-
 δεῖς; and Demosth. Encom. § 36: ἀν-
 ἴστησι μὲν ἄκοντας οἷον ἐκ μανδραγόρου

καθεύδοντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολίτας.

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας] 'some dispute
 with us for the lead.' The Lacedae-
 monians are probably meant here, for
 Philip had been intriguing in the Peloponnesus.

οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι] Comp. Olyn.
 iii. § 8: οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ] 'daily indul-
 gence and carelessness.'

οὐκ ἐφ' ἐκάστου . . . εὐθέως] 'does not
 immediately make itself felt in each indi-
 vidual thing that is neglected.' With the
 use of the article in ποιεῖ τὴν αἰσθησιν, *but it is*
 comp. πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ, *the long u*
 Thucyd. i. 71.

- Πορθμόν, καὶ τυραννίδα ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπέτεί- 20
 10 χισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ. ταύτης ὀλιγαρχουμένης Μέγα-
 ἑάλω παρὰ μικρόν. οὐδὲν ἐφβροντίσατε οὐδ' ἐπεστράφητε
 ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τούτων, οὐδ' ἐνεδείξασθε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε
 ταῦτα ποιεῖν αὐτῷ. Ἀντρῶνας ἐπρίατο καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν
 11 χρόνον τὰ ἐν Ὠρεῶι πράγματ' εἰλήφει. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 25
 παραλείπω, Φεράς, τῇ ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ὁδὸν, τὰς ἐν Ἡλιδι
 σφαγὰς, ἄλλα μυρία· οὐ γὰρ ἔν' ἐξάριθμῆσωμαι τοὺς 134
 βεβιασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἡδικημένους ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, ταῦτα
 διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦθ' ὑμῖν δείξω, ὅτι οὐ στήσεται
 πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν, τὰ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιούμενος
 Φίλιππος, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸν κωλύσει. 5
 12 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων

ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ] That is, Eretria. "In-
 stances of ἐπιτείχισις (says Arnold, on
 Thucyd. i. c. 142), i. e. of a town founded
 to be a sort of thorn in an enemy's side,
 are Megara, founded by the Dorians as a
 check on the Athenian power, after their
 unsuccessful expedition into Attica in the
 time of Codrus; Heraclea in Trachinia,
 built to curb the Thessalians (Thucyd. iii.
 92, 93; v. 51); almost all the Roman
 military colonies, particularly Placentia
 and Cremona in Cisalpine Gaul; and in
 modern times Alessandria in Italy, built
 by the Guelph cities of Lombardy as a
 check to the Ghibelin state of Pavia, and
 to the Marquis of Montferrat; and Car-
 rouge, intended by the dukes of Savoy to
 be the rival of Geneva." See note on
 De Chers. § 36, p. 186.

οὐδὲν . . . ἐπεστράφητε] 'you showed
 no concern, and exhibited no resentment.'
 Ἐπιστροφή is a turning round sharp, as
 an angry man does. Comp. Herod. i. 20:
 εἶρετο ἐπιστρέφους, 'took him up sharp
 with the question;' and viii. 123: λέγων
 μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα, 'in terms more
 directly to the point.' Blakesley. With
 οὐδ' ἐνεδείξασθε . . . comp. Thucyd. i.
 82: μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντες, μήθ'
 ὡς ἐπιτρέψομεν.

Ἀντρῶνας] Antrones was a town in
 Thessaly. Wolf observes: "Stephanus
 Ἀντρῶνα ἐνικῶς ponit πόλιν Θετταλίας,
 διὰ τὸ τοὺς τόπους ἀντρωδεῖς εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ
 καὶ παροιμία, Ἀντρῶνιος ὄνος."

τῇ ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν] See c. Phil. iii.
 § 85.

τὰς ἐν Ἡλιδι σφαγὰς] After the

battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362), an
 oligarchical party gained the ascend-
 ancy at Elis, and its success seems to
 have been attended with the banishment
 of the opposite party. In the time of
 Philip the oligarchists identified them-
 selves with his interests to strengthen
 their own, and the number of refugees
 was probably increased in consequence.
 To effect their restoration, the latter party
 brought over a body of the mercenaries
 who had retired to Crete after the Pho-
 cian war. A battle was fought, in which
 the exiles were defeated, and many of the
 mercenaries who fell into the hands of the
 Elean oligarchs were massacred by them
 (αἱ ἐν Ἡλιδι σφαγαί) on the ground (as
 was alleged) of their sacrileges in Phocis.
 Diod. xvi. 63. F. L. § 295. Thirlwall's
 Hist. v. 139, and vi. 18.

ἔν' ἐξάριθμῆσωμαι] 'to make a full
 enumeration.'

οὐ στήσεται] "Ex Philip. i. p. 52.
 21." Dobree.

τὰ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ] 'prosecuting his con-
 quests.'

Εἰσὶ . . . ταύτην καταλύσει] This is a
 passage on which, as compared with the
 De Chers. §§ 39, 40 (p. 187), Lord Broug-
 ham (Edin. Rev. xxxvi. 88) argues as we
 have already mentioned. The passages
 in both orations are the same as far as
 προσθήσω δέ, after which, instead of καὶ
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, as in
 the De Chers. we have καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ
 πόλει θεοῖς, ὅπερ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν. On
 this his Lordship remarks: "In the fourth
 Philippic, after προσθήσω δέ, the orator

- λόγους εὐθέως εἰώθασιν ἐρωτᾶν “τί οὖν χρή ποιεῖν;” οὐχ
 13 ἢ ἀκούσαντες ποιήσωσι (χρησιμώτατοι γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν
 ἀπάντων), ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῦ λέγοντος ἀπαλλαγῶσιν. δεῖ δ’
 ὁμως εἰπεῖν ὃ τι χρή ποιεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες 10
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαίως γινῶναι, ὅτι
 τῇ πόλει Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην λέλυκε, καὶ
 κακόνους μὲν ἐστι καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς
 πόλεως ἐδάφει, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς,
 οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν, οὐδενὶ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πολι- 15
 τεῖα πολεμεῖ οὐδ’ ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ σκοπεῖ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν
 14 τῶν πάντων ἢ ὅπως ταύτην καταλύσει. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης
 τρόπον τινα νῦν γε δὴ ποιεῖ λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βού-
 λεται, τούτου δ’ ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέιληφεν ὑμᾶς.
 ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καθ’ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύννοιδεν 20
 ἑαυτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει χρῆσθαι, τούτοις
 ἅπαντα τᾶλλα βεβαίως κέκνηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ
 Προτίδιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ’ ἂν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ μένειν ἀσφαλῶς

adds, not that Philip is the implacable enemy of the *men*, but of the gods of the city, and invokes their vengeance upon his head: ‘May they utterly destroy him.’” For this change Lord B. accounts by the supposition that Demosthenes highly valued this appeal to the gods, or “perhaps it was a burst of passion at the moment of speaking, after which it was impossible to introduce the whole passage respecting the inhabitants of the city.” But the character of the alteration, whether an improvement or otherwise is quite a matter of taste, on which different opinions may be formed; and as A. G. Bekker (Philip. Reden, ii. p. 486) observes, one cannot see why Philip should be considered the enemy of those deities whom he worshipped as well as the Athenians. Nor, we may add, was the appeal to the gods likely to create so strong an impression against Philip as the description of the sufferings of Olynthus, which, though contained in the De Chers., is omitted here, and on which Westermann (p. 159) observes: “Inepte hoc omisit declamator, ad Deos confugit, de caelo detraxit quod in manibus erat, scilicet, ne omnia temere descripsisse videretur.”

τοῦτο . . . γινῶναι] ‘you ought to be

firmly convinced of this.’

καὶ τῷ . . . ἐδάφει] ‘nay, to the very ground of the city.’

οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν] ‘for by means of these possessions of yours which he is able to occupy.’ There is no χρῆσθαι in the corresponding passage of the De Chers. as written in the best MSS.

ἅπαντα . . . κέκνηται] Instead of these words we find, c. Phil. ii. § 19: πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκνηται, with a transposition of *βεβαίως* and *ἀσφαλῶς*, on which Lord B. observes, “that it was apparently to correct the bad effect of the same vowels coming together”—adding, “the expression which seems finally to have satisfied the exquisite ear of Demosthenes is ἅπαντα τᾶλλα-βεβαίως κέκνηται.” But a modern scholar may well hesitate to assert that the latter reading is in sense or sound superior to the other; and to show that the author of this oration did not studiously avoid the bad effect of the same vowels coming together, we need only quote from § 24: ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν ποιεῖτε, and from § 31: οὐκ οἶδα ἥντινα ἂν, and γένοιτο οὕτε, which two latter clauses occur in the De Chers. § 52 (p. 191), as οὐκ οἶδ’ ἥντιν’ ἂν εἴποι-
 tis and γένοιτ’ οὕτε.

οὐδ’ ἂν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ] For οὐδ’ ἂν

- 15 ἡγείτο. ἀμφότερα οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα
καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους. εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων 25
δικαίως μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγείται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσούτοις
οὖσιν οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένη-
ται κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ' αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν ὑμεῖς 135
- 16 δημοκρατήσθε, ἀλλ' ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα (πολλὰ
δ' ἂν γένοιτο ἀνθρώπῳ), ἥξει πάντα τὰ νῦν βεβιασμένα
καὶ καταφεύξεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἔστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοὶ
πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀρχὴν εὖ πεφυκότες, ἀλλ' 5
ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλύσαι καὶ ἔχοντ' ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ὅλως
ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς ἀρχεῖν βουλομένοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
- 17 εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελέσθαι δεινοί. οὐκ οὖν βούλεται τοῖς
αὐτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐ
κακῶς οὐδ' ἀργῶς ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ 10
τοῦτο δεῖ, ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημο-
κρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκείνου, δεύτερον δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς¹
ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα πραγματεύεται καὶ κατασκευάζεται νῦν, ἐπὶ
- 18 τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν παρασκευάζεται. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐήθης
ἐστὶν ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς ὥσθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν 15
μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴποι Δρογγίλον

οἴκοι, c. Phil. ii. § 19, on which Lord Brougham observes: "Perhaps he also preferred for the rounding of the period ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τοὺς οἴκοι." But Westermann (p. 142) with some point says: "Non emendatio sed depravatio est quod pro οἴκοι scribitur ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ: mere Demosthenicum est οἴκοι in tali oppositione mirificamque habet vim: ne domi quidem se tutum fore existimabat: quae qui audit, ipsam regiam urbem obsessam captam incensam fingit animo."

οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς . . . καὶ πραγματεύεται, p. 136. 1] De Chers. p. 99. 29—101. 2. On this extract Lord B. observes: "The few changes which the orator has made in the composition of the passage taken from the De Chersoneso are remarkable, as the process of improving plainly appears in them, both with respect to the sense and sound—ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς . . . καὶ ἔχοντ' ἀφελέσθαι δεινοί (in the fourth Philippic τὸν ἔχοντ'), καὶ ὅλως . . . εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαφελέσθαι ἔτοιμοι (in the fourth Philippic ἐξελέσθαι δεινοί). He evidently con-

sidered δεινοί as the more powerful word, fitter to close the period, and avoided repeating it; he also preferred ἐξελέσθαι to a compound of the ἀφελέσθαι, which he had used before; and besides the advantage of concluding with δεινοί, the hiatus occasioned by the αἰ and ε following was avoided." But the best MSS. and Editions have simply ἔχοντα, not τὸν ἔχοντα, in both orations; and in the De Chers. § 42, the true reading is ἀφελέσθαι, not ἐξαφελέσθαι. Here then his Lordship's data are not altogether correct; and as for the hiatus of αἰ and ε, it might easily be shown that in other cases Demosthenes did not care to avoid it.

ἐξελέσθαι δεινοί] 'ready to rescue men (from slavery) to liberty.'

τοῖς αὐτοῦ . . . ἐφεδρεύειν] 'if such a thing as lending a figure to Demosthenes were ever lawful.' Lord B. (Works, vii. 91) would suggest as the translation,— "Philip does not then wish your liberty to be lying in ambush upon the march of his fortunes."

καὶ Καβύλῃν καὶ Μάστεϊραν καὶ ἃ νῦν φασιν αὐτὸν ἔχειν) τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπομέ-
 19 νειν, τῶν δ' Ἀθήνησι λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων 20 καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοσούτων προσόδων καὶ τόπου καὶ δόξης, ὧν μὴτ' ἐκείνῳ μὴτ' ἄλλῳ γένοιτο μηδεὶν χειρωσαμένῳ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν κυριεῦσαι, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμᾶς εἰσὶν ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ 25
 20 βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν. οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτων γενέσθαι κύριος καὶ ἅλλα πάντα πραγματεύ- 136 .
 εται. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἕκαστον εἰδότα καὶ γιγνώσκοντα παρ' αὐτῷ δεῖ μὰ Δί' οὐ γράψαι κελεύειν πόλεμον τὸν τὰ βέλ-
 τιστα ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις συμβουλευόντα· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ἔστι λαβεῖν ὅτῳ πολεμήσετε βουλομένων, οὐχ ἃ τῇ πόλει 5
 21 συμφέρει πράττειν. ὁρᾶτε γάρ. εἰ δι' ἃ πρῶτα παρ-
 εσπόνδῃσε Φίλιππος ἢ δεύτερα ἢ τρίτα (πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἐφεξῆς) ἔγραψέ τις αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δ' ὁμοίως ὥσπερ νῦν, οὐ γράφοντος οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν πόλεμον, Καρδιανοῖς ἐβοήθει,
 οὐκ ἂν ἀνηρπασμένος ἦν ὁ γράψας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες 10
 22 ἡτιῶντ' ἂν αὐτὸν Καρδιανοῖς βεβοηθηκέναι; μὴ τοίνυν ζητεῖτε ὄντινα ἀνθ' ὧν Φίλιππος ἐξαμαρτάνει μισήσετε καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι διασπάσασθαι παραβα-
 λεῖτε· μὴδ' αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσαντες πόλεμον βούλεσθε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἐρίζειν, εἰ δέον ἢ μὴ δέον ὑμᾶς τοῦτο πεποιη- 15

ὧν μὴτ' ἐκείνῳ . . . κυριεῦσαι] A parenthetical addition to the passage in the
 • De Chers. § 45, p. 188.

τῶν μελινῶν] Xenophon (Anab. vii. 5. 12) describes as *Μελινοφάγοι* some Thracians who lay on the road between Byzantium and Salmydessus, and near to the latter, which was on the west coast of the Black Sea, and notorious for its 'wreckers.' Lord B. translates *σιροῖς* 'store-pits.'

ταῦτα τοίνυν (§ 20) . . . τοῦτον ἀμύνησθε (§ 23)] Vide De Chers. 91. 1—25, p. 176. Dobree.

οὐ γράψαι . . . συμβουλευόντα] 'not to order that a resolution for war be moved by him who would give the best counsel

on every ground of justice?' The opponents of Demosthenes wished to impose upon him the responsibility of a war, by compelling him to propose a vote for it. This Demosthenes declines to do, and argues that there was no necessity for it, as Philip was actually at war with Athens already. See De Chers. § 57.

τοῦτο μὲν . . . βουλομένων] 'this is the part of those amongst you who wish to get some one to fight with.'—ὅτῳ πολεμήσετε, 'civem in quem impune saeviat,' Dobree.

οὐκ ἂν ἀνηρπασμένος ἦν] 'would not the mover have been made away with?' i.e. sacrificed.

- 23 κέναι· ἀλλ' ὃν ἐκείνος πολεμεῖ τρόπον, τοῦτον ἀμύνεσθε,
τοῖς μὲν ἀμυνομένοις ἤδη χρήματα καὶ τᾶλλα, ὧν ἂν
δέωνται, διδόντες, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσφέροντες, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
καὶ κατασκευαζόμενοι στράτευμα, τριήρεις ταχείας, ἵππους,
24 ἵππαγωγούς, τᾶλλα ὅσα εἰς πόλεμον, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως 20
ἐστὶν ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ Φίλιππον δ' αὐτὸν
οἶμαι οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εὖξασθαι ποιεῖν τὴν
πόλιν ἢ ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν ποιεῖτε· ὑστερίζετε, ἀναλίσκετε, ὅτῳ
παραδώσετε τὰ πράγματα ζητεῖτε, δυσχεραίνετε, ἀλλήλους
αἰτιάσθε. ἀφ' οὗτου δὲ ταῦτα γίγνεται ἐγὼ διδάξω, καὶ ὅπως 25
25 παύσεται λέξω. οὐδὲν πώποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν 137
πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνεστήσασθε οὐδὲ κατεσκευάσασθε
ὀρθῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἀεὶ διώκετε, εἰτ' ἐπειδὴν ὑστε-
ρίσητε, παύεσθε· ἕτερον πάλιν ἂν συμβῇ τι, παρασκευά-
26 ζεσθε καὶ θορυβεῖσθε. τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· οὐκ ἔνεστι 5
βοηθείαις χρωμένους οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποτὲ πράξαι, ἀλλὰ
κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορί-
σαντας καὶ ταμίας καὶ δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἐνὶ τὴν τῶν
χρημάτων φυλακὴν ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω ποι-
ήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμ- 10
βάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ μηδε-
μίαν πρόφασιν τοῦ πλεῖν ἄλλοσε ἢ πράττειν ἄλλο τι τῷ
27 στρατηγῷ καταλείπειν· ἂν δ' οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ τοῦτ'
ἐβελήσητε ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ
τῆς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, ἢ πολεμήσεται· ἐξ ἴσου 15
καὶ ἴσως ἂν, ἴσως, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς
πυνθάνεσθε τί ποιεῖ Φίλιππος καὶ ποῖ πορεύεται, οὕτως ἂν
ἐκείνος φροντίσαι ποῖ ποθ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆρκε δύναμις
καὶ ποῦ φανήσεται.

γέλως ἐστίν] c. Phil. i. § 29, p. 90.
[ζητεῖτε] Wanting in some MSS., but
found in the margin of the codices S, Y.
οὐδὲν πώποτε] 'you have never set
about or contrived any one matter aright
in the first instance, but you always fol-
low the event.'

τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει] 'but this is not
the way of acting.' A similar phrase is
often found in Plato, in the sense of
'whereas on the contrary.' Comp. τὸ δ'

ἐπετήδευσαν, 'whereas they have adopted
this practice,' Thucyd. i. 37, where Arnold
quotes from Plato's Apology (§ 9): *ὁσονται*
γὰρ με εἶναι σοφὸν . . . τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει
. . . τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι.

[137, 7—19.] Ex Cherson. pp. 101,
12—21. Dobree. But the clause *καὶ*
μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν is not found in the
corresponding passage of the De Chers.
p. 189.

ποῖ πότε . . . ἀπῆρκε] 'for what place

- Εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης πολλῆς καὶ πόνων 20
 28 πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλ' ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ ἀλλ'
 εἰς λογίσσεται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα γενησόμενα, εἰς
 ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλῃ ποιεῖν, εὐρήσει λυσιτελοῦν τὸ ἐκόντας
 ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστὶ τις ἐγγυητὴς ὑμῖν θεῶν
 (οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο ἀξιώχρεως τηλι- 25
 κούτου πράγματος) ὥς, εἰς ἀγῆθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ πάντα
 πρόησθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκείνος ἥξει, 138
 29 αἰσχροὺς μὲν νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιον
 ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς
 προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ῥαθυμίας ἔνεκα τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας
 Ἑλλήνας εἰς δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγ' αὐτὸς μὲν 5
 τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰυτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύνεσθε,
 30 ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ, τοῦναντίον δὲ
 προϊίσμεν ἅπαντες, ὅτι ὅσω ἂν πλείονων ἐάσωμεν ἐκείνων
 γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ 10
 χρησόμεθα ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ ἀναδυνόμεθα; ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ
 πότε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐβελήσομεν;
 31 ὅταν νῆ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ. ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἂν τις ἐλευθέρων
 ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἤδη πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πάλαι παρέληλυθε, τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων ἀπεύχεσθαι 15
 δήπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευ-
 θέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη ἀνάγκη ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνο-

the forces of the city have sailed.' C. R. K. 'Ἀπῆρκε from ἀπαίρω is rather a rare form.

137, 23—138, 23.] Chers. pp. 101, 22—102, 22. Wolf. See pp. 189—191. εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστι (§ 28), οὐτε λέγειν ἔξιον (§ 31)] Alluding to the whole of this passage, and to the shorter one in § 69, ending with ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε, Lord Brougham (Edin. Rev. xxxvi. p. 91) observes: "The two bursts of eloquence which seem the most calculated of any in the two orations to strike the Athenian audience, and which for effect are perhaps surpassed by none in the whole Philippics, are with only the change of a single particle, the same in both." Comp. De Chers. §§ 50—52, and § 61, pp. 191 and 193.

ποῖ ἀναδυνόμεθα;] 'on what shall we fall back?' Literally, 'where do we mean to come to the surface, after being under water?' Comp. note on De Chers. § 51, p. 191.

τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων] Lord B. (Works, vii. 93) translates thus: "And as for any necessity calculated to act upon slaves, let us pray that none such may ever arise. And where lies the difference? In this,—that to the free the most urgent necessity is the shame of misconduct—a greater I know none that can be named—while the slave is only sensible of the blow and the stripe—and heaven forbid that should ever happen which it is degrading even to name!" See Notes, p. 191.

μένων αἰσχύνῃ, καὶ μείζω ταύτης οὐκ οἶδ' ἦντινα ἂν εἴποι τις· δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος αἰκισμὸς, ἃ μήτε γένοιτο οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.

20

- 32 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀκνηρῶς διακείσθαι, ἃ δεῖ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις λειτουργήσαι· ἕκαστον, ἐστὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχον, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔχει τινὰ πρόφασιν ὁμῶς· τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ὅσ' ἀκούσαι δεῖ μὴδ' ὅσα βουλευσασθαι προσήκει, 25 μὴδὲ ταῦτ' ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν, τοῦτ' ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐπιδέχεται 33 κατηγορίαν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν οὐτ' ἀκούειν, πρὶν ἂν ὥσπερ 139 νῦν αὐτὰ παρῇ τὰ πράγματα, οὔτε βουλευέσθαι περὶ οὐδενὸς εἰώθατ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ἐκείνος παρασκευάζεται, ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτ' καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευάζεσθαι ῥαθυμείτε, καὶ ἐάν τι λέγῃ τις, ἐκβάλλετε, 5 ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἢ πολιορκούμενόν τι πύθησθε, τῇν- 34 καὶτ' ἀκροᾶσθε καὶ παρασκευάζεσθε. ἦν δ' ἀκηκοέναι, μὲν καὶ βεβουλευσθαι τότε καιρὸς, ὅθ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἠθέλετε, πρᾶττειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παρεσκευασμένοις νῦν, ἡνίκ' ἀκούετε. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθῶν μόνοι τῶν 10 πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις τούναντίον ποιεῖτε· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.
- 35 Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔδει, διαφεύγει δ' οὐδὲ νῦν, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων οὕτως ὡς χρημάτων 15 δεῖ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὰ νῦν ἐπιόντα πράγματα. συμβέβηκε δ' εὐτυχήματα ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου, οἷς ἂν χρησώμεθα ὀρθῶς, 36 ἴσως ἂν γένοιτο τὰ δέοντα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἷς βασιλεὺς

Τὸ μὲν . . . ὀκνηρῶς] 'Now that you should feel a backwardness for such duties as each of you ought to perform in your persons, and with your estates' is certainly not right, nay, is far from being so, but nevertheless it does admit of some excuse.

τοῦτ' ἤδη . . . κατηγορίαν] 'this indeed is open to every imputation.'

πρὶν ἂν . . . αὐτά] 'before the events themselves are come upon you.'

ἐκβάλλετε] 'you hiss him off or clamour him down.'

Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐστὶ] 'Now as to the

only thing which is left, and ought to have been done long ago, but which is not even now too late, this I will mention.' The orator now proceeds to insist, and (if Demosthenes) with more energy than formerly, on the necessity of an alliance with the king of Persia, as a means of counteracting Philip.

οἷς βασιλεὺς πιστεύει] The Thracians, who had befriended Darius in his retreat from the invasion of Scythia, and had since been always regarded as benefactors of the Persian empire. They also furnished a contingent of land and naval

πιστεύει καὶ εὐεργέτας ὑπέιληφεν ἑαυτοῦ, οὗτοι μισοῦσι καὶ πολεμοῦσι Φιλίππῳ. ἔπειθ' ὁ πράττων καὶ συνειδὼς 20 ἄπανθ' ἃ Φίλιππος κατὰ βασιλέως παρασκευάζεται, οὗτος ἀνάσπαστος γέγονε, καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἡμῶν κατηγορούντων ἀκούσεται, οὓς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἂν ἡγήσαιο τοῦ ἰδίου λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πράξαντος 37 αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικούντος; ὥστ' εἶναι πιστὰς τὰς κατηγορίας, 25 καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον εἶναι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεσιν, ὃν 140 βασιλεὺς ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαι, ὡς τὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἀδικοῦντα κοινῇ τιμωρήσασθαι δεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πολὺ τῷ βασιλεῖ φοβερώτερός ἐσθ' ὁ Φίλιππος, ἂν προτέροις ἡμῖν ἐπιθῇται· εἰ γὰρ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοί τι πεισόμεθα ἡμεῖς, ἀδεῶς ἐπ' 5 38 ἐκείνων ἤδη πορεύσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων οἶρμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πρεσβεῖαν ἐκπέμπειν, ἥτις τῷ βασιλεῖ διαλέξεται, καὶ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἀποθέσθαι, δι' ἣν πολλάκις ἡλαττώθητε, “ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος καὶ ὁ κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἐχθρὸς”

forces to Xerxes on his invasion of Greece. See Herod. iv. c. 143, vii. c. 110. On the other hand, in ix. 89, Herodotus informs us that on their retreat from Greece through Thrace, many of the Persians were cut up by the Thracians: *συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας*. Demosthenes himself (c. Aristoc. § 239) attributes this disaster to the Macedonians, but in Athenian and popular estimation the two nations from ethnical affinity, and the indefiniteness of the boundary between them might easily be confounded. See Mr. Blakesley's note.

ὁ πράττων καὶ συνειδὼς] ‘the agent and confidant in.’

οὗτος ἀνάσπαστος γέγονε] ‘he has been carried off.’ Böhnecke, following Ulpian, supposes this person to have been Hermeias, a chieftain or prince of Atarneus in Mysia, on the mainland opposite Lesbos, who was seized and carried off by Mentor the Rhodian, in the service of the Persian king, Artaxerxes Ochus. This Hermeias was a great friend of Aristotle the philosopher, who married his sister, and was on a visit to him, when Hermeias was seized. (Diod. xvi. 50—52. Blakesley's Aristotle, p. 38.) As there is no certain evidence to contradict this supposition, we may accept it as not improbable, though,

according to the chronology of Diodorus (l. c.), the seizure occurred eight years before (B.C. 349) the supposed date of this oration; and even admitting with Mr. Grote (xi. 611) that this date is four years too early, the time would not even then correspond with the oration, which represents the seizure as a contemporary event. Diodorus also informs us that Artabazus and Memnon, after being at war with the king of Persia, had taken refuge with Philip, till they were prevailed upon by Mentor to return, their pardon having been first granted by Artaxerxes at his request. But neither of the two could be said to have been ἀνάσπαστος.

ἀλλὰ . . . διοικούντος] ‘but from the very man who has been his agent and his minister.’

καὶ λοιπὸν . . . πρέσβεσιν] ‘and there only remains for our ambassadors an observation which the king would very gladly hear.’

ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι] ‘being deserted or left in the lurch.’

ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος] ‘the barbarian forsooth.’ The writer points out the folly of rejecting an alliance with Persia from mere prejudice, and antiquated antipathy. Compare the similar advice of Aristodemus to the Lacedaemonians just before the Peloponnesian war: *ἀνεγίφθονον δὲ δοσι ὥσπερ*

- καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅταν τιν' ἴδω τὸν μὲν ἐν 10
 Σούσοις καὶ Ἐκβατάνοις δεδοικότα καὶ κακόνουν εἶναι
 39 τῇ πόλει φάσκοντα, ὃς καὶ πρότερον συνεπηνώρθωσε τὰ
 τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ νῦν ἐπηγγέλλετο (εἰ δὲ μὴ
 ἐδέχεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπειφηφίζεσθε, οὐ τὰ γε ἐκείνου αἷτια),
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐγγὺς οὕτως ἐν μέσῃ τῇ 15
 Ἑλλάδι αὐξανομένου ληστοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλο τι λέ-
 γοντα, θανμάζω, καὶ δέδοικα τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ ποτ',
 ἔγωγ', ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὗτος Φίλιππον.
 40 Ἔστι τοίνυν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄλλο, ὃ λυμαίνεται τὴν
 πόλιν ὑπὸ βλασφημίας ἀδίκου καὶ λόγων οὐ προσηκόντων 20
 διαβεβλημένον, εἴτα τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 βουλομένοις ποιεῖν πρόφασιν παρέχει καὶ πάντων, ὅσα
 ἐκλείπει, δέον παρὰ του γίνεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦθ' εὐρήσετε τὴν
 41 αἰτίαν ἀναφερομένην. περὶ οὗ πάνν μὲν φοβούμαι λέγειν,
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐρῶ οἶμαι γὰρ ἔξειν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόρων 25
 τὰ δίκαια ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς
 εὐπόρους καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκτημένων τὰς οὐσίας πρὸς τοὺς 141
 καταδεεῖς, εἰ ἀνέλοιμεν ἐκ μέσου καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἅς
 ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ποιοῦνται τινες οὐχὶ δικαίως, καὶ τὸν

καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, μὴ Ἑλληνας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι. Thucyd. i. 82. πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα] A common phrase in Demosthenes.

τὸν μὲν ἐν . . .] The king of Persia who resided at Susa (Shushan, or Shus) on the Choaspes in winter, and at Ecbatāna (Hamadan) in summer.

συνεπηνώρθωσε] 'helped to re-establish.' This was shortly after the Peloponnesian war, when the Persians under Pharnabazus assisted Conon, and enabled him to defeat the Lacedaemonians off Cnidus, B.C. 394. Xen. Hell. iv. 3. 11.

ἐπηγγέλλετο] 'was making overtures to us.' The province of Aegypt had revolted from the Persian king Artaxerxes Ochus, and defeated him on his attempting to reconquer it. Isocr. Orat. v. Philipp. §§ 117, 118. 160. Subsequently (and probably in B.C. 345) he made a second attempt to subdue it, in which, with the aid of troops from Argos and Thebes, he was completely successful.

It was on this occasion and for this purpose that he requested a body of troops from Athens, which, as here intimated, was not however granted to him. Diod. xvi. 47. Isocrat. Orat. xii. Panath. § 171.

ληστοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων] 'the plunderer of the Greeks.' Comp. Phil. iii. § 28: καθ' ἓνα οὕτως περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

δ . . . διαβεβλημένον] 'the attacking of which by unjust misrepresentation and undeserved assertions injures the state.'

πάντων, ὅσα ἐκλείπει] 'the blame of failure in every thing, which it is the obligation of any one to perform;' literally, 'the blame of all duties which are neglected when they ought to be performed by some one.'

ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι] 'to the interest of the state;' ἐπὶ with a dative expresses the conditions upon, or the object for which an arrangement is made.

ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ] See Introduction.

φόβον, ὥς οὐ στήσεται τοῦτο ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς κακοῦ·
οὐδὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πράγματα μεῖζον εἰσενεγκαίμεθα, οὐδ' 5
42 ὃ τι κοινῇ μᾶλλον ἂν ὅλην ἐπιρρώσειε τὴν πόλιν. οὕτως
δὲ σκοπεῖτε· ἐρῶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν χρεῖα δοκούντων εἶναι
πρότερον. ἦν ποτ' οὐ πάλαι παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅτ' οὐ προσήει
τῇ πόλει τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ οὐδεὶς 10
ἦν τῶν τριηραρχεῖν δυναμένων οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσφέρειν, ὅστις 10
οὐκ ἡξίου τὰ καθήκοντα ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν, ὅτι χρήματα
οὐ περιῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριήρεις ἔπλεον καὶ χρήματ' ἐγίγνετο
43 καὶ πάντ' ἐποιοῦμεν τὰ δέοντα. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ τύχη,
καλῶς ποιούσα, πολλὰ πεποίηκε τὰ κοινὰ, καὶ τετρακόσια
ἀντὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων προσέρχεται, οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν 15
ζημιουμένου τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαμ-
βανόντων* οἱ γὰρ εὐποροὶ πάντες ἔρχονται μεθέξοντες
44 τούτου, καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσιν. τί οὖν μαθόντες τοῦτο ὀνει-
δίζομεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ προφάσει χρώμεθα τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν
δεόντων ποιεῖν, πλην εἰ τῇ παρὰ τῆς τύχης βοηθείᾳ γεγο- 20
νυῖα τοῖς ἀπόροις φθονοῦμεν; οὓς οὐτ' ἂν αἰτιασαίμην
45 ἔγωγε οὐτ' ἀξιῶ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ὁρῶ
τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτω διακείμενον
οὐδ' οὕτως ἀγνώμονα οὐδ' ἄτοπον τῶν ὄντων οὐδένα ὥστε,
εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν ἅπαντες ὅς' ἂν αὐτὸς, οὐ φάσκοντα, 25
*ποιήσιν οὐδὲν οὐδ' αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς τῆς κακῆσεως

ὥς οὐ στήσεται τοῦτο] 'that this will not stop.' Schäfer considers this to be an extract from the Προίμια, xli. p. 1450. 3: οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ταῦτ' ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς (κακοῦ;) στήσεται.

οὐδὲν ἂν] 'than which we could contribute no greater benefit,' i. e. than the removal of such agitations and alarms about the Theoric or 'Church Fund,' as Mr. Grote calls it, because it was expended upon festivals and exhibitions closely connected with the established religion of Athens.

ἦν ποτ' οὐ πάλαι] 'there was a time with us not long ago.'

τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν] that is, of tribute from the allies.

χρήματ' ἐγίγνετο] 'revenues were raised.'

καλῶς ποιούσα] 'heaven be praised;' καὶ καλῶς ποιῶσιν (below), 'and they are

welcome to it.' Comp. Lucian, Dialog. Mort. x.: τὸν τρίβωνα δὲ οὐδ' ἐκόμισα, εὖ ποιῶν, i. e. luckily. See Note, p. 34.

προσλαμβανόντων] 'gaining by it.' ἔρχονται . . . τούτου] 'all come in for a share of this.' That is, of the surplus arising from the increased revenues, and all the advantages accruing therefrom, including the Theoric distribution.

τί οὖν μαθόντες:] 'for what reason then?'

οὓς οὐτ' ἂν] 'whom I should be sorry to blame myself, nor do I think it right for others to do so.'

οὕτως . . . ἄτοπον τῶν ὄντων] 'nor so unreasonable or inconsistent with his position.' With τῶν ὄντων understand ἀνθρώπων.

τοῖς . . . κακῶσεως . . . νόμοις] 'the laws for undutiful conduct.' κακῶσις, or ill usage, was a technical term in Attic law,

- εἴη νόμοις οὗτός γε ἔνοχος· δεῖ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τοῖς γονεῦσι 142
 τὸν ὠρισμένον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἔρανον, καὶ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως
 καὶ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου, δικαίως φέρειν καὶ ἐκόντα ὑποτελεῖν.
 46 ὥσπερ τοῖνυν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου τίς· ἐστὶ γονεὺς, οὕτω
 συμπάσης τῆς πόλεως κοινούς δεῖ γονέας· τοὺς σύμπαντας 5
 ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ προσήκει τούτους οὐχ ὅπως ὦν ἡ πόλις
 δίδωσιν ἀφελέσθαι τι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἦν τούτων, ἄλλο-
 θεν σκόπεῖν ὅπως μηδενὸς ὄντες ἐνδεεῖς περιοφθήσονται.
 47 τοὺς μὲν τοῖνυν εὐπόρους ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῇ γνώμῃ οὐ
 μόνον ἡγοῦμαι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λυσιτελεῖν· 10
 τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τινὰ ἀποστερεῖν κοινῇ κακόνους
 ἐστὶ ποιεῖν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς δ' ἐν
 ἐνδείᾳ, δι' ὃ δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ τὰς οὐσίας
 ἔχοντες καὶ κατηγοροῦσι δικαίως, τοῦτ' ἀφελεῖν ἂν συμ-
 48 βουλεύσαιμι. δίδειμι δὲ, ὥσπερ ἄρτι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον 15
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ κατοκνήσας εἰπεῖν τάλληθῃ.
 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄθλιος οὐδ' ὠμὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν
 γνώμην, οὐκ οὖν Ἀθηναίων γε, οἶμαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων,
 ὥστε λυπεῖσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνοντας ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους
 49 καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. ἀλλὰ ποῦ συντρίβεται 20

for neglect of duty on the part of one member of a family towards another, or of a guardian towards his ward. Such persons were liable to a *κακώσεως δίκη*, the jurisdiction over which was vested in the Archons.

ἔρανον] This word denotes the proportionate share or subscription to which any member of a company for pleasure or for business is liable, on account of its expenses. From this passage it would also seem that children were bound to contribute to the maintenance of their parents.

ὥσπερ τοῖνυν] "Totus hic locus, si quis alius hac in oratione prodit colore sophisticum." Schäfer. It certainly is not like the usual vein of Demosthenes, though it may be urged, that the consciousness of inconsistency with his previously expressed sentiments enfeebled his powers and lowered his style.

προσῆκει τούτους] 'so far from depriving them of any thing which the city offers, we ought to look out for means from other sources, that they may not be

left in destitution in any respect.' For the construction of *οὐχ ὅπως*, see note on c. Phil. ii. § 10, p. 134. An explanation corresponding in principle with what I have there given, is, I find, given by Mr. Shepherd on Thucyd. i. p. 54.

δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα] 'are discontented with the present system.'

ἐμοὶ γάρ] By way of justifying his advocacy of the wealthier citizens, the orator here affirms that none of them grudged their poorer neighbours the advantages which the latter derived from the Theoric distributions. He then goes on to observe, or rather leaves it to be inferred, that the rich were consequently entitled to better and more equitable treatment than they received at the hands of their fellow-citizens when acting as jury-men.

ποῦ συντρίβεται] 'but where is the rub, and where is the grievance felt?' Mr. Kennedy translates, 'where then is the pinch of the matter? where the difficulty?' with a note thus: "The expression 'Where is the rub?' would be still

τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ποῦ δυσχεραίνεται; ὅταν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια μεταβιβάζοντας ὁρῶσί τινας, καὶ μέγαν μὲν ὄντα παρ' ὑμῶν εὐθέως τὸν λέγοντα, ἀθάνατον δ' ἕνεκ' ἀσφαλείας, ἐτέραν δὲ τὴν κρύβδην ψῆφον τοῦ 50 φανερώς θορύβου. ταῦτ' ἀπιστίαν, ταῦτ' ὀργὴν ἔχει. δεῖ 25 γὰρ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως ἀλλήλοις τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους εἰς μὲν τὸν βίον τὸν ἑαυτῶν 143 ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν νομίζοντας καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων μὴ δεδοικότας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὰ ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰ μὲν κοινὰ κοινὰ νομίζοντας καὶ μετέχοντας τὸ μέρος, τὰ δ' ἐκάστου ἴδια 5 τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὕτω καὶ μικρὰ πόλις μεγάλη γίγνεται καὶ μεγάλη σώζεται. ὥς μὲν οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν, ἂ παρ' ἐκατέρων εἶναι δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἴσως ἐστίν· ὥς δὲ καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐννόμως, διορθώσασθαι δεῖ.

nearer to the original, and the expression reminds one of the line in Hamlet:—

'To sleep! perchance to dream! aye,
there's the rub.'

ὅταν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν] 'when they see certain persons transferring the practice which originated in the public revenues to the estates of individuals.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'When they see certain persons transferring the usage established for the public revenue to private property, and the orator becoming immediately powerful with you, and, so far as privilege can make him, immortal.' But the commentators differ much on the meaning of the passage, and my own opinion was for some time different from what it is now. The sense appears to be determined by the contrast between τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἔθος and τὰ ἴδια, the orator intending to assert that the custom of distributing the surplus revenues of the state, had by confiscation of the possessions of the rich been transferred to private property. If this be so, τὸν λέγοντα would be the proposer of such measures of confiscation, and ἀθάνατον δ' ἕνεκ' ἀσφαλείας would mean that the accusation of others was the best way of securing immunity for the accuser. Or we may take it to mean that any individual could act thus with perfect safety, and so far he was ἀθάνατος. But the general sense is by no means clear.

τὴν κρύβδην ψῆφον] The courts at Athens, it appears from this, had the double gratification of openly applauding what was right, and secretly voting for what was wrong. But we need not suppose that in the previous clause the writer refers to the courts alone. On the contrary, he seems there to be alluding to the ἐκκλησία.

δικαίως . . . κοινωνεῖν] 'we ought to have a just communion of civil rights one with another.'

εἰς μὲν τὸν βίον] 'holding themselves secure with regard to their fortunes.' Instead of ὑπὲρ τούτων we might have expected ὑπὲρ τούτου, but the plural refers to what is understood rather than to what is expressed.

ὥς μὲν οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν] 'to speak generally then.'

ὥς δὲ καὶ . . . δεῖ] 'and that they also should be performed according to law, you should make some regulations.' It cannot be denied that the analogies and reasonings by which this conclusion is arrived at are not very striking or forcible, and that there is a tameness and hesitation of style in this part of the oration which is not at all like the vigour and earnestness of Demosthenes. But this alone does not prove that the speech was the work of another writer. For if Demosthenes were the author he did not speak from conviction, but simply as expediency or com-

- 51 Τῶν δὲ παρόντων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς πολλὰ 10
 πόρρωθέν ἐστι τὰ αἷτια· ἃ εἰ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν ἀκούειν
 ἐστίν, ἐθέλω λέγειν. ἐξέστητε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς
 ὑποθέσεως ἐφ' ἧς ὑμᾶς οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, καὶ τὸ μὲν
 προῖστασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν
 ἔχοντας πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν περίεργον ἐπέισ- 15
 θητε εἶναι καὶ μάταιον ἀνάλωμα ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα πόλιτευο-
 μένων, τὸ δ' ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διάγειν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων
 πράττειν, ἀλλὰ προἰεμένους καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον πάντα ἐτέρους
 ἑᾶσαι λαβεῖν, θαυμαστὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφά-
 52 λειαν ἔχειν οἴεσθε. ἐκ δὲ τούτων παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν τάξιν 20
 ἐφ' ἧς ὑμῖν τετάχθαι προσῆκεν ἕτερος, οὗτος εὐδαίμων καὶ
 μέγας καὶ πολλῶν κύριος γέγονεν, εἰκότως· πρᾶγμα γὰρ
 ἔντιμον καὶ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν, καὶ περὶ οὗ πάντα τὸν
 χρόνον αἱ μέγισται τῶν πόλεων πρὸς αὐτὰς διεφέροντο,
 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἡτυχηκότων, Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων διὰ 25
 τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον γενομένων, ἡμῶν δ' ἀμελούντων
 53 ἔρημον ἀνείλετο. τοιγάρτοι τὸ μὲν φοβεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, 144
 τὸ δὲ συμμάχους πολλοὺς ἔχειν καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην
 ἐκείνῳ περιγέγονε, καὶ τοσαῦτα πράγματα καὶ τοιαῦτα
 ἤδη περιέστηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας, ὥστε μηδ' ὅ τι
 χρὴ συμβουλεύειν εὖ πορον εἶναι.
 54 Οὕτων δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν παρόντων πραγ-
 μάτων πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, φοβερῶν οὐδένες ἐν μείζονι
 κινδύνῳ τῶν πάντων εἰσὶν ὑμῶν, οὐ μόνον τῷ μάλιστα
 ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύει Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πάντων ἀργότατα
 55 αὐτοὶ διακείσθ'· εἰ τοίνυν τὸ τῶν ὀνίων πλῆθος ὀρώντες 10
 καὶ τὴν εὐετηρίαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν, τούτοις κεκήλησθε

pulsion dictated, and therefore it was natural for him to speak with irresolution, while the consciousness that he had formerly advocated a different policy, and was consequently open to the charge of inconsistency, would certainly make him cautious and anxious in his address to an Athenian audience.

ἐξέστητε τῆς ὑποθέσεως] 'you have abandoned the position.'

ὅπρὸ τῶν ταῦτα πολιτευομένων] 'by politicians with those views.'

ἔχειν οἴεσθε] 'you imagine to bring with it.' Compare Thucyd. i. c. 9: τὴν ἐπανυμίαν . . . σχεῖν, 'gave occasion to the name of the country.'

παρελθὼν] Comp. note on παρήλθον, p. 7.

Λακεδαιμονίων] At Leuctra, B.C. 371, and from its consequences in Peloponnesus.

εὐετηρίαν] See note on § 77, p. 253.

τούτοις κεκήλησθε] 'you are beguiled by these things into the belief that.'

ὥς ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης, οὔτε προσηκόντως οὔτ' ὀρθῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνετε· ἀγορὰν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ πανήγυριν ἐκ τούτων ἢ φαύλως ἢ καλῶς κατεσκευασθαι κρίνου· πόλιν δ' ἣν ὑπέληφεν, ὅς ἂν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν 15 αἰὲς βούληται, μόνην ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναι καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας προστῆναι, οὐ μὰ Δί' ἐκ τῶν ὀνίων, εἰ καλῶς ἔχει, δοκιμάζειν δεῖ, ἀλλ' εἰ σύμμάχων εὐνοία πιστεύει καὶ 56 τοῖς ὅπλοις ἰσχύει ταυτ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως δεῖ σκοπεῖν· ἃ σφαλερῶς ὑμῖν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἅπαντα καλῶς ἔχει, γινούητε 20 δ' ἂν, εἰ σκέψαισθε ἐκείνως. πότε μάλιστα ἐν ταραχῇ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονε πράγματα; οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον 57 ἄλλον ἢ τὸν νυνὶ παρόντα οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ἅπαντα εἰς δύο ταῦτα διήρητο τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἡμᾶς, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν 25 ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' ἐκείνοις ὑπήκουον, βασιλεὺς δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἄπιστος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ κρατουμένους τῷ 145 πολέμῳ· προσλαμβάνων, ἄχρι οὗ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐξ ἴσου ποιῆσαι, διεπιστεύετο, ἔπειτ' οὐχ ἦττον αὐτὸν ἐμίσουν οὕς 58 σώσειε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν βασιλεὺς ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οἰκείως ἔχει, καὶ 5 πάντων ἥκιστα δὴ ἡμῖν, ἂν τι μὴ νῦν ἐπανορθωσώμεθα· ἔπειτα προστασίαι πολλαὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν γίνονται, καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἀντιποιοῦνται μὲν πάντες, ἀφεστᾶσι δ' ἔνιοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς, οὐχ ὥς ἔδει, καὶ γεγόνασι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Λακε- 10 59 δαιμόνιοι, Κορίνθιοι, Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη καὶ τοσαύτας δυναστείας διηρημένων τῶν

ἃ σφαλερῶς] 'which with you are in a critical position, and by no means right in any case.'

βασιλεὺς δέ] 'but the king of Persia so far as concerned himself.'

οὕς σώσειε] Compare πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστολήν, § 7: ὅποτέροις προσθεῖτο τούτους ἐπολεῖ κρατεῖν τῶν ἑτέρων.

καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα] 'but least of all with us, unless we should now do something towards putting matters right.' Καὶ is here used by way of contrast, rather than as a simple conjunction.

προστασίαι . . . γίνονται] 'many protectorates and on every side are spring-

ing up.'

ἀφεστᾶσι δ'] 'Nisi fallor est, sejuncterunt se a ceterorum societate: ut sit idem quod γεγόνασι καθ' αὐτούς. v. 11.' Schäfer. 'Though some indeed have abandoned the cause.' C. R. K. Better perhaps, and more simply, 'while some stand aloof.'

ἑαυτοῖς] for ἀλλήλοις. Not a rare substitution in Demosthenes.

οὐχ ὥς ἔδει] 'more shame for them, and each state has become isolated.'

εἰς τοσαῦτα . . . πραγμάτων] 'though the states of Greece are divided into so many parties and so many leaderships.'

Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων, εἰ δέϊ τάληθῇ μετὰ παρρησίας
 εἰπεῖν, τὰ παρ' οὐδέσι τούτων ἀρχεῖα καὶ βουλευτήρια
 ἐρημότερ' ἂν τις ἴδοι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἢ τὰ 15
 παρ' ἡμῶν εἰκότως· οὔτε γὰρ φιλῶν οὔτε πιστευῶν οὔτε
 60 φοβούμενος οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν διαλέγεται. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων
 οὐχ ἓν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (ῥάδιον γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὑμῖν μετα-
 θείναι) ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐκ παντὸς ἡμαρτημένα
 τοῦ χρόνου, ὧν τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐάσας ἓν, εἰς ὃ πάντα 20
 συντείνει, λέξω, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ἂν λέγω τάληθῇ μετὰ
 61 παρρησίας, μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆναί μοι. πέπραται τὰ συμ-
 φέροντα ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν καιρῶν, καὶ μετειλήφατε ὑμεῖς
 μὲν τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὑφ' ὧν κεκληλημένοι τοῖς
 ἀδικοῦσιν οὐ πικρῶς ἔχετε, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν. 25
 καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τάλλα οὐκ ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι νῦν· ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς τις 146
 λέγει ὡς οὐ δεῖ ληρεῖν οὐδὲ γράφειν πόλεμον, παραθεὶς
 εὐθέως ἐξῆς τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν
 μεγάλην δύναμιν ὡς χαλεπὸν, καὶ “διαρπάζειν τινὲς τὰ
 χρήματα βούλονται,” καὶ ἄλλους λόγους ὡς οἴονται ἀλη- 5
 62 θεστάτους λέγουσιν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ δήπου τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην
 ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς πείθειν, οἱ πεπεισμένοι κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν
 τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα· ἂν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος πεισθῇ, τά γε
 ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει νομίζειν δ' εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσα ἂν
 εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἃ πεισόμεθ', ἂν μὴ ταῦτ' 10
 ἐθέλωμεν ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸ “διαρπασθήσεται τὰ χρήματα”
 τῷ φυλακῇ εὐρεῖν δι' ἧς σωθήσεται κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ
 63 συμφέροντος ἀποστῆναι. καίτοι ἔγωγε ἀγανακτῶ καὶ
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, εἰ τὰ μὲν-χρήματα λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρ-

τὰ παρ' οὐδέσι] This is the reading of the Codex S, οὐδενί that of other MSS. But as Schäfer observes, the plural is right: “loquitur enim orator, non de singulis Graecis sed de singulis Graecorum civitatibus.” Translate, ‘There is no state in which one could find the magisterial offices and the halls of council less occupied with the affairs of Greece than ours are.’

τὰς τιμὰς] ‘the rewards from Philip.’ 145, 29—150, 5.] “Omnia paucis hic ibi mutatis e Chers. p. 102, 23—106, 20.”

Dobree. See pp. 191—196.

παραθεὶς εὐθέως ἐξῆς] ‘immediately afterwards adding.’

ὡς οἴονται ἀληθεστάτους λέγουσιν] ‘most true as they fancy indeed.’ Some MSS. read ὡς οἶόν τε, but, as Mr. Kennedy observes, there is no difficulty in the text if we understand it ironically.

ἀλλὰ δεῖ δήπου] ‘but assuredly you are not the persons to be persuaded to keep the peace, you who sit here already persuaded so to do.’

πασθήσεται, ἃ καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀρπάζον- 15
 τας ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἐστι, τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς οὕτως
 Φίλιππος ἀρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ ταύτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀρπάζων.
 64 τί ποτ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερώς
 ἀδικοῦντα καὶ πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε
 τοῦτον εἶπεν ὡς ἀδικεῖ καὶ πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπι- 20
 τρέπειν μηδὲ προῖεσθαι ταῦτα συμβουλευόντας, τούτους
 65 πόλεμον ποιεῖν φασίν; ὅτι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
 συμβησομένων δυσχερῶν (ἀνάγκη γὰρ, ἀνάγκη πολλὰ
 λυπηρὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γίνεσθαι) τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ
 βέλτιστα λέγειν οἰομένοις ἅπαντες ἀναθεῖναι βούλονται. 25
 ἡγοῦνται γὰρ, ἂν μὲν ὑμεῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης 147
 Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, κἀκείνου κρατήσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτοῖς
 66 οὐκέτ' ἔσσεσθαι μισθαρνεῖν, ἂν δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων θορύβων
 αἰτιασάμενοί τινες πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τράπησθε, αὐτοὶ μὲν
 τούτων κατηγοροῦντες ἀμφότερ' ἕξιν, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν εὐδο- 5
 κιμήσιν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου χρήματα λήψεσθαι, ὑμᾶς δ'
 ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ παρὰ τούτων δίκην λαβεῖν, παρὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ
 67 ὑμῶν εἰρηκότων λήψεσθαι. αἱ μὲν ἐλπίδες αἱ τούτων
 αὐταί, καὶ τὸ κατασκευάσμα τὸ τῶν αἰτιῶν, ὡς ἄρα βού-
 λονται τινες πόλεμον ποιῆσαι. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα ἀκριβῶς ὅτι 10
 οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενὸς πόλεμον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ
 Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε
 βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι
 πολεμεῖν ἡμῶν ἐκείνον, ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἂν εἴη, εἰ τοῦτ'
 ἐξελέγχοι· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἀδικούμενοι ἀρνῶνται, τί τῷ ἀδι- 15
 68 κούντι προσήκει; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἦ, τί
 φήσομεν τότε; ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ

ἐφεξῆς οὕτως['one people after another as he does.' See note on c. Phil. iii. § 54, p. 219.

μηδὲ προῖεσθαι ταῦτα] 'not to submit to it, nor to abandon these places.'

πόλεμον ποιεῖν] Dindorf from the Codex S reads πολεμοποιεῖν, and πολεμοποιεῖ above.

ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων θορύβων] 'on the first outcry,' or 'on the first alarms' occasioned by any ill success.

ὑμᾶς δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ] 'while you will

take satisfaction from those who speak as your friends, for things for which you should take it from them.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'you will punish your friendly advisers for a cause for which you ought to punish the traitors.'

τὸ κατασκευάσμα] 'such is the contrivance,' or 'the getting up of the accusations.'

ὅταν γάρ] 'for when the parties aggrieved deny it, what should the offender do?'

᾽Ωρείταις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον, πρὶν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβαλεῖν αὐτῶν, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα 20 παρῆν ἔχων. ἡ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον δουλεύειν οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν ἐνι.

- 69 Καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ὑμῖν τε καὶ τισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἔσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν 25 πόλιν βούλεται Φίλιππος ὑμῶν, οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν. οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὐτ' ἐθέλησετε οὐτ', ἂν 148 ἐθέλητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε), πράγματα δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων δυνήσεσθε. διὰ ταῦτα ὑμῶν οὐχὶ φείσεται, 70 εἴπερ ἐγκρατὴς γενήσεται. ὥς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐσομέ- 5 νου τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὕτω προσήκει γινώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ φανερώς μισεῖν καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητε ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτοις ὥσπερ προβόλοις προσπταίνοντας ὑστερί- 10 71 ζειν ἐκείνων. πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὖ ποιοῦντ', εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἤδη; οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δοὺς ὑπηγάγετο εἰς τὴν νῦν 72 παρούσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναίτο οὐδεὶς ὅσα 15 τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ὀλυνθίους, πρότερον δοὺς Ποτίδαιαν, ἐξηπάτησε, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγεται τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδοὺς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ ὥστε καρπωσάμενοί τινα ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν ἂ δὲ πάντες 20 73 ἴσασιν, οἱ δ' ὅ τι ἂν ποτε συμβῇ πείσονται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὦν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε, σιωπῶν ἄλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι πόσα ἐξηπάτησθε, πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε. οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, Δορίσκον, Σέρ-

προβόλοις] See note on De Chers. p. 194. Lord Brougham translates thus: 'against whom if you are driven as upon rocks standing in your course, you must inevitably be too late to cope with the others.'

74 ρειον, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν ; οὐ νῦν Καρδίαν ἔχει καὶ 25
 ὁμολογεῖ ; τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ὑμῖν οὐ τὸν 149
 αὐτὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται ; ὅτι ἐν μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πό-
 λεων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἄδεια ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται,
 καὶ λαβόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν *ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ'
 75 ὑμῖν, κἂν ἀφηρημένοι τὰ ὑμέτερα. αὐτῶν ἦτε. οὐκ ἦν 5
 ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εὐ πεπον-
 θότων τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ Ποτίδαιαν καρποῦσθαι
 οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εὐ
 πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς τυράν-
 νους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι 10
 οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ
 76 τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν οὐ μόνον Ἀμφί-
 πολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιανῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν Εὐβοίαν
 καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντος, ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν 15
 ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. καὶ γάρ τοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι
 ταχὺ πλούσιοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων
 ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων
 77 ἀδοξοὶ, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἄποροι. πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγέ πλούτον
 ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους, πίστιν, εὐνοίαν, ὧν πάντων ὑμεῖς 20
 ἐστὲ ἄποροι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων ὀλιγώρως ὑμᾶς ἔχειν καὶ
 ἔαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ πράγματα φέρεσθαι ὁ μὲν εὐδαί-
 μων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις,
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἔρημοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ, τῇ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν
 εὐετηρία λαμπροὶ, τῇ δ' ὧν προσήκε παρασκευῇ καταγέ- 25
 78 λαστοι. οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περὶ τε ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ 150
 αὐτῶν ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βανλευομένους· ὑμᾶς μὲν
 γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν φασὶ δεῖν, κἂν τις ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ
 δ' οὐ δύνανται παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς
 79 ἀδικοῦντος. καίτοι λειδορίας χωρὶς, εἰ τις ἔροιτο “εἰπέ 5

μὴ σὺν εὐ πεπονθότων] See note on De Chers. § 67, p. 197.

καὶ ἔαν . . . φέρεσθαι] ‘and allowing your interests to drift’ or ‘go to ruin in this way.’ The phrase τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον is not found in the corresponding passage

of the De Chersoneso, § 70, p. 196.

τῇ μὲν . . . εὐετηρία] ‘in the abundance of commodities in your market.’ A variation of τῇ μὲν τῶν ὀνίων ἀφθονία, De Chers. § 70.

ἀδικοῦντος] The passage ending with

μοι, τί δὴ γινώσκων ἀκριβῶς, Ἀριστόδημε, (οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀγνοεῖ) τὸν μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίον ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ὄντα, τὸν δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων φιλαίτιον καὶ σφαλερὸν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀγώνων καὶ κακῶν μεστὸν, οὐ τὸν ἡσύχιον καὶ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλὰ 10
80 τὸν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις αἰρεῖ;" τί ἂν εἴποι τις; εἰ γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστον εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχους, τοῦτό σοι δοίημεν ἀληθὲς λέγειν, ὥς ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ δόξης ταῦτα πάντα ποιεῖς, θαυμάζω τί δήποτε σαυτῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἅπαντ' ἀποιητέον εἶναι νομίζεις καὶ ποιητέον καὶ κινδυνευτέον, τῇ πόλει δὲ 15
81 προέσθαι ταῦτα μετὰ ῥαθυμίας συμβουλευέεις. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ γ' ἂν εἴποις, ὥς σὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖ τινα φαίνεσθαι, τὴν πόλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μηδενὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ γε ὀρώ; ὥς τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀσφαλὲς τὸ

this word, and commencing at p. 145, 29, is found, with some little variation, in the *De Chers.* (p. 102, 23—106, 20). See pp. 191—196.

καίτοι λοιδορίας] See note at the end of the Oration.

Ἀριστόδημε] This Aristodemus was a tragic actor, who frequently visited the court of Philip and advanced his interests at Athens. When the Athenians were anxious to procure the release of their citizens captured by Philip at Olynthus, they employed Aristodemus for that purpose, and he executed his mission with success. On his return, he reported that Philip was not only well-disposed towards Athens, but anxious for peace and alliance with her. It may be fairly assumed that he did so by Philip's desire, and in reality he was the originator and promoter of the peace which followed. Aesch. *F. L.* §§ 15—17. Grote xi. 518. Westermann (iii. 148) considers this personal appeal to Aristodemus a proof of the spuriousness of the oration, on the ground that it would have contravened a law quoted by Aeschines c. Timar. § 36, to this effect: τῶν ῥητόρων ἐάν τις λοιδορῇται ἢ κακῶς ἀγορεύῃ τινα, ἢ ὑποκροῇ . . . κυριεύεωσαν οἱ πρόεδροι μέχρι πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀδίκημα ἐπιγράφειν τοῖς πράκτορσιν. But the orator expressly evades the law (λοιδορίας χωρὶς, i. e. invective apart), and a violation of it would surely prove nothing as regards the author of the speech. De-

mosthenes might have ventured upon a trivial illegality. As for the σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦν κλέπτῃς ὁ πατήρ, it is certainly very strong abuse, but not more violent than we find in the *De Corona*.

φιλαίτιον] 'exposed to accusations.' Reiske and Schäfer take the word in a passive sense, and it seems not to admit of any other here.

ἀγώνων καὶ κακῶν] 'trials and troubles.'

ἀπράγμονα] Lord B., in the *Edinb. Rev.* (xxxvi. 59), observes: "In the beautiful description of private and public life in the peroration of the Fourth Philippic; ἀπράγμονα is used twice. And this is supposed to be so, rather because Demosthenes had not given the last polish to this part, than because he deliberately approves such repetitions." But the *Codex S* (followed by Dindorf) omits ἀπράγμονα, a fact which with others suggests the conclusion that its copyist occasionally gave a 'last polish' instead of Demosthenes.

εἰ γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστος] 'for if we were to allow that you said with truth the best thing that you could say;' or, as the late Mr. Justice Williams (*Edinb. Review* xxxvi. 507), 'if you gave the best answer, and we were willing to admit its truth.'

προέσθαι . . . ῥαθυμίας] 'to be inactive and abandon these things.'

ὥς τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀσφαλές] 'that it is safe for the city simply to mind its own affairs, and dangerous for you, if you are not to be superlatively a busy-body.'

- τὰ αὐτῆς πράττειν, σοὶ δὲ κίνδυνος, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων 20
 πλέον περιεργάσει, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον σοὶ μὲν ἐξ ὧν ἐργάζει
 καὶ περιεργάζει τοὺς ἐσχάτους ὄντας κινδύνους, τῇ πόλει
 82 δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας. ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία παππῶα σοι καὶ πατρῶα
 δόξα ὑπάρχει, ἣν αἰσχροὺς ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ καταλῦσαι τῇ
 πόλει δ' ὑπῆρξεν ἀνώνυμα καὶ φαῦλα τὰ τῶν προγόνων. 25
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦν κλέπτῃς ὁ 151
 πατήρ, εἴπερ ἦν ὁμοῖος σοὶ, τῇ πόλει δ' ἡμῶν ὡς πάντες
 ἴσασιν, οἱ Ἕλληνες δις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὑπὸ
 83 τῶν προγόνων σεσωσμένοι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ
 πολιτικῶς ἔνιοι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν 5
 πολιτεύονται πῶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἴσον τούτων μὲν τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ
 δεσποτηρίου ἤκοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν, τὴν πόλιν δ' ἣ
 προειστήκει τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τέως καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον
 εἶχε, νῦν ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ ταπεινότητι καθεστάναι ;
 84 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἔχων ἔτι καὶ περὶ πολλῶν εἰπεῖν παύσομαι 10
 καὶ γὰρ οὐ λόγων ἐνδεία μοι δοκεῖ τὰ πράγματα οὔτε νῦν
 οὔτ' ἄλλοτε πῶποτε φαῦλως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὅταν πάντ' ἀκού-

τῶν ἄλλων πλέον is, 'more than any one else.'

ἐξ ὧν ἐργάζει] 'from your meddling and over-meddling.' C. R. K.

ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία] 'but forsooth.'

τὰ τῶν προγόνων] 'the ancestry.'

σοὶ μὲν γὰρ . . . ὁμοῖος σοὶ] The grammarian Hermogenes (p. 194) quotes this clause as an instance of a κύκλος, i. e. of a sentence beginning and ending with the same word in the same case.

τῇ πόλει δ' ἡμῶν] Grammatical precision is here somewhat sacrificed to symmetry of arrangement. With σοὶ μὲν γὰρ corresponds τῇ πόλει δ' ἡμῶν, with which οἱ πρόγονοι might have been connected, as δ πατήρ is with σοὶ μὲν. But the orator wished to add that by these πρόγονοι the Greeks had twice been saved; and having commenced the sentence as he did, he could not well conclude it otherwise than as in the text. Translate, then, 'Whereas, in the case of our commonwealth, the Greeks have twice been saved by its ancestors.' Mr. Kennedy translates, 'Whereas by the ancestors of the commonwealth the Greeks have twice been rescued from the brink of destruction.'

For ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν, Dindorf, following Schäfer, reads ὧν, but incorrectly, as it seems to me.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἴσως] 'but truly, some persons do not in civil life behave, as regards themselves and the state, either equitably or constitutionally.' Mr. Long thus: 'not in the same way nor as becomes citizens.'

ταπεινότητι καθεστάναι:] The passage relating to Aristodemus, and ending here, is translated in the Edinburgh Review for 1821 (xxxvi. 507); and the translation, attributed to the late Mr. Justice Williams, deserves the attention of students. I have therefore given it at the end of the oration.

ἀλλ' ὅταν] 'but whenever you, after hearing what measures are requisite, and having agreed that they are correctly explained.' Schäfer observes "usus est enuntiatione χρονικῇ (ὅταν) cum exspectes αἰτιολογικὴν, (ὅτι) qualis haec feret: ἀλλὰ τῷ πάντ' ἀκούσαντας ὑμᾶς—καθῆσθαι ἀκροαμένους.* But," as he adds, "we may understand τοῦτω before ὅταν."

σαντες ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ὁμογνώμονες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται
 γενόμενοι, τῶν λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διαστρέφειν ταῦτα βουλο-
 85 μένων ἐξ ἴσου κήθησθε ἀκροώμενοι, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτούς 15
 (ἴστε γὰρ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀκριβῶς τίς μισθοῦ λέγει καὶ ὑπὲρ
 Φιλίππου πολιτεύεται, καὶ τίς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν βελτίσ-
 των), ἀλλ' ἢ αἰτιασάμενοι τούτους καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς
 γέλωτα καὶ λουδορίαν ἐμβαλόντες μηδὲν αὐτοὶ τῶν δεόντων
 86 ποιῆτε. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τάληθῇ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας, ἀπλῶς 20
 εὐνοία, τὰ βέλτιστα εἰρημένα, οὐ κολακείας καὶ βλάβης
 καὶ ἀπάτης λόγος μεστός, ἀργύριον μὲν τῷ λέγοντι ποιή-
 σων, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγχειριῶν.
 ἢ οὖν παυστέον τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν, ἢ μηδένα ἄλλον αἰτιατέον
 τοῦ πάντα φάύλως ἔχειν ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. 25

ἢν αἰτιασάμενοι . . . γέλωτα] 'that by throwing the blame on them, and turning the thing into laughter and invective.'

ταῦτ' ἐστὶ . . . εἰρημένα] 'this is the truth with all plainness of speech, in simple good will, spoken for the best.' This clause and the rest of the sentence some critics (Westermann, p. 148) have, and not without reason, thought unworthy of Demosthenes, and, indeed, it is not probable that he ever wrote it. Nevertheless, it is just such a sentence as even a good speaker might have thrown off *extempore*, and, therefore, from it alone I do not think any inference can be drawn with regard to the authorship. But on the Oration as a whole Mr. Long expresses this opinion: "This speech is a poor affair, and a piece of patchwork, for the Orations of Demosthenes were used. It is to Demosthenes what Cicero's spurious orations are to the genuine. The parallel is complete; and I maintain that Demosthenes could not have written it as it stands."

A translation by the late Mr. Justice Williams of the passage referring to Aristodemus, *καίτοι λουδορίας χάρις* . . . *ταπεινότητι καθεστάναι*, §§ 79—83: .

"Suppose now, Aristodemus, (invective apart,) you were asked how it comes to pass, that, though well aware of, what indeed every one knows, the calm and the ease and security of a private station, and the anxiety and slipperiness, the daily vexations and perils which chequer public life, you yet should prefer a stormy existence to quiet and repose, what could you say? If you gave the best answer, and we were

willing to admit its truth, that your motive is the love of honour and renown, I should still marvel how a man, disposed for this gratification to encounter every toil and suffering and hazard, can counsel *his country* to sacrifice all such considerations for the love of ease. For, surely, you cannot pretend that *you* have some dignity to support in Athens, but that *Athens* has none to maintain among the states of Greece. Nor do I precisely see how the safety of the state should depend upon attending only to its own concerns, if your chief peril lies in not meddling, more than any body else, with business not your own. On the contrary, you and the state are in jeopardy,—you from doing and over-doing, she from inaction. But then it seems (God help us!) that it would be a shame, if the glories which you derive from your father and ancestors should be tarnished in your person! But that the country has inherited from its forefathers only mean and nameless renown. Not so: your father was a ruffian, if he resembled you. Our ancestors, as all the states of Greece well know, twice saved them from the most prodigious dangers. But, in truth, some men mete out a very different measure, both of justice and prudence, to themselves and to the state. For what fairness is there in men, who have just escaped from prison, wholly forgetting their place, while the nation, which was wont to fill the first rank amongst the Grecian states, and sway their destinies, is now to be sunk in absolute ingloriousness and insignificance?"

ANSWER TO THE LETTER OF PHILIP.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS speech purports to have been delivered in reply to a letter which Philip addressed to the Athenians, in B.C. 340, complaining of their conduct towards himself, and openly declaring war against them. The speech does not profess to answer any of the statements or arguments of the letter, but rather assuming the declaration of war as an admitted fact, it exhorts the Athenians to vigorous action, and by way of encouragement urges that the power of Philip is not really formidable, and moreover that they might rely on the co-operation of the king of Persia. Internal evidence (§ 5) proves that if ever delivered at all, it must have been so in the beginning of B.C. 339, after the siege of Perinthus had been commenced by Philip, and the Persians had relieved it, but before the subsequent siege of Byzantium had been raised by him (Diod. xvi. 77). But that this oration was composed and delivered by Demosthenes is improbable, and many critics have pronounced it decidedly spurious, on the ground that it is in a great measure made up of extracts from the Olynthiacs and Philippics, or other orations.

Mr. Grote (xi. 631) has this observation upon it,—“The oration of Demosthenes, which is said to be delivered in reply to this letter of Philip (Orat. xi.) is, in my judgment, wrongly described. Not only it has no peculiar bearing on the points contained in the letter, but it must also be two or three months later in date, since it mentions the aid sent by the Persian satraps to Perinthus, and the raising of the siege of that city by Philip (p. 153).”

Dionysius Halic. (ad Amm. I. pp. 738 and 741) describes it as the last of the Philippics (*ἔστιν αὕτη τελευταία τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημογοριῶν, ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ταύτην*—“Οτι μὲν—φανερὸν γέγονεν”), and as delivered during the archonship of Theophrastus, in which year (B.C. 340)

the Athenians were induced, on the motion of Demosthenes, to rescind the peace of B.C. 346. (*Δημοσθένους παρακαλέσαντος αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ψηφίσματα γράψαντος ἐχειροτόνησαν* (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) *τὴν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν*.) The authority for this latter statement is Philochorus, in Book vi. of his *Atthis*. It may be observed, that there is nothing in the diction of this composition, except perhaps the word *σκορακίζονται* (§ 13), to prove it was not the work of Demosthenes; but there is little of his fire and energy in it, and much less than we should have expected under the supposed circumstances of its delivery.

XI.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

152

B.C. 339.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέπομφεν ἐπιστολὴν, κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεμον προκηρύττων ἀντικρὺς. οὐκέτι οὖν ὁ ῥήτωρ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολεμεῖν (ἀνάγκη γάρ), ἀλλὰ θαρσύνει πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, εὐκαθαίρετον λέγων τὸν Μακεδόνα.

Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππος οὐκ ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀνεβάλετο τὸν πόλεμον, πᾶσιν ὑμῖν φανερόν γέγονεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Φαρσαλίοις Ἄλουν παρέδωκε καὶ τὰ περὶ Φωκέας διωκῆσατο καὶ τὴν Θράκην κατεστρέψατο πᾶσαν, αἰτίας οὐκ οὔσας πλασά- 5
μενος καὶ προφάσεις ἀδίκους ἐξευρὼν τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάλαι πολεμεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ νῦν ὁμολογεῖ διὰ τῆς
2 ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔπεμψεν· ὅτι δὲ χρὴ μῆτε ὀρρωδεῖν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν μῆτε ἀγεννῶς ἀντιταχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ 10
πᾶσιν ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀφειδῶς ὀρμήσαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον,

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Φαρσαλίοις] 'for since he gave up Halus to the Pharsalians,' ἐπειδὴ being synonymous with ἐξ οὗ. This Halus or Alus was a town of Thessaly, on the Pagasaeon Gulf, which Parmenio, Philip's general, was besieging when the Athenian envoys in B.C. 347 were proceeding on their first embassy to him. It was Philip's wish that this city should be

specially excluded from the peace of B.C. 346, but the Athenians refused to submit to this proposal. However, it appears that either before or after the peace he captured the city, and subsequently gave it up to the Pharsalians. F. L. §§ 176 and 180.

μῆτε ἀγεννῶς ἀντιταχθῆναι] 'nor to oppose him without spirit.'

3 ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διδάσκειν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰκὸς, ὥ 153
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς μεγίστους ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν
 συμμάχους καὶ βοηθοὺς, ὧν ἐκείνος τὰς πίστεις ὑπεριδὼν
 καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ὑπερβὰς λέλυκεν ἀδίκως τὴν εἰρήνην·
 ἔπειθ' οἷς πρότερον ἠϋξήθη, φενακίζων αἰετίναν καὶ με- 5
 4 γάλα ἐπαγγελλόμενος εὐεργετήσῃν, ταῦτα πάντα διεξέλη-
 λυθεν ἤδη, καὶ γινώσκεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Περυνθίων καὶ
 Βυζαντίων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις, συμμαχοῦντων ὡς ἐπιθυμῇ
 προσενεχθῆναι τούτοις τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ Ὀλυνθίοις
 πρότερον, οὐκ ἄγνοεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν δεσπόζειν, ἀλλ' 10
 5 οὐχ ἡγείσθαι τῶν συμμάχων προαιρούμενος, ὑποπτεύεται
 δὲ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, Νίκαιαν μὲν φρουρᾷ κατέχων, εἰς δὲ τὴν
 ἀμφικτυορίαν εἰσδεδυκὼς, τὰς δὲ πρεσβείας τὰς ἐκ Πελο-
 ποννήσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν
 παραιρούμενος· ὥστε τῶν αὐτῶ πρὸ τοῦ φίλων ὄντων τοὺς 15
 μὲν νῦν πολεμεῖν ἀκαταλλάκτως, τοὺς δὲ μηκέτι προθύμους
 εἶναι συναγωνιστὰς, ἅπαντας δὲ ὑφορᾶσθαι καὶ διαβε-
 6 βλῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἔτι τοῖνυν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστι
 μικρόν) οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν σατράπαι καθεστῶτες ἑναγχοῦ
 μὲν ξένους μισθοφόρους εἰσπέμψαντες ἐκώλυσαν ἐκπολιορ- 20
 κηθῆναι Πέρηνθον, νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἑχθρας αὐτοῖς ἐνεστῶσης

ὧν ἐκεῖνος] 'when he, disregarding the pledges given to them, and violating the oaths sworn before them.'

οἷς πρότερον ἠϋξήθη] In Olynth. ii. § 5, p. 37.

ὑπὸ τῶν Περυνθίων] This answer then, if ever made, was probably delivered during the siege of Perinthus, and before Byzantium was attacked by Philip, towards the close of B.C. 340.

Νίκαιαν] Near to Thermopylae.
 τὰς δὲ πρεσβείας] 'and drawing to himself the embassies from Peloponnesus, and depriving them of their confederates.' The Messenians and Argives had formerly, and since the time of Epaminondas, been allied with Thebes against Sparta. Philip tried to detach them from Thebes, and make them dependent allies of himself.

ὑφορᾶσθαι καὶ διαβεβλήσθαι] 'are suspicious and distrustful of him.' So ὑφορώμενος τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου δύναμιν, Diod. Sic. xvi. 75, and διαβεβλήσθαι τινα, 'to be ill disposed to any one,' in οὐδὲν οὖν

ἔτι ἀπολείπεται ὅτῳ ἂν μοι δικαίως διαβεβλήσθαι. Andoc. de suo Reditu, § 24.

οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν] The satraps of Asia Minor, and especially the satrap of Dascylium, whose province, ἡ Δασκυλίτις σατραπεία, "comprehended the cities of the Hellespont, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, extending along the southern shores of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Euxine." Arnold on Thucyd. i. 129. Xen. Hell. iv. 1. 15.

ἐκπολιορκεθῆναι] By Philip, who, when he found that his attempts to capture Perinthus were unavailing, changed his plans, and, withdrawing a portion of his forces, suddenly attacked Byzantium. (Diod. xvi. 75, 76.) This was about Midsummer 340, B.C. (Grote xi. 636), and consequently the delivery of this oration must have been soon after that time, as it implies that the siege of Byzantium was actually going on.

νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἑχθρας] 'but now when they have entered upon a state of hos-

καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου πλησίον ὄντος, εἰ χειρωθήσεται Βυζάν-
7 τιον, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ προθύμως συμπολεμήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ βασιλέα τὸν Περσῶν χρήματα χορηγεῖν ἡμῶν προ-
τρέψονται, ὃς τοσοῦτον μὲν κέκτηται πλούτον ὅσον οὐδ' οἱ 25
λοιποὶ πάντες, τηλικαύτην δ' ἔχει ῥώμην πρὸς τὰς ἐνθάδε
πράξεις ὥστε καὶ πρότερον, ἡνίκα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπολε- 154
μοῦμεν, ὁποτέρῳις προσθεῖτο, τούτους ἐποίει κρατεῖν τῶν
ἐτέρων, καὶ νῦν μεθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος ῥαδίως καταπολε-
μήσει τὴν Φιλίππου δύναμιν.

8 Πρὸς τοίνυν τούτοις τηλικούτοις οὖσιν, οὐκ ἔρῳ μὲν ὡς 5
οὐ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην πολλὰ προεἰλήφεν ἡμῶν χωρία καὶ
λιμένας καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, ὅρῳ δὲ
ὡς ὅταν μὲν ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα συνέχῃται καὶ πᾶσι
ταῦτα συμφέρῃ τοῖς μετέχουσιν τῶν πολέμων, μένει τὰ
συσταθέντα βεβαίως· ὅταν δ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας 10
ἀπάτῃ καὶ βίᾳ κατέχῃται, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τούτου νῦν, μικρὰ
πρόφασις καὶ τὸ τυχὸν πταῖσμα ταχέως αὐτὰ διέσεισε καὶ
9 κατέλυσεν. καὶ πολλάκις εὐρίσκω λογιζόμενος οὐ μόνον,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ πρὸς

tility.' Comp. μή τι οἱ κρεμύμενον τῷ
παῖδι ἐμπέσῃ, Herod. i. c. 34, where, as
Mr. Blakesley observes, "the so-called
pleonastic use of the pronoun may be
expressed by the familiar English, 'lest
he should have any thing hanging up fall
upon the lad.'"

ὁποτέρῳις προσθεῖτο] Towards the
close of the Peloponnesian war, and be-
fore the battle of Cnidus. See note on
οὐς σώσειε, c. Phil. iv. p. 249.

μεθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος] 'if he should
join us.' The Greek participle is often
used thus, to express an hypothetical con-
tingency. Comp. Xen. Anab. I. iii. 19:
οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμειοι (if we follow him)
ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπίοντες (if
we leave him) ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἄγιοιμεν.

Πρὸς τοίνυν τούτοις] 'But after' or 'with
these advantages, great as they are, I am
not going to deny that Philip has snatched
from us many of our ports and harbours.'
Jacobs: 'Bei diesen so wichtigen Vor-
theilen will ich indess nicht behaupten
dass' &c.

ὅταν μὲν ὑπ' εὐνοίας] 154, 5—156. 29.
Ex Olyn. ii. p. 20, 19—28, et 21, 27—
25, l. Dobree. See pp. 39, 40.

μένει τὰ συσταθέντα] 'the combina-
tion continues firm.'

ὅταν δὲ . . . κατέχῃται] 'but when it
is established upon intrigue and aggres-
sion, by deceit and violence.'

μικρὰ πρόφασις] 'a slight pretext and
any mishap soon shatters it to pieces and
breaks it all up.' Lord Brougham (Edin.
Review, xxxvi. 96) thus: 'the slightest
pretext, the most common mischance,
shivers it to pieces, and it is gone.' But
'to shiver to pieces' would rather be ex-
pressed by διασφενδονᾶν (as Xen. Anab.
iv. 2, 3). The corresponding passage in
Olyn. ii. § 9, p. 40, is ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις
καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε
καὶ διέλυσεν. With ἀνεχαίτισε we may
compare an expression of Duruy (Abrégé
de l'Histoire de France, ii. 244), where,
alluding to a measure proposed by Cardinal
Mazarin under the regency of Anne
of Austria (January, A.D. 1647), he says:
"Cette fois le parlement se cabra et sauta
à pieds joints dans la politique."

οὐ μόνον τὰ συμμαχικά] 'that not only
the allies of Philip have come to distrust
and dislike him.'

- ὑποψίαν ἤκοντα καὶ δυσμένειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ιδίας 15
 ἀρχῆς οὐ συνηρμοσμένα καλῶς οὐδ' οἰκείως οὐδ' ὡς οἶεται
 τις. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις ἐν μὲν προσθή-
 κης μέρει ῥοπήν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ χρήσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν
 ἀσθενής ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τηλικούτον ὄγκον πραγμάτων εὐκατα-
 φρόνητος· ἔτι δ' αὐτὴν οὗτος αὐτὸς τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς 20
 στρατείαις καὶ πᾶσι οἷς ἂν τις αὐτὸν μέγαν εἶναι νομίσει,
 σφαλερωτέραν αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς χαίρειν Φίλιππον τε καὶ τοὺς ἀρχο-
 μένους, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖσθε ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖ δόξης, οἱ δὲ
 ἀσφαλείας, καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τυχεῖν ταύτης ἀκιν- 25
 δύνως, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δέονται καταλιπόντες οἰκοὶ τέκνα, γονεῖς,
 γυναικάς, φθείρεσθαι καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν κινδυνεύειν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκ 155
 11 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι πῶς διάκεινται πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον· τοὺς
 δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ξένων ἡγεμόνας
 εὐρήσετε δόξαν μὲν ἔχοντας ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ, περιδεῶς δὲ μάλ-
 λον τῶν ἀδόξων ζῶντας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πολε- 5
 12 μίους μόνον ὑπάρχει κίνδυνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς κόλακας καὶ τοὺς
 διαβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μάχας δεδίασι· καί
 κείνοι μὲν μετὰ πάντων ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιταχ-
 13 θέντας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κακῶν οὐκ ἐλά-
 χιστον μέρος μέτεστι καὶ χωρὶς ἰδία τὸν τρόπον τὸν τοῦ 10
 βασιλέως φοβεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. ἔτι δὲ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν
 εἰὰν ἀμάρτη τις, ζημίαν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἴληφεν· οἱ δ' ὅταν
 μάλιστα κατορθώσωσι, τότε μάλιστα σκορακίζονται καὶ
 14 προπηλακίζονται παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον. καὶ τούτοις οὐδ' ἂν

τὰ τῆς ιδίας ἀρχῆς] 'his own subjects are not in a state of good and friendly union with him, nor as one might imagine.'

πρὸς τηλικούτον] 'and for undertakings of such a magnitude, contemptible.' Jacobs: 'in Rücksicht auf die Grösse der Sache verächtlich.' Comp. Olyn. ii. § 14, p. 41.

σφαλερωτέραν] 'more precarious or dangerous,' lit. more slippery or tottering, as it is active or passive.

οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δέονται . . . φθείρεσθαι] 'they do not want to go to ruin.'

περιδεῶς δὲ μᾶλλον] 'but live in excessive fear, more than those of no repute.'

χωρὶς ἰδία] 'independent of this it is also their lot to fear on their own account the humour of the king.'

σκορακίζονται] 'they are cursed and vilified.' The verb σκορακίζω is supposed to be derived from the imprecation ἐς κόρακας, shortened into σκόρακας, as εἰς τὴν πόλιν into Stamboul, and εἰς τὴν Κω into Stanco.

καὶ τούτοις] 'and this no reasonable man could disbelieve.'

- εἰς εὖ φρονῶν ἀπιστήσειεν· οὕτω γὰρ φιλότιμον αὐτὸν 15
 εἶναι φασιν οἱ συνδιατρίψαντες, ὥστε βουλόμενον τὰ κάλ-
 λιστα τῶν ἔργων πάνθ' αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἄχθεσθαι
 τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῖς ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τι
 15 πράξασιν ἢ τοῖς ὅλως ἀποτυχούσι. πῶς οὖν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ
 ταῦτα τοιαῦτα, πιστῶς ἤδη πολλὸν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρα- 20
 μένουσιν; ὅτι νῦν μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ κατορθοῦν
 αὐτὸν ἐπισκοτεῖ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι
 δειναὶ συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιᾶσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων εἰσὶν· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότε ἄκριβῶς διακαλυφθήσεται
 16 ταῦτα πάντα. συμβαίνει γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν 25
 ἡμῶν· ὅταν μὲν ἐρρωμένος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν
 καθ' ἕκαστα σαθρῶν, ἐπὰν δ' ἀρρωστήσῃ, πάντα κινεῖται, 156
 καὶ ῥήγμα καὶ στρέμμα καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἢ
 μὴ τελέως ὑγιαίνειν· οὕτω καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν καὶ πασῶν
 τῶν δυναστειῶν, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθώσιν,
 ἀφανῇ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν· ἐπὰν δέ τι πταίσωσιν, 5
 ὃ νῦν εἰκὸς παθεῖν ἐκείνους μείζον φορτίον ἢ καθ' αὐτὸν
 ἀράμενον, γίγνεται φανερά τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα τοῖς ἄπασιν.
 17 Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον ὁρῶν
 εὐτυχοῦντα ταύτῃ φοβερὸν εἶναι νομίζει καὶ δυσπολέμητον,
 σώφρονος μὲν ἀνδρὸς χρήται προνοία· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, 10
 μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἢ τύχῃ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τῶν ἀν-
 θρώπων πράγματα· κατὰ πολλοὺς μέντοι τρόπους ἔλοιτ'
 ἂν τις οὐχ ᾔττιον τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου.

φιλότιμον] Here, but not always, 'jealous.' Mr. Kennedy, however, translates it 'covetous of honour;' observing, that neither 'jealousy' nor any single word comprehends the whole meaning. He adds, the expression in the text is Shakspearian, and quotes Henry V. Act IV. Sc. 3:

"But if it be a sin to covet honour,
 I am the most offending soul alive."

Comp. note 1 on Olyn. ii. § 16, where φιλοτιμία appears to be used simply for 'honour,' and Diod. xvi. 75: ἡ πολιορκία φιλοτιμίαν ἐλάβανεν ἀνυπερβλήτων, i. e. 'the troops emulated each other in acts of daring.'

πῶς οὖν] This question may well be asked, after imputing such a mean and pitiful character to Philip as the writer does in the foregoing paragraph. His assertions, for which I am not aware that there is any real foundation in history, imply a sad want of generosity and candour.

δεινὰ συγκρύψαι] 'have great power in covering.'

ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν] Comp. Olyn. ii. § 21, p. 45.

τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα σαθρῶν] 'of his several ailments,' or, with Mr. Kennedy, 'of his local disorders.'

μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή] Comp. Olyn. ii. § 22.

- 18 παρά τε γὰρ τῶν προγόνων ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου παρειλή-
 φαμεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐ τούτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ συνελόντι 15
 φράσαι πάντων τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλευσάντων· κἀ-
 κείνοι μὲν Ἀθηναίους φόρους ἤνεγκαν, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις
 οὐδενὶ πώποτε τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἔτι δὲ τοσούτω
 πλείους ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖνοιαν
 ἔχομεν, ὅσῳ διατελοῦμεν εὐσεβέστερα καὶ δικαιοτέρα 20
 19 πράττοντες. τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ
 πλείω κατώρθωσεν ἡμῶν; ὅτι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (παρ-
 ρησιάζομαι γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς) ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς στρατεύεται καὶ
 τάλαιπωρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις πάρεστιν, οὔτε καιρὸν
 20 παριεῖς οὔτε ὥραν ἔτους παραλείπων οὐδεμίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ 25
 (εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθές) οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες ἐνθάδε καθήμεθα,
 μέλλοντες αἰεὶ καὶ ψηφιζόμενοι καὶ πυνθανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν
 ἀγορὰν εἴ τι λέγεται νεώτερον. καίτοι τί γένοιτ' ἂν νεώ- 157
 157 τερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ καταφρονῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τολμῶν
 ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν τοιαύτας οἷας ἡκούσατε μικρῷ πρό-

τὴν ἡγεμονίαν] This is the reading of the majority of the MSS., for which Dindorf adopts *εὐδαιμονίαν* from the codex S. But although the writer is contrasting the *εὐτυχία* of one nation with that of the other, he does not make this contrast simply and absolutely, but by showing that the Athenians had more of the elements and characteristics of *εὐτυχία* than the Macedonians. Their *ἡγεμονία*, in fact, was at once a part and proof of their *εὐτυχία*, and therefore with Bekker I follow the majority of the MSS., and retain the word.

οὐ τούτου μόνον] 'dating further back, not only than the reign of this man, but even than the times of all those who have reigned in Macedonia.'

κἀκεῖνοι μὲν Ἀθηναίους] This might have been true of some of the islands off the coast of Macedonia, or some of its cities, but not of Macedonia itself. Comp. de Halon. § 12, p. 151.

ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων] Dindorf omits ἀνθρώπων. But compare De Halon. § 8: τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἀπάντων ἀφροσθήκατε, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυτε ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις.

τοσούτῳ πλείους ἀφορμὰς] 'we have so many the more claims to the favour of the gods,' or, rather, 'so many the more grounds for expecting their favour.' Comp.

Olyn. ii. § 23, p. 46.

Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ] This, of course, is an expression of contempt for a man from whom, in strange contrast with it, princes and sovereigns of after ages claimed their descent, and took their name. Thus Henry I. of France (A.D. 1031—1061) married Anne, daughter of Wladimir, the first Christian Prince of Russia, and he took her "d'une maison si éloignée, afin d'être bien sûr qu'elle ne pourrait se trouver sa parente à un degré prohibé par l'Eglise." And this Anne, "disait-on, descendait par sa mère (Anna Posthuma) fille de l'empereur Romanus II. de Philippe de Macédoine. Son premier-né porta le nom du père d'Alexandre." But the Philip of France was far from rivalling his deeds or imitating his character. For the historian adds (Duruy, i. 246), "le prince vit quelques gentilshommes de Coutances soumettre l'Italie méridionale et la Sicile, un capétien de la maison de Bourgogne fonder le royaume de Portugal, le duc de Normandie Guillaume le Bâtard, faire la conquête de l'Angleterre, enfin toute la chevalerie de France s'élancer à la croisade. Il laissa toutes ces grandes choses s'accomplir sans y prendre part."

- 21 *τερον ; καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπάρχουσι μισθοφόροι στρασιώται, καὶ νῆ Δία πρὸς τούτοις τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ῥητόρων τινές, οἱ τὰς 5 παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεὰς οἴκαδε λαμβάνειν νομίζοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται Φιλίππῳ ζῶντες, οὐδ' αἰσθάνονται πάντα καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μικροῦ λήμματος πωλοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων οὐδὲν στασιάζειν πάρασκευάζομεν, οὔτε ξενοτροφεῖν ἐθέλομεν, 10*
- 22 *οὔτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶμεν. οὐκ οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, εἴ τι πεπλεονέκτηκεν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰ μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ὧν προσ- ἡκει τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, νομίζομεν κρατήσκειν τοῦ πάντα πρᾶττοντος ἃ δεῖ τοὺς πλεονεκτήσειν μέλλοντας. 15*
- 23 *ὦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρὴ λαβόντας ἔννοιαν, καὶ λογισαμένους ὡς οὐδ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ φάσκειν ἄγειν εἰ- ρήνην (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκείνος καὶ προηγόρευκε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξενήνοχε) μηδενὸς μὲν φείδεσθαι μήτε τῶν κοινῶν μήτε τῶν ἰδίων, στρατεύεσθαι δὲ, εἴαν που καιρὸς ᾗ, 20 προθύμως ἅπαντας, χρῆσθαι δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἢ*
- 24 *πρότερον. μὴ γὰρ ὑπολάβῃ τις ὑμῶν, δι' ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν ἐγένετο τὰ πράγματα χεῖρω τὰ τῆς πόλεως, διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ γενήσεσθαι βελτίω· μηδὲ νομίσητε ῥαθυμούντων ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἐτέρους 25 ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι προθύμως· ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖσθε ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ὑμῶν πολλοὺς πόνους 158 καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ὑποστήναι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολε-*

τῷ μὲν ὑπάρχουσι] 'he keeps soldiers in his pay, and indeed some of our orators besides.'

οἱ . . . οὐκ αἰσχύνονται] Comp. De Halon. § 17, p. 153.

ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε] 'but we neither make any attempt to disturb (or, embroil) any of his arrangements.' Jacobs: 'Wir aber thun nichts, ihn in seinen Angelegenheiten zu stören.' The verb *στασιάζειν* is here used transitively. In the F. L. § 367, it is intransitive: *ἡνίκα ἐστασίαζε μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ Θετταλῶν.*

εἰ μηδὲν ποιοῦντες] Comp. Olyn. ii. § 23, p. 46.

τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξενήνοχε] 'has carried it

out in action.'

μήτε τῶν κοινῶν] Dindorf reads *δημοσίων* from the codex S. But *κοινά*, 'monies in which every one has a share,' are appropriately contrasted with *ἰδία*, 'the separate property of an individual.' Compare Thucyd. i. 80: *οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν*, who also in the same chapter writes, *πλοῦτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ*. Τὸ *δημόσιον* means 'what is dedicated to the use of the people,' as *ὁ δημόσιος*, is 'an officer who acts for the people.'

δι' ὧν . . . διὰ τούτων] 'by the very same means by which.' Comp. Olyn. ii. § 26, p. 47.

25 μούντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ μὴδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι δικάίως κτησάμενοι
παρέδοσαν ὑμῖν ἐθέλειν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν
μὲν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὀρμώμενον οὕτως εἶναι φιλοκίνδυνον 5
ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μείζω ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατατετρῶσθαι
πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχόμενον, Ἀθηναίους δὲ, οἷς
πάτριόν ἐστι μῆδενδὸς ὑπακούειν, ἀπάντων δὲ κρατεῖν ἐν
τοῖς πολέμοις, τούτους διὰ ῥαθυμίας ἢ μαλακίας ἐγκατα-
λείπειν τὰ τε τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς 10
πατρίδος.

26 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακρολογῶ, φημὶ χρῆναι πάντας ἡμᾶς παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, παρακαλεῖν δὲ τοὺς
Ἑλληνας, μὴ λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, πρὸς τὴν παρ'
ἡμῶν συμμαχίαν ὡς ἅπας μὲν ἐστὶ λόγος μάταιος πράξεων 15
ἄμοιρος γενόμενος, τοσούτῳ δὲ μάλιστα ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμε-
τέρας πόλεως, ὅσῳ δοκοῦμεν αὐτῷ προχειρότατα χρῆσθαι
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.

οὕτως εἶναι φιλοκίνδυνον] 'should be
so in love with danger.'

κατατετρῶσθαι] Comp. De Cor. § 82.

οἷς πάτριόν ἐστι] 'whose hereditary
habit it is.'

ἐγκαταλείπειν] 'should abandon both
the deeds of their ancestors and the in-
terests of their country.'

ὡς ἅπας μὲν ἐστὶ] Comp. Olyn. ii.
§ 12, p. 41.

A LETTER FROM PHILIP.

INTRODUCTION.

MANY critics have considered this letter to be spurious. Winiewski (Comment. p. 191) thinks it genuine, and Mr. Grote (xi. 636) adopts its statements and arguments as those of Philip. Even if not written by Philip himself, it might (Mr. G. suggests) have been composed at his dictation, by some Greek writer in his employ, and sent by him to Athens. To this suggestion, however, there is a strong objection in the phraseology which, as in *εὐδοκοῦντα* (§ 3) and *διότι* (§ 20) occasionally indicates a later age, to say nothing of the verbosity and length of the letter which are by no means regal. Its authorship and origin then must be considered uncertain, though there is no antecedent improbability against the supposition of Philip writing to the Athenians, as in this letter. He might have had many reasons for doing so, and he would naturally wish to conciliate public opinion before declaring war, by making out a good case for himself, and throwing the blame on the Athenians. Nor, indeed, in the then state of feeling between both parties, is it likely that the Athenians were altogether free from blame, and never in the wrong as regards Philip. Besides, as he had partizans at Athens, an exposition of the alleged wrongs which he had suffered, and of his unavailing attempts to gain redress, was calculated to strengthen their hands and weaken his opponents, by representing them as the cause of an unjustifiable and unnecessary war. Allusion is made to a letter of Philip in Dionysius Halicar. (ad Amm. p. 741), the date and contents of which suggest the supposition that it was the same as this, but we have no means of determining whether it really was so or not. That the letter in question, like this, contained various charges against the Athenians, appears by the phrase *ὅσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐνεκάλει διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς*, which also indicates that it was somewhat

famous. The codices A, S omit this *Ἐπιστολὴ Φιλίππου*. That some letters of Philip were extant in the time of Cicero, appears from the *De Offic.* ii. 14, where he says, "Extant Philippi Epistolae ad Alexandrum, quibus praecipit ut oratione benigna multitudinis animos ad benevolentiam afficiat militesque blande appellando dele-
niat." Again, Cicero observes (*de Offic.* ii. 15.), "Praeclare epistola quadam Alexandrum filium Philippus accusat, quod largitione benevolentiam Macedonum consecetur. 'Quae te malum (inquit) ratione istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares, quos pecunia corrumperis?'"—a sentiment which, according to Demosthenes, did not deter Philip from bribery at Athens.

XII.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

B.C. 340.

Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.
Ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις μου πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντος, ἵν' ἐμ-
μείνωμεν τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις, οὐδεμίαν ἐποι-
εῖσθε ἐπιστροφὴν, ὥμην δεῖν πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὧν
ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζω. μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐπι-
στολῆς· πολλῶν γὰρ ὑπαρχόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἀναγκαῖόν 5
ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ πάντων δηλῶσαι καθαρῶς.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Νικίου τοῦ κήρυκος ἀρπασθέντος ἐκ 159
τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐμῆς οὐ τοῖς παραγομοῦσιν ἐπετιμήσατε,
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικούμενον εἴρξατε δέκα μῆνας· ἃς δ' ἔφερε
παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολὰς, ἀνέγνωτε ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος. ἔπειτα 5
Θασίων ὑποδεχομένων τὰς Βυζαντίων τριήρεις καὶ τῶν
ληστῶν τοὺς βουλομένους οὐδὲν ἐφροντίζετε, τῶν συνθη-
κῶν διαρρηθῆναι λεγουσῶν πολεμίους εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα ποι-

ἐποιεῖσθε ἐπιστροφὴν] 'you paid no attention,' an unusual phrase in prose, though we find *πρὸς τοῦ θανόντος τήνδ' ἔθεσθ' ἐπιστροφὴν*, Soph. Oedip. Tyr. 134. Compare *εἶρετ' ἐπιστρεφείως*, Herod. i. 30. •

Νικίου τοῦ κήρυκος] We have no further information on this subject. But Plutarch, *Moralia*, p. 799, E, tells us of the honourable conduct of the Athenians in another similar instance. They had taken a messenger of Philip with a letter from the king to his wife Olympias. (Ἀθηναῖοι Φιλίππου γραματοφόρους λαβόντες ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Ὀλυμπιάδι κομίζοντας οὐκ ἔλυσαν οὐδ' ἀπεκά-

λυσαν ἀπόρητον ἀνδρὸς ἀποδήμου πρὸς γυναῖκα φιλοφροσύνην.) This they returned unopened (assuming that Plutarch's story is true). There was probably a good cause for their different behaviour in the case of Nicias.

εἴρξατε] 'you imprisoned,' or kept in, whereas *εἴργειν*, in § 4 below, is 'to exclude,' 'keep out.' Mr. Long maintains the identity of the two forms from the root *ἐρκ*, on the ground that if a place is shut up, a man may be shut in or shut out. The Latin 'arceo' rather confirms this view.

ὑποδεχομένων] 'harbouring.'

3 ούοντας. ἔτι τοίνυν περὶ τοῦς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Διοπέθης
 ἐμβάλων εἰς τὴν χώραν Κρωβύλην μὲν καὶ τὴν Τιρίστασιν 10
 ἐξηνδραποδίστατο, τὴν δὲ προαεχῇ Θράκην ἐπόρθησε,
 τέλος δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθε παρανομίας ὥστε Ἀμφιλόχον
 ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐλθόντα πρεσβευτὴν συλλαβὼν καὶ
 4 τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀνάγκας ἐπιθεὶς ἀπελύτρωσε ταλάντων ἑνέα·
 καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ εὐδοκοῦντα ἐποίησεν. καίτοι τὸ παρα- 15
 νομεῖν εἰς κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἄλλοις τε πᾶσιν
 ἀσεβὲς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ὑμῖν Μεγαρέων γοῦν
 Ἀνθεμόκριτον ἀνελόντων εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθε ὁ δῆμος
 ὥστε μυστηρίων μὲν εἶργειν αὐτοὺς, ὑπόμνημα δὲ τῆς
 ἀδικίας ἔστησαν ἀνδριάντα πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν. καίτοι πῶς 20
 5 οὐ δευνὸν, ἐφ' οἷς παθόντες οὕτως ἐμισήσατε τοὺς δρά-
 σαντας, νῦν αὐτοὺς φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦντας; Καλλίας τοίνυν

τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους] B. c. 342. Grote, xi. 624. De Chers. Introduction, p. 170.

Κρωβύλην] Of Κρωβύλη nothing else is known. But Καβύλη is mentioned in the De Chers. § 44. Tiristasis is mentioned in Scylax (p. 27) as Τειρίστασις, and by Pliny (H. N. iv. 11. 18), who places it in the Thracian Chersonesus: "Chersonesus a Propontide habuit Tiristasin."

εὐδοκοῦντα] This phrase for ἀρεσκοντα, Schäfer says, "cadentis Graecitatis est," and illustrates his remark by Polybius (xx. 5. 10): τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις Βοιωτοῖς ἤρεσκε τοῦτο πράξας, τοῖς δὲ Θηβαίοις οὐχ ὅλως εὐδόκει τὸ γεγονός. Comp. Σὺ εἰ δὲ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα. Mark i. 11. Also, εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, Luke xii. 32. Bekker has εὐ δοκοῦντα in two words. See note on De Chers. § 67, p. 195.

Ἀνθεμόκριτον] This incident happened a short time before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, and is narrated more fully by Plutarch (Pericl. c. 30). He states that the Athenians charged the Megarians with cultivating some consecrated ground (τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργάνδα), and on the motion of Pericles sent Anthemocritus to warn them off. Instead of complying, the Megarians killed the messenger, whereupon the Athenians passed several severe resolutions against them, and erected a statue of Anthemocritus in commemoration of the event. Pausanias (i. 36. 3) records that it was placed on

the Via Sacra, from Athens to Eleusis, and was standing in his time, some 550 years afterwards. Plutarch states that it stood by the Thriasian gates. As for Philip's acquaintance with such a fact, it should be remembered that he was educated at Thebes, and probably well instructed in Athenian history. See note, Περὶ Συντ. § 35.

Καλλίας τοίνυν] This Callias, the prince of Chalcis, is the same person who opposed the Athenians with Macedonian troops when Phocion was sent to aid Plutarch of Eretria, B. c. 349 (De Pace, § 5, p. 118, and note). At that time he was a partizan and ally of Philip, and of course for his own ends (Aesch. c. Ctes. § 87). But it would seem that they were not realized, for afterwards he became a partizan of Athens, and probably concerted with Demosthenes a plan of operations for expelling the Macedonian troops and governors from Euboea (De Cor. p. 252). Accordingly, and in fact upon the motion of Demosthenes, an expedition of Athenian forces under Phocion was despatched to Euboea (B. c. 341), which, co-operating with Callias and his troops, was very successful. The towns of Oreus and Eretria were liberated, and Cleitarchus and Philistides, their respective governors were, with their Macedonian supporters, driven from the island (Diod. xvi. 74). But Callias was not content with this, for he crossed over from Euboea into the Gulf of Pagasae (now of Volo), and captured

ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῷ Παγασίτῃ
κόλπῳ κατοικουμένας ἔλαβεν ἀπάσας, ὑμῖν μὲν ἐνόρκους,
ἐμοὶ δὲ συμμαχίδας οὖσας, τοὺς δ' εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλέ- 25
οντας ἐπώλει πάντας πολεμίους κρίνων· καὶ διὰ ταύθ'
ὕμεῖς ἐπηνεῖτ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν. ὥστε ἔγωγε 160
ἀπορῶ τί ποτ' ἔσται καινότερον, ἂν ὁμολογήσητέ μοι
πολεμεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φανερώς διεφερόμεθα, ληστὰς ἐξ-
επέμπετε, καὶ τοὺς πλέοντας ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐπωλεῖτε, τοῖς ἐναν-
τίοις ἐβοηθεῖτε, τὴν χῶραν μου κακῶς ἐποιεῖτε. 5

6 Χωρὶς τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο παρανομίας ἀφίχθε καὶ δυσμε-
νείας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλκατε
πέισοντας αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν· ὁ μάλιστα ἂν τις θανμά-
σειεν. πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοι-
νίκην ἐψηφίσασθε, ἂν ἐκεῖνός τι νεωτερίξῃ, παρακαλεῖν 10
ὁμοίως ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἅπαντας ἐπ' αὐτόν·
7 νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν περίεστι τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ μίσους ὥστε
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαλέγεσθε περὶ τῆς ἐπισυμμαχίας. καίτοι τὸ
παλαιὸν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, τοῖς Πει-
σιστρατίδαις ἐπετίμων ὡς ἐπάγουσι τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐπὶ τοὺς 15
Ἑλληνας· ὑμεῖς δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε ταῦτα ποιοῦντες, ἀ
διετελεῖτε τοῖς τυράννοις ἐγκαλοῦντες.

8 Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ γράφετε ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν

several towns dependent upon, or allied with Philip, of which complaint is here made to the Athenians. As he is called ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγός it is probable that he was then also assisted by Athenian troops (Grote, xi. 627).

ὑμῖν μὲν ἐνόρκους] 'towns under treaty ratified by oath with you.' As Philip's allies they were parties to the peace of b.c. 346.

τί . . . καινότερον.] 'what worse will happen.'

πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν πρέσβεις] In conformity with the advice given c. Phil. iii. § 84, p. 227, and c. Phil. iv. § 38. See Clinton, Fas. Hell. ii. 146.

πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λαβεῖν] Philip means to insinuate that before the recovery (b.c. 346) of the revolted provinces of Aegypt and Phoenicia, the Persian king was less formidable to Greece than afterwards in b.c. 340. The monarch alluded to is Artaxerxes Ochus. Diod. xvi. 42—

46. 47—51. Grote, xi. 609.

ἐψηφίσασθε] Nothing is recorded elsewhere of this resolution, but it was probably passed in b.c. 354, when Athens was alarmed by apprehensions of an attack by the Persian king, in consequence of the aid which Chares their general had given his rebellious satrap Artabazus. Diod. xvi. 21. It was on that occasion that Demosthenes made his first speech to the Athenian assembly, viz. the Oratio de Symmoria.

ἐπισυμμαχία] This is a rare word, and appears to mean 'an alliance against a common enemy.' Συμμαχία is an alliance offensive and defensive; ἐπιμαχία, an alliance for mutual defence, and conveys the meaning of reciprocity, as Dr. Donaldson observes, New Cratylus, i. p. 223. Compare Thucyd. i. 44: ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι, ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίσῃν . . . ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο, τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν.

ἐμοὶ προστάττοντες Τήρην καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην ἔαν Θράκης
 ἄρχειν ὡς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους οὔτε τῶν 20
 περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθηκῶν οἶδα μετασχόντας· ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐν
 ταῖς στήλαις ἀναγέγραμμένους οὐτ' Ἀθηναίους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ
 Τήρην μὲν μετ' ἐμοῦ στρατευόμενον. ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Κερσο-
 βλέπτην δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ πρεσβευταῖς ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοὺς
 ὅρκους ὁμόσαι προθυμούμενον, κωλυθέντα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν 25
 ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἀποφαινόντων αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐχ-
 9 θρόν. καίτοι πῶς ἐστὶ τοῦτ' ἴσον ἢ δίκαιον, ὅταν μὲν
 ὑμῖν συμφέρη, πολέμιον εἶναι φάσκειν αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως, 161
 ὅταν δ' ἐμὲ συκοφαντεῖν βούλησθε, πολίτην ἀποδείκνυσθαι
 τὸν αὐτὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ Σιτάλκου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ᾧ
 μετέδοτε τῆς πολιτείας, εὐθὺς ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀπο-
 κτείναντα φιλίαν, ὑπὲρ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου πόλεμον ἄρασθαι 3
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τῶν λαμβανόν-
 των τὰς δωρεὰς τὰς τοιαύτας οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε
 10 τῶν ψηφισμάτων οὐδὲν φροντίζει τῶν ὑμετέρων. οὐ μὴν

Τήρην] Not otherwise known. He was doubtless a prince or chieftain in Thrace.

ἐν ταῖς στήλαις] The pillars on which were engraven the conditions of the parties to the peace of 346 B.C. One would be in Attica, the other in Macedonia, as imperishable monuments of the fact.

τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ πρεσβευταῖς ἰδίᾳ] 'privately with my ambassadors, and not with them and the Athenian ambassadors jointly.' This representation is irreconcilable with the assertion that Philip was prosecuting his campaign against Cersobleptes in Thrace (De Pace, Introduction, p. 109); and taking his towns in the interval between the conclusion of peace at Athens by Philip's envoys, and the ratification of it by Philip himself. Moreover, it is inconsistent with the statement of Aeschines, that an envoy of Cersobleptes demanded in the public assembly at Athens that this prince should be included in the treaty of peace. * Aeschines, F. L. §§ 88, 89. Demos. F. L. § 172. It should be observed, that in prose *πρέσβεις* is generally used in the plural, not *πρεσβευταί*, though indeed the latter word is found in Thucyd. viii. 77, and in Deinarch. c. Demos. § 12: τῶν πρεσβευ-

τῶν ὡς τοῦτον ἐλθόντων.

Σιτάλκου ἀποθανόντος] There is some mistake here. For the Sitalces, king of the Odrysae in Thrace, and an ally of the Athenians, whose wars and death are related by Thucydides (ii. 29), fell in a battle with the Triballi, not by the hands of an assassin. Nor was he made a citizen of Athens, but his son Sadocus. On the other hand, the circumstances here alluded to really apply to Cotys, the father of Cersobleptes, who was honoured with the distinction of Athenian citizenship, for which however he showed but little gratitude. Consequently, when he was murdered by two inhabitants of Oenus, the Athenians bestowed upon them the rights of citizenship, and presented them with a golden crown. Hence it has been reasonably supposed that Cotys is the person here meant, and that Sitalces is an error of memory on the part of the writer. Aristocr. § 142.

ἄρασθαι] I agree with Dobree in substituting this reading for *αἰρεῖσθαι*. Comp. De Symm. § 4: πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄρασθαι.

οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ] 'however, if one is to omit every thing else and speak briefly.'

ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ πάντα τὰλλα παραλιπόντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ὑμεῖς ἔδοτε πολιτείαν Εὐαγόρα τῷ Κυπρίῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Συρακοσίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς ἐκείνων. ἐὰν οὖν πείσητε τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἐκατέρους αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι πάλιν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐκπεσοῦσι, κομίζεσθε καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θράκην, ὅσης Τήρης καὶ Κερσοβλέπτης ἦρχεν. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων κρατήσασι μηδ' ἐγκαλεῖν ἀξιοῦτε μηδὲν; ἐμὲ 15 δ' ἐνοχλεῖτε, πῶς οὐ δικαίως ὑμᾶς ἀμυνοίμην ἄν;

- 11 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων ἔτι δίκαια παραλιπεῖν προαιρούμαι. Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν γεγονῶς αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σύμμαχος, οὐκ ἐθελόντων δ' ὑμῶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς κρίσιν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐμοῦ δεηθέντος, 20 οὐκ ὀλιγάκις δ' ἐκείνων ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶην πάντων φαυλότατος, εἰ καταλιπὼν τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν φροντίζοιμι τῶν πάντα μοι τρόπον ἐνοχλούντων ἢ τῶν βεβαίως μοι φίλων αἰεὶ μενόντων;
- 12 Εἰ τοίνυν δεῖ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραλιπεῖν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἔλη- 25 λύθατε πλεονεξίας ὥστε πρότερον μὲν ἐνεκαλεῖτέ μοι τὰ προειρημένα μόνον, τὰ δ' ὑπογνιότατα Πεπαρηθίων φασ- 162

Εὐαγόρα τῷ Κυπρίῳ] This Evagoras was the grandson of the Cyprian prince of the same name, who assisted Conon in re-establishing the independence of Athens, after its subjugation by Lysander (B.C. 403). After the death of his father Nicodes, the younger Evagoras was deprived of his sovereignty, and expelled from Cyprus by a successful rival. He passed into the service of the Persian king, and when Cyprus joined Aegypt and Phoenicia in the great revolt against him, that monarch put in requisition the force of Idrieus, the prince of Caria (De Pace, § 25), who sent a body of troops, under the Athenian Phocion and Evagoras, which succeeded in reconquering the island for Persia (B.C. 345). But it does not appear that Evagoras regained his hereditary throne, for he was appointed to a government in Persia, in which he so misconducted himself, that to avoid punishment he fled to Cyprus, where he was arrested. If he received the honour of Athenian citizenship, it may have been granted from the respect which the Athenians felt for his grandfather, or from his having been associated with Phocion. It

can scarcely be supposed that Philip con-founded the grandfather and grandson. Diod. xvi. 42—46. Grote xi. 606.

Διονυσίῳ] This was the younger Dionysius, king of Syracuse, who was twice dispossessed of his power and expelled from Syracuse, first by Dion, B.C. 356, and subsequently by Timoleon, B.C. 343. Diod. xvi. 16. 68, 69. Plutarch, Dion, c. 45. Timoleon, c. 16. Grote xi. p. 128. 213.

ἐὰν . . . τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας] The writer must have been much at a loss for an analogous case, or he would never have appealed to those of Evagoras and Dionysius. The comparison does not hold at all.

πῶς οὐ δικαίως;] 'how should I be wrong in resisting you?'

ἐλθεῖν εἰς κρίσιν] 'to have recourse to an arbitration.'

πλεονεξίας] 'to such a pitch of arrogance,' or, 'so overhearing are you become.'

πρότερον μὲν ἐνεκαλεῖτε] 'formerly you only remonstrated with me on the matters aforesaid.' So also Isocrates, Evagor. § 99: τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν . . . τὸ δ' ὑπογνιότατον.

- κόντων δεινὰ πεπονθέναι προσετάξατε τῷ στρατηγῷ δίκην
 παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, οὓς ἐγὼ μὲν ἐτιμωρησάμην
 ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ προσήκεν, ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰρήνης οὔσης καταλα-
 βόντες Ἀλόνησον οὔτε τὸ χωρίον οὔτε τοὺς φρουροὺς 5
 13 ἀπεδίδουσιν πέμψαντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐμοῦ πολλάκις. ὑμεῖς
 δ' ὦν μὲν ἡδίκησαν ἐμὲ Πεπαρήθιοι, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν
 ἐπεσκήψασθε, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὴν
 νῆσον οὐτ' ἐκείνους οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἀφειλόμην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ληστήν
 Σώστρατον. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ φατε παραδοῦναι Σωστράτῳ, 10
 ληστὰς ὁμολογεῖτε καταπέμπειν· εἰ δὲ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν ἐκεί-
 νος ἐκράτει, τί δεινὸν πεπόνθατε λαβόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸν
 14 τόπον τοῖς πλέουσιν ἀσφαλῆ παρέχοντος; τοσαύτην δέ
 μου ποιουμένου πρόνοιαν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, καὶ δι-
 δόντος αὐτῇ τὴν νῆσον, οἱ ῥήτορες λαμβάνειν μὲν οὐκ εἶω, 15
 ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ συνεβούλευον, ὅπως ὑπομείνας μὲν τὸ προσ-
 ταττόμενον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ, μὴ προειμένους
 15 δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὑποπτος γένωμαι τῷ πλήθει. γνοὺς ἐγὼ
 ταῦτα προὔκαλούμην κριθῆναι περὶ τούτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ
 εἰ μὲν ἐμὴ γνωσθῇ, παρ' ἐμοῦ δοθῇ τὸ χωρίον ὑμῖν, εἰ 20
 16 δὲ ὑμετέρα κριθῇ, τότε ἀποδῶ τῷ δήμῳ. ταῦτα δ' ἐμοῦ
 πολλάκις ἀξιούντος ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ προσείχετε, Πεπαρήθιοι
 δὲ τὴν νῆσον κατέλαβον. τί οὖν ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; οὐ
 δίκην λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τοὺς ὅρκους; οὐ
 τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς οὕτως ὑπερηφάνως ἀσελγαίνοντας; 25
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ Πεπαρηθίων ἦν ἡ νῆσος, τί προσήκεν ἀπαιτεῖν
 Ἀθηναίους; εἰ δὲ ὑμετέρα, πῶς οὐκ ἐκείνοις ὀργίζεσθε 163
 καταλαβοῦσι τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν;
 17 Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προβεβήκαμεν ἔχθρας ὥστε βουλόμενος
 ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον παραβαλεῖν ἡναγκάσθην

δεινὰ πεπονθέναι] See De Halonneso, Introduction, p. 145.

ὑμεῖς δ' . . . ἐπεσκήψασθε] 'you, however, objected to none of these wrongs which the Peparethians inflicted on me, but to the punishment.'

καὶ δίδοντας] 'and though I offered to give up the island, the orators would not suffer you to accept it, but bade you take it back.' See De Halon. § 16, p. 149.

τότε ἀποδῶ τῷ δήμῳ] After προὔκαλούμην we might have expected the optatives γνωσθεῖν, δοθεῖν, κριθεῖν, and ἀποδοῖν, but the subjunctives may indicate that Philip was willing to abide by the same consequences of an arbitration, even then.

τοὺς οὕτως . . . ἀσελγαίνοντας] 'those who committed such gross outrages.' εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον] Demosthenes

- αὐτὰς παραπέμψαι διὰ Χερρονήσου τῇ στρατιᾷ, τῶν μὲν 5
κληρουχῶν κατὰ τὸ Πολυκράτους, δόγμα πολεμούντων
ἡμῖν, ὑμῶν δὲ τοιαῦτα ψηφίζομένων, τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ
Βυζαντίους τε παρακαλοῦντος καὶ διαγγέλλοντος πρὸς
ἅπαντας ὅτι πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ προστάττετε, ἂν καιρὸν λάβῃ.
18 τοιαῦτα δὲ πάσχων ὁμως τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τριήρων καὶ 10
τῆς χώρας ἀπεσχόμην, ἱκανὸς ὢν τὰ πλεῖστα λαβεῖν ἢ
πάντα, καὶ διατετέλεκα προκαλούμενος ὑμᾶς εἰς κρίσιν
ἐλθεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν αἰτιώμεθα ἀλλήλους. καίτοι σκοπεῖσθε
πότερον κάλλιον ἔστιν ὅπλοις ἢ λόγοις διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ
πότερον αὐτοὺς εἶναι βραβευτὰς ἢ πείσαι τινας ἐτέρους· 15
19 καὶ λογίζεσθ' ὥς ἄλογόν ἔστιν, Ἀθηναίους Θασίους μὲν
καὶ Μαρωνεῖτας ἀναγκάσαι περὶ Στρώμης διακριθῆναι
λόγοις, αὐτοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ διαλύσασθαι περὶ ὧν ἀμφι-
σβητοῦμεν τὸν τρόπον τούτου, ἄλλως τε καὶ γινώσκον-
τας ὅτι νικηθέντες μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποβαλεῖτε, κρατήσαντες δὲ 20
λῆψεσθε τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῖν ὄντα.
20 Πάντων δέ μοι δοκεῖ παραλογώτατον εἶναι, διότι πέμ-

had for some time foreseen the designs of Philip against Byzantium (De Chers. §§ 14 and 18, pp. 178, 179; c. Phil. iii. § 45, p. 216), and in B.C. 340 he went as an envoy to that city, with the view of thwarting them. His mission was so successful, that the Byzantians, and their neighbouring allies the Perinthians, entered into an alliance with Athens, to resist the Macedonians (De Cor. §§ 109, 110). Philip resented this so much, that he soon afterwards commenced the siege of Perinthus (Diod. xvi. 74), for which purpose he brought his fleet up through the Hellespont, escorting it with his army as here related in the letter.

διὰ Χερρονήσου] This, if done without the permission of the Athenians, was a violation of their territory, and an additional cause for war.

τὸ Πολυκράτους δόγμα] It appears from this that Polycrates was the author of the resolution by which the colonists were sent out. I am not aware of any further information on the subject.

παρακαλοῦντος] This, as Jacobs observes, probably happened while Philip was besieging Perinthus, and of course it

was before he attacked Byzantium. The Byzantines did send aid to the Perinthians. Diod. xvi. 74.

τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τριήρων] I agree with Mr. Kennedy in thinking that τῆς πόλεως depends upon τριήρων, and that Philip is made to say, that he abstained from attacking the triremes of Athens, which were in the Hellespont, and her territory which was in the Chersonese, though he might have done both. In fact, this is the only interpretation which is adapted to τὰ πλεῖστα . . . ἢ πάντα.

αὐτοὺς εἶναι βραβευτὰς] 'to be arbitrators yourselves.' It would seem from this that the writer thought their differences might be settled by mutual concessions and explanations.

Μαρωνεῖτας] Maroneia and Stryme were neighbouring towns in Thrace, N.E. of Thasus, from which island Stryme was colonized. It appears from the text, however, that the men of Maroneia laid claim to Stryme; and that Athens, having influence in those quarters, compelled them to submit the dispute to arbitration. See adv. Polyc. §§ 28, 29.

διότι] for ὅτι, as Diodorus frequently

- ψαντος ἐμοῦ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας πάσης, ἢ ὧσι
 μάρτυρες, καὶ βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς δικαίας
 ὁμολογίας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ τούτων 25
 λόγους ἐδέξασθε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευόντων, ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἢ τῶν
 κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς δυσχερὲς ὑποπτεύοντάς τι καθ' 164
 ἡμῶν, ἢ φανερώς ἐξελέγξαι με φαυλότατον ὄντα τῶν ἀπάν-
 21 των. τῷ μὲν οὖν δῆμῳ ταῦτα συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ λέγουσιν
 οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν
 ἔμπειροι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πόλεμον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ 5
 πόλεμον εἰρήνην ἢ γὰρ συναγωνιζομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
 ἢ συκοφαντοῦντας αἰεὶ τι λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν
 πολιτῶν τοῖς γνωριμωτάτοις καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν τοῖς ἐνδοξο-
 τάτοις λαιδορουμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιποιεῖσθαι παρὰ
 τοῦ πλήθους δόξαν ὡς εἰσὶ δημοτικοί. 10
 22 Ῥάδιον μὲν οὖν ἐστί μοι παῦσαι τῆς βλασφημίας
 αὐτοὺς μικρὰ πάνυ προεμένῳ, καὶ ποιῆσαι λέγειν ἐπαίνους
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. ἀλλ' αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 εὖνοϊαν παρὰ τούτων φαινοίμην ὠνούμενος, οἱ πρὸς τοῖς
 ἄλλοις εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης ἤκουσιν ὥστε καὶ περὶ Ἀμφι- 15
 πόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τῶν
 ἀντιποιδυμένων αὐτῆς οἶμαι πολὺ δικαιότερα λέγειν αὐτός.
 23 εἴτε γὰρ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κρατησάντων γίγνεται, πῶς οὐ
 δικαίως ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν ἔχομεν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προγόνου

uses it, and therefore an indication that the writer was later than the time of Demosthenes.

πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας] 'ambassadors from all the confederates,' i. e. of the Amphictyonic union. The embassy in question is generally supposed to be that which led to the Second Philippic in B.C. 344. Libanius indeed states in his *Argument to that Oration*, that it was suggested by the arrival of ambassadors from Philip. Mr. Grote (xi. 615) on the other hand says: "I cannot bring myself to believe, on the authority of Libanius, that there were any envoys present from Philip. The tenour of the discourse appears to contradict that supposition."

τοὺς δυσχερὲς ὑποπτεύοντάς τι] 'those who entertain any unpleasant suspicions against me.'

δημοτικοί] 'friends of the democracy.' μικρὰ πάνυ προεμένῳ] 'at a very small expense.' Considering that Demosthenes was constantly asserting that Philip had bribed some of the orators at Athens, this was a strange admission to make.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προγόνου] This was the Alexander who for some time served with Xerxes on his invasion of Greece, and was employed by him to make a very tempting offer to the Athenians, if they would desert the common cause of Greece (Herod. viii. 140). But the assertions of the text are not confirmed by any historical record that has come down to us, nor by the probabilities of the case. Herodotus (viii. 121) does indeed testify to the existence of a golden statue at Delphi, offered from the ἀκροθίνια of the spoils of the defeated Persians, but he does not

πρώτου κατασχόντος τὸν τόπον, ὅθεν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων 20
Μήδων ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάνα χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελ-
φούς; εἴτε τούτων μὲν ἀμφισβητήσεί τις, ἀξιοῖ δὲ γί-
γνεσθαι τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων κυρίων, ὑπάρχει μοι καὶ
τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον· ἐκπολιορκήσας γὰρ τοὺς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἐκβα-
λόντας, ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κατοικισθέντας ἔλαβον τὸ 25
24 χωρίον. καίτοι πάντες οἰκοῦμεν τὰς πόλεις ἢ τῶν προ-
γόνων παραδόντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον κύριοι καταστάντες.
ὑμεῖς δὲ οὔτε πρῶτοι λαβόντες οὔτε νῦν ἔχοντες, ἐλάχιστον
δὲ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐμμέναντες ἀντιποιεῖσθε τῆς 165
πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα πίστιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ βεβαιωτάτην
ἐπιθέντες· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμοῦ γράφοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστο-
λαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγνώκατε δικαίως ἔχειν ἡμᾶς, τότε μὲν
ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἔχοντος ἐμοῦ τὴν πόλιν, κατὰ 5
25 συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁμολογίαις. καίτοι πῶς ἂν
ἐτέρα γένοιτο βεβαιωτέρα ταύτης κτήσις, τῆς τὸ μὲν ἐξ
ἀρχῆς καταλειφθείσης ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, πάλιν δὲ
κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμῆς γεγενημένης, τρίτον δὲ συγχωρηθείσης
ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν εἰθισμένων ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν ὑμῶν 10
προσηκόντων;

even allude to the alleged victory gained over them at Amphipolis, a circumstance which, if true, must have been known to, and would scarcely have been omitted by him. Moreover, Amphipolis did not as such exist at that time, for it was not founded till forty-three years afterwards by Hagnon with a colony from Athens. Its original name was Ἐννέα ὁδοί. Thucyd. i. 100, and iv. 102. Possibly the writer followed some Macedonian traditions on the subject unknown to the rest of Greece, though the alleged fact is appealed to as well known to the Athenians, and of indisputable authority. Jacobs remarks that "Philip appears to have taken advantage of the remoteness of the times (die Entfernung der Zeiten) to bring forward a very doubtful if not untrue statement." Herodotus (ix. 89) asserts that the retreating Persians were cut up not by the Macedonians but by the Thracians. Comp. c. Aristoc. § 239, and Mr. Blakesley's note on Herod. l. c. quoted on the *Περὶ Συντάξεως*, § 27.

ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατοικισθέντας] This

again is scarcely a true representation of the case. Brasidas, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, established the Macedonian supremacy at Amphipolis, and made himself so popular there, that the inhabitants paid divine honours to him as a hero after his death, and treated him as their founder notwithstanding the fact of Hagnon the Athenian having been so (τὴν ἀποκίαν ὡς οἰκιστὴν προσέθεσαν. Thucyd. v. 11). Nevertheless it was not true that the Amphipolitans were a colony of settlers from Lacedaemon.

πίστιν . . . ἐπιθέντες] 'when you have yourselves added the strongest testimony in my favour.' This phrase *πίστιν ἐπιθεῖναι* is not, I think, often (if indeed it is ever) used in Attic Greek in the sense which it bears here, and perhaps not in any other. Comp. *ἀνάγκας ἐπιθεῖς*, § 3. *ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁμολογίαις*] 'on the same terms,' that is, of my keeping it. *πῶς ἂν ἐτέρα . . . κτήσις;*] 'how could any other acquisition have a stronger title than this?'

26 Ἄ· μὲν οὖν ἐγκαλῶ, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ὥς δὲ προὔπαρχόντων
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν μᾶλλον ἤδη τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἂν δύνησθε κακοποιούντων,
ὑμᾶς ἀμυνοῦμαι μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς 15
θεοὺς ποιησάμενος διαλήψομαι περὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς.

ὥς δὲ προὔπαρχόντων] 'but as you are
the aggressors, and are by reason of my
forbearance now making still further en-
croachments.'

διαλήψομαι] 'I will have a decision

about my differences with you.' Here
again we have a phrase by no means
customary in ordinary Greek, and such
as an Athenian would probably not have
used.

ON THE REGULATION OF THE STATE.

THERE is no satisfaction in the attempt to illustrate or explain a speech like the *Περὶ Συντάξεως*, for we cannot determine whether it was an oration made by an actor in real life, or merely a *μελέτημα*, i. e. a kind of scholastic exercise by some sophist or rhetorician.

The received opinion is, that Demosthenes was not the author of it, and though Mr. Grote (xi. 498) "alludes with confidence to it and the fourth Philippic as Demosthenic compositions," still the impression, produced by a careful perusal, is certainly not in favour of the supposition that Demosthenes composed and delivered it in the shape in which it has come down to us, if indeed he was in any sense its author.

It does not profess to have been occasioned by any particular incident in Athenian or Hellenic history, and though it refers to many historic, and, as it would seem, almost contemporary events, yet it does not even once refer to Philip,—an omission which would be unaccountable in a state speech of Demosthenes.

It purports indeed, in the opening, to have been delivered before the Athenians when assembled on a question of finance, but in such vague and general terms as a speech-maker might have used on an imaginary occasion, and with no real or practical object in view. The sentiments expressed in it are, it is true, quite Demosthenic in character, but they are such as might readily have been adopted by a reader of the preceding orations, and they are certainly not enforced with any of the freshness and vigour which stamp and identify the productions of the great orator of Athens. The style also is for the most part easy and flowing, but it is tame and spiritless, and the 'argumentandi tenue filum,' though certainly in a 'tenuis causa' (Cicero, Orat. i. 36), and so far appropriate, confirms the conclusion suggested by other considerations. Of these, one is derived from the fact that Dionysius Halicarnassus makes no allusion to the speech in his letter to Ammaeus.

As for the subject-matter, Libanius observes, that the speech is no longer Φιλιππικός, but simply συμβουλευτικός, and the advice which it gives is merely a repetition of the recommendations in the first and third Olynthiacs, for a reform in the Theoric distributions, and a practical recognition of the principle, that all payments from the state should be for some service rendered to it.

The title *Περὶ Συντάξεως* has been variously rendered, the word *σύνταξις* sometimes meaning a regulated tax or contribution, such as the confederate Greeks arranged to pay after their defeat of the Persians, as a defence fund against further hostilities from them. Thus in Isocrates (*Areop.* p. 140) we find *συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας*, and in the *De Chers.* § 22, *τὰς συντάξεις Διοπεῖσθαι δίδομεν*, the same word meaning in one passage contributions according to agreement, and in the other, pay according to contract. But here it is used in a wider sense to signify a projected arrangement of public services and payments, by which one was to be made a fair equivalent for, and accompaniment of the other, and which was to secure to the state from every citizen the discharge of some public duty consistent with his ability and circumstances. Hence, says Mr. Kennedy, the word bears a meaning similar to Shakspeare's "Act of order," *Henry V.*, Act i. sc. 2, and he adopts as a title, "The Oration on the Duties of the State." H. Wolf, who is followed by Schäfer and Dindorf, styles it "*De ordinanda Republica*;" Auger, "*Sur le Gouvernement de la République*," a translation quite inaccurate; Pabst "*Ueber die Einrichtung des Staats*;" and Leland, "The Oration on the Regulation of the State," which I think satisfactory and adopt.

As it is not certain that the Oration was ever delivered in public, I have not prefixed any date to it, but from § 9, where mention is made of the overthrow of the Rhodian Democracy, it is evident that it must have been written after that event, and therefore not before B.C. 351.

XIII.

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὁ λόγος οὗτος οὐκέτι Φιλιππικός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς συμβουλευτικός· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ἀγόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν χρημάτων, παρελθὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης πείθει συνταχθῆναί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν ἀξίωμα στρατευσόντων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προκινδυνεύοντας, καὶ συγκρίνει τὰ νῦν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, πολὺ φαυλότερα καὶ ταπεινότερα τῶν παλαιῶν δεικνύς. 166

Περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιείσθαι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδέτερόν μοι δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν εἶναι, οὐτ' ἐπιτιμήσαντα τοῖς νέμονται καὶ διδοῦσι τὰ κοινὰ εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ τοῖς βλάπτεσθαι διὰ τούτων ἡγουμένοις τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε συνειπόντα καὶ 5 παραινέσαντα ὥς δεῖ λαμβάνειν χαρίσασθαι τοῖς σφόδρα ἐν χρεία τοῦ λαβεῖν οὔσιν· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ πρὸς τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον σκοποῦντες οὐτ' ἐπαινοῦσιν οὔτε δυσχεραίνουσι 2 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὥς ἑκάτεροι χρείας καὶ περιουσίας ἔχουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐτ' ἂν εἰσηγησαίμην, οὐτ' 10 ἀντίποιμι ὥς οὐ δεῖ λαμβάνειν παραινῶ μέντοι σκο-

Περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος] 'with regard to the money matter before us.' So below, § 2: τὰργύριον περὶ οὗ βουλευέσθε.

τοῖς νέμονται καὶ διδοῦσι] 'those who dispense and give away.'

οὔτε συνειπόντα] 'nor by advocating and recommending the propriety of receiving the money.'

ἀλλ' ὥς . . . ἔχουσιν] 'but according to their several conditions of indigence and affluence.' C. R. K.

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν] 'but for my part I would neither propose this (ὥς οὐ δεῖ λαμβάνειν), nor would I speak against the propriety of receiving the money.'

πεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τὰργύριον
 μέν ἐστι τοῦτο, περὶ οὗ βουλευέσθε, μικρὸν, τὸ δ' ἔθος
 μέγα, ὃ γίγνεται μετὰ τούτου. εἰ μὲν οὖν μετὰ τοῦ
 πράττειν ἂ προσήκει καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν κατασκευά- 15
 σεσθε, οὐ μόνον οὐ βλάψετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα
 3 ὠφελήσετε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ τοῦ μὲν
 λαμβάνειν καὶ ἑορτῇ καὶ πᾶσα ἀρκέσει πρόφασις, τοῦ δ' 167
 ἂ πρὸς τούτοις δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν
 ἐθελήσετε, ὁρᾶτε μήποθ', ἂ νῦν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε πράττειν,
 4 σφόδρα ἡμαρτηκέναι νομίσητε. ἐγὼ δέ φημι δεῖν (καί
 μοι μὴ θορυβήσητε ἐφ' ᾧ μελλω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες 5
 κρίνατε) ὥσπερ τῷ λαβεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεδώκαμεν, οὕτω
 καὶ περὶ τοῦ συνταχθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι τὰ
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ παρασχεῖν
 ἕκαστον αὐτὸν μὴ μόνον ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 , πράττειν βουλόμενον, ἢν', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀγαθῶν 10
 τὰς ἐλπίδας δι' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔχητε, καὶ μὴ τὸν δεῖνα
 5 μηδὲ τὸν δεῖνα πυνθάνησθῃ τί πράττει. καὶ τὰ μὲν
 προσιόντα τῇ πόλει πάντα, καὶ ἂ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 παραναλίσκετε εἰς οὐδὲν δέον καὶ ὅσ' ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων
 ὑπάρχει, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς φημι χρήναι τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον, 15
 τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατιωτικόν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν κατά-

εἰ μὲν οὖν μετὰ τοῦ πράττειν] 'now if you shall so arrange it that the receipt of the money be associated with the performance of duties,' i. e. so that only those who do their duty shall receive the money. The emphatic position of μετὰ τοῦ πράττειν suggests this interpretation rather than the more general one, 'if you combine with doing what ought to be done also the receiving of money.'

τοῦ δ' ἂ πρὸς τούτοις] 'while about your further duties you will not even hear a word.' C. R. K.

ὁρᾶτε μήποθ'] 'ne quando.' Schäfer. 'Take care that you do not hereafter think you have done exceedingly wrong in what you now think you are doing rightly.'

ὥσπερ . . . ἀπεδώκαμεν] 'as we have granted an assembly for the receiving of money.'

ταῦτα] 'the measures proposed.'

καὶ ἂ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων] 'both what you now spend idly on no good from your own resources.'

τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν κατάλογον] 'and those past the muster-roll (i. e. those over forty-five years of age) as inspection money.' The κατάλογος was the roll or catalogue in which was inscribed the names of all who were of a fit age for service. The τὸ ἐξεταστικόν would be paid to officers past the age of actual duty in the field, for inspecting the muster-rolls, examining and reporting upon the efficiency of arms, tools, and equipments, detecting 'malingerers,' seeing that no one missed his turn of service, and discharging the other duties of an inspector of troops. The performance of a similar duty by the Roman censors in the Second Punic War is thus described by Livy, xxiv. c. 18: "Neque senatu modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se censorum tenuit. Nomina

λογον ἐξεταστικὸν ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάσαι τοῦτο, στρα-
 6 τεύεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδενὶ τούτου παραχωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως οἰκείαν εἶναι καὶ κατεσκευασμένην
 ἀπὸ τούτων, ἵν' εὐπορήτε καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιήτε, καὶ τὸν 20
 στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι ταύτης, ἵν' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 μὴ τοιαῦτα οἰάπερ νυνὶ συμβαίῃη. τοὺς στρατηγούς
 κρίνετε, καὶ περίεστιν ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων “ὁ δεῖνα.
 7 τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν δεῖνα εἰσήγγειλεν,” ἀλλοῦ δ' οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ τί
 ὑμῖν γένηται; πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι μὴ φρουραῖς, 25
 ἀλλὰ τῷ τὰ αὐτὰ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν κάκεινοις ὥσιν οἰκείοι,
 ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ ξένους ἔχοντες τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους
 ἄγωσι καὶ φέρωσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μὴδ' ὀρώσιν, ἀφ'
 ὧν αἱ μὲν ὠφέλειαι τούτων εἰσὶν ἴδιαι, τὰ δὲ μίσση καὶ 168
 τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐφ' ὅλην ἔρχεται τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολίτας
 τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἃ νῦν τοὺς
 8 φίλους, ποιῶσιν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
 τὴν ὑμετέραν ποθεῖ παρουσίαν, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς 5
 οἰκείους πολέμους οἰκεία χρήσθαι δυνάμει συμφέρειν,
 καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα πράγματα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν
 γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ὑμῖν ἀπέχρη καὶ μηδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνι-
 9 κῶν περιεργάζεσθαι ὅπως ἔχει, ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος· νῦν
 δὲ πρωτεύειν μὲν ἀξιούτε καὶ τὰ δίκαια ὀρίζειν τοῖς 10
 ἄλλοις, τὴν δὲ ταύτ' ἐποπτεύουσιν καὶ φυλάξουσιν
 δύναμιν οὔτε κατεσκευάσθε οὔτε κατασκευάζεσθε, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ πολλῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας καὶ ἡρεμίας ὑμῶν ὁ Μυτιληναίων
 δῆμος καταλέλυται, ἐπὶ πολλῆς δ' ἡσυχίας ὁ Ῥοδίων,

omnium ex juniorum tabulis excerpserunt,
 qui quadriennio non militassent, quibus
 neque vacatio justa militiae, neque mor-
 bus causa fuisset. Et ea supra duo millia
 nominum in aerarios relata, tribuque omnes
 moti.” ἢ δὲνα αἰετὸν ἢ ποῖον, δένα δὲ τὸν δέ-
 καὶ μηδενὶ τούτου] ‘and that you should
 surrender this to no one else.’

ἀπὸ τούτων] ‘from these resources’
 (i. e. τὰ προσόντα τῇ πόλει πάντα).

τὸν στρατηγόν] ‘the general (i. e. one
 duly appointed by and from themselves).

ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ‘So-and-so, the son
 of So-and-so, has impeached So-and-so.’

τί ὑμῖν γένηται;] ‘what should be done

by you?’

οἱ στρατηγοί] Comp. c. Phil. i. §§ 28.
 51. 53, and Grote xi. 312.

ἄνευ τοῦ . . . συμφέρειν] ‘and in-
 dependent of the advantage of employing
 our own forces for our own wars.’

ταύτ' ἐποπτεύουσιν] ‘to watch over
 and maintain these claims.’

ἐπὶ πολλῆς . . . ἡρεμίας] ‘while you
 kept very quiet and aloof.’

ὁ Μυτιληναίων δῆμος] Allusion is made
 to this event *De Rhod. Libert.* § 23.

ὁ Ῥοδίων] This must have been after
 the conclusion of the Social War (B.C.
 355), in which Rhodes was at feud with

- ἐχθρός γε ὦν ἡμῖν, φαίη τις ἂν ἀλλὰ μείζω χρὴ νομίζεω, 15
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
 τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐχθραν ἢ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δῆμους ὑπὲρ
 10 ὦν ποτ' ἂν ᾗ. ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπανέλθω, φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς
 συντετάχθαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν
 ἃ προσήκει σύνταξιν εἶναι. διελέχθην δ' ὑμῖν περὶ τού- 20
 των καὶ πρότερον, καὶ διεξῆλθον ὡς ἂν συνταχθείητε,
 οἱ θ' ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τούτων ἐκτός ἐστε,
 11 καὶ εὐπορία τις ἂν ἅπασιν γένοιτο κοινή. ὁ δέ μοι
 πλείστην ἀθυμίαν παρέσχευ ἀπάντων, ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ καλῶν 25
 ὄντων τούτων ἀπάντων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς οὐδεὶς 169
 μέμνηται, τοῖν δυοῖν δ' ὀβολοῖν ἅπαντες. καίτοι τοὺς μὲν
 οὐκ ἔστι πλείονος ἢ δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἀξίους εἶναι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα
 ἃ μετὰ τούτων εἶπον τῶν βασιλέως ἀξιά ἐστι χρημά-
 των, πόλιν τοσούτους ὀπλίτας ἔχουσιν καὶ τριήρεις καὶ 5
 ἱππέας καὶ χρημάτων πρόσδοτον συντετάχθαι καὶ παρ-
 εσκευάσθαι.
- 12 Τί οὖν, φαίη τις ἂν, ταῦτα νῦν λέγω; ὅτι φημὶ δεῖν
 ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν πάντας μισθοφορεῖν δυσχεραίνουσι

Athens. See the Oration De Rhod. Libert.

ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς] 'on account of the principle alone.' Reiske observes, "Subaudi αὐτῶν. *Illam ipsam ob metam, ad quam principatus paucorum contendunt.*" The Greek writer apparently means that an oligarchy is odious simply on account of the principle on which it rests.

ὑπὲρ ὧν ποτ' ἂν ᾗ] 'for whatever causes it may be.'

δεῖν ὑμᾶς συντετάχθαι] 'I say that you ought to be brought under a system, and that there should be one and the same regulation in receiving money and discharging duties.' Comp. Olyn. i. § 21: μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δεόντα. The writer seems to mean nothing more than this, viz.: that pay should not be given except for duty, and that duty should always be remunerated with pay.

πρότερον] Wolf and Reiske are of opinion that reference is here made to the First Philippic. But this is by no means

evident, and perhaps no particular reference is made.

διεξῆλθον ὡς ἂν] 'I have explained under what system you should be brought.' τούτων ἀπάντων] 'all these advantages which I have before mentioned.'

τοῖν δυοῖν δ' ὀβολοῖν] The Theoric money allowed by the law of Eubulus to each citizen out of the revenues of the State for the enjoyment of the public festivals, and payment of the charge of admission to the theatres. See Olynth. iii.

ἃ μετὰ τούτων] 'which I mentioned in conjunction with these advantages,' or, if we adopt Dindorf's reading, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μετὰ τούτων ὡς προσήκει, 'in conjunction with these changes which I have recommended.' But I do not think that Demosthenes would have written so vaguely and obscurely. Reiske refers μετὰ τούτων to the two oboli, as if the orator was speaking of the arrangements which ought to be made while and at the same time as payment was received. But I cannot so understand the words.

τινες, τὸ δὲ συνταχθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι παρὰ 10
πάντων χρήσιμον εἶναι δοκιμάζεται, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξασθαι
τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ προθεῖναι περὶ τούτων τῷ βουλομένῳ
γνώμην ἀποφῆνασθαι. ὥς οὕτως ἔχει· ἐὰν μὲν ὑμεῖς νῦν
πεισθῆτε τούτων καιρὸν εἶναι νομίσαντες, ὅταν αὐτῶν εἰς
χρείαν ἔλθῃτε, ἔτοιμα ὑπάρξει· ἂν δ' ἀκαιρίαν ἡγησάμενοι 15
παρίδῃτε, ὅταν δέῃ χρῆσθαι, τότε ἀναγκασθήσεσθε παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι.

- 13 Ἦδη δέ τις εἶπεν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοί· που λέγων, οὐχ
ὑμῶν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαρρηγνυμένων εἰ ταῦτα
γενήσεται, “τί δ' ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων 20
ἀγαθὸν γέγονεν; παρελθὼν ἡμῶν, ὁπόταν αὐτῷ δόξη,
ἐπέπλησε τὰ ὦτα λόγων, καὶ διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ
τοὺς προγόνους ἐπήνεσε, καὶ μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσῆσας
14 ἡμᾶς κατέβη.” ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς δυναίμην ὧν λέγω τι
πεῖσαι, τηλικαυτ' ἂν οἶμαι τὴν πόλιν πρᾶξαι ἀγαθὰ, ὥστ' 25
εἰ νῦν εἰπεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι, πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπιστῆσαι ὥς
μεῖζοσιν ἢ δυνατοῖς· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο μικρὸν ὠφελεῖν
15 οἶμαι, εἰ τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς συνεθίζω. δεῖ γάρ, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν βουλόμενόν τι ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν 170
ὑμῶν ἀγαθὸν τὰ ὦτα πρῶτον ὑμῶν ἰάσασθαι· διέφθαρται
γάρ· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῇ καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλ-
τιστα ἀκούειν συνείθισθε. οἶον (ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσει
μοι μηδεὶς, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντ' εἴπω) ἀνέφξαν δῆπου πρῶν 5
τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. οὐκοῦν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες τὸν
δῆμον καταλελύσθαι, τοὺς νόμους οὐκέτ' εἶναι, τοιαυτ'

τὸ δὲ συνταχθῆναι] ‘but organization and preparation are universally acknowledged to be useful.’

προθεῖναι] ‘allow any one who pleases to give his opinion about these matters,’ ὥς οὕτως ἔχει] ‘for thus stands the case.’

Ἦδη δέ τις] ‘but it has been said before, I believe, in a speech by some one.’

τῶν διαρρηγνυμένων] ‘those who are ready to burst if these measures shall be carried into effect.’

ἐπέπλησε] Mr. Kennedy quotes Shakspeare, Henry IV. Part II. Prologue:

“Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.”

διέσυρε] ‘pulls to pieces,’ i. e. abuses. μετεωρίσας] ‘after puffing us up and blowing us out.’

οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῇ] ‘so many falsehoods.’

ἀνέφξαν . . . τὸν ὀπισθόδομον] ‘broke open the treasury.’ This ὀπισθόδομος was the chamber at the back of the Parthenon used as a treasury. See Appendix to this Oration.

οἱ παριόντες] ‘the public speakers one and all.’ Literally, ‘the men who come forward to speak.’

- 16 ἔλεγον. καίτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἂν ἀληθῆ λέγω) οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἄξια ἐποιοῦν θανάτου, ὁ δὲ δῆμος δ' οὐ διὰ τούτων καταλύεται. πάλιν κώπας τις 10 ὑφείλετο· μαστιγοῦν, στρεβλοῦν πάντες ἐβόων, λέγοντες τὸν δῆμον καταλύεσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ τί φημί; τὸν μὲν ὑφαιρούμενον θανάτου ποιεῖν ἄξια ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι, τὸν δῆμον δ' οὐ διὰ τούτων καταλύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ πῶς καταλλύεται οὐδεὶς 15 λέγει οὐδὲ πάρρησιάζεται. ἐγὼ δὲ φράσω· ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φαύλως ἡγμένοι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀσύντακτοι καὶ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ γινώσκοντες ᾗτε, καὶ μήτε στρατηγὸς μήτ' ἄλλος μηδεὶς ὢν ἂν ὑμεῖς ψηφίσσησθε φροντίζῃ, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεὶς λέγειν ἐθέλῃ μηδ' ἐπανορθοῖ, μηδ' ὅπως παύσεται τοιαῦτα ὄντα πράττει, ὁ νῦν 20 18 αἰεὶ συμβαίνει. καὶ νῆ Δία, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕτεροι γε λόγοι παρερρυνήκασιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδεῖς, καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν βλάπτοντες, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ σωτηρία, καὶ δεῖ τῇ ψήφῳ τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς φυλάττειν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ δικαστήρια 25 τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἐστὶ κοινὰ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις 171 19 τῆς πολιτείας· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ποιήσει τὸ νικᾶν, ἀλλ' οἱ μετὰ τούτων κρατοῦντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τι ἂν βούλησθε 5 ποιεῖν ὑμῶν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἄδειαν παρασκευάζουσιν· δεῖ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅπλοις φοβεροὺς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις φιλανθρώπους εἶναι.

πάλιν . . . ὑφείλετο] 'again, there was the case of somebody stealing oars,' i. e. from the public dockyards.

τὸν ὑφαιρούμενον] 'the thief.'

φαύλως ἡγμένοι] 'under bad leading, a helpless multitude without arms, without order, and without unanimity.' Mr. Kennedy illustrates φαύλως ἡγμένοι by οὐκ ἤγετο μάλλον ὅπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἤγε. Thucyd. ii. 65.

καὶ νῆ Δία] The Codex S. has νῆ Δία γε, which Dindorf adopts as the "usitata recentioribus scriptoribus formula," and observes that in the older Attic, γε does not generally follow "νῆ Δία, μὰ Δία et similia," without some intermediate word.

But the other MSS. give the reading of the text, which I adopt with Bekker. Dindorf reads ἕτεροι λόγοι without the intermediate γε.

παρερρυνήκασιν] 'have become current amongst you.'

τὰ δικαστήρια] 'these courts are open to you all for your legal claims on one another.'

φιλανθρώπους] "Inepte. Effictum ex Cherson. p. 98. 5. Recte ibi: in ἐκκλησίᾳ mites, in δικαστηρίοις aequi." Dobree. But the quotation does not justify the remark. On the contrary, the Orator (l. c.) calls upon his countrymen to be ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πρᾶν καὶ φιλαν-

- 20 Εἰ δέ τῳ δοκῶ μείζους ἢ κατ' ἐμαντὸν λέγειν λόγους, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τηλικαύτης 10 πόλεως ῥηθησόμενον λόγον καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων παντὸς ἑνὸς τοῦ λέγοντος αἰεὶ μείζω φαίνεσθαι δεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐγγὺς εἶναι, μὴ τῆς τοῦ λέγοντος. ὅτι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμωμένων ταῦτα λέγει, τὰς προ- 21 φάσεις ἐγὼ διέξेमι ὑμῖν. οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ 15 ταύτην τὴν τάξιν προσιόντες δούλοι τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονεῖσθαι χάριτος περιέρχονται, τελεσθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἕκαστος σπουδάζων, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον οὐδὲν πρᾶξαι. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοιούτος ἐστὶν οἷος ἐγχειρεῖν ἔργῳ τῳ, νῦν μὲν ἡγείται τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων καὶ τοῦνομα, 20 τῆς τῶν ἐναντιωσομένων ἐρημίας ἀπολαύων, τὰς ἐλπίδας ὑμῖν ὑποτείνων, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν, κληρονομήσειν αὐτὸς τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν, ἂν δ' ὑμεῖς δι' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἕκαστα πράττητε, τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥσπερ τῶν ἔργων 22 αὐτῶν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐκ τούτων ἔξω. οἱ δὲ πολιτευόμενοι 25

θρόνους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεπούς.

παντὸς ἑνὸς . . . δεῖ] 'ought always to appear too exalted for any individual who may be the speaker, and to approximate to your dignity, not to that of the speaker.'

οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀρχαιρεσίας] 'those who apply themselves to public offices and this kind of employment.'

δούλοι τῆς ἐπὶ] 'the slaves of the election interest.' ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονεῖσθαι χάρις appears to mean, as Mr. Kennedy thinks, 'favour or interest for being elected,' χάρις being that favour and good-will of the electors which a candidate goes about to obtain. The term περιέρχεται corresponds to the Latin 'ambire.'

τελεσθῆναι] 'to be made a full general.' I am not sure however that this is an accurate version, for Schäfer may be right in his idea that the expression means something more, and is the "locutio oratoris stomachantis. *Singuli operam dantes, ut strategiae initientur mysteriis: Jeder sich abmühend zum Strategos geweiht zu werden.*"

εἰ δέ τις] The meaning seems to be as follows: but if you elect as Στρατηγὸς an enterprising man, the consequence

under the present system is, that he starts with the name and prestige of the city, and having no fellow-citizens among his mercenary troops to oppose him, while holding out expectations to you, and this is all, he expects to gain for himself (and he really does so, = ὅπερ ἐστίν) advantages which should be shared by the rest of the community, who however get nothing but vain expectations. On the other hand, were the troops as they should be, Athenian citizens, they would all participate not only in the labours and dangers of service, but also in its profits and advantages.

τῆς τῶν ἐναντιωσομένων] 'profiting by the absence of others to oppose him.' "De hostibus intellexit Reiskius. Malim intelligere de civibus adversae factionis." Schäfer. I think Schäfer is right, except that the citizens need not be supposed to have been 'adversae factionis.' With τῆς ἐρημίας comp. c. Phil. i. § 56, p. 102: τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσάντων.

οἱ δὲ πολιτευόμενοι] These politicians, elsewhere called ῥήτορες, are opposed to the persons described in v. 17, as οἱ πρὸς ἀρχαιρεσίας προσιόντες, in whom the στρατηγοὶ are included, as they are also in πρὸς τούτους, 'the former class.'

καὶ περὶ ταῦτ' ὄντες, τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὑμῖν ἀφέντες, προσκεχώρηκασι πρὸς τούτους· καὶ πρότερον μὲν κατὰ 172 συμμορίας εἰσεφέρετε, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμῶν, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι μεθ' ἑκατέρων τριακόσιον οἱ δ' ἄλλοι. προσ- 173
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ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκα Χαβρίας· δοκεῖτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων 25
 τούτων παραχωρεῖν τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἅς δεδώ-
 26 κате ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκάστω τούτων. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολιτικὰς 173
 δωρεὰς οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε καλῶς ἔνεμον καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς·
 τὰς δὲ τῶν ξένων πῶς ; ἐκεῖνοι Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ δώ-
 δεκα μὲν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι τῇ
 πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, διακοσίους δ' ἵππεύσι πενέσταις 5
 27 ἰδίους βοηθήσαντι, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀτέ-
 λειαν ἔδωκαν μόνον. καὶ πρότερον τούτου Περδίκκα τῷ
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατείαν βασιλεύοντι

Μένωνι] Eion was a town at the mouth of the Strymon or Kara-Su (ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιθαλάσσιον. Thucyd. iv. 102), and the port of Amphipolis, after taking which in the eighth year (B.C. 424) of the Peloponnesian war, Brasidas proceeded to attack Eion. Here however he was not successful, for the town had been reinforced by the previous arrival of a naval armament under Thucydides (iv. 62). But this historian makes no mention of Menon the Pharsalian, and no allusion to his liberality. Still it is probable enough that he assisted the Athenians in some way or other against Brasidas, for the Thessalians in general having always been friendly to the Athenians (τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀεὶ ποτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εὖνον ὑπῆρχε), were hostile to Brasidas, and attempted to stop his passage. (Thucyd. iv. 78.) This Pharsalian could not have been the same as Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, who served under Cyrus the Younger, and was then ὠρεῖος and ἀγένης. Xen. Anab. ii. 6. 28.

πενέσταις] These Penestae were the descendants of the old Pelagic or Aeolian inhabitants of Thessaly Proper, reduced to a state of vassalage by their Thessalian conquerors, to whom they are generally supposed to have stood in nearly the same relation as the Helots of Laconia did to the Dorian Spartans, though their condition was on the whole superior. Perhaps indeed they might rather be compared with the Perioeci, the class next above the Helots. That they served on horseback, appears from this passage. (Comp. c. Aristoc. § 238.) But it must be remembered that Thessaly abounded in cavalry. Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Πενέσται.

ἀτέλειαν] To a resident this privilege would be comparatively of great value, but in the case of a foreigner travelling to or trading with Athens, it would only exempt him from customs and harbour dues. To Menon it would be a mere complimentary distinction.

Περδίκκα] Alexander, who gave information to the Greeks of the intentions of Mardonius, the night before the battle of Plataeae (Herod. ix. 45), was then king of Macedonia, not Perdiccas, his son, so that the writer of this oration is entirely wrong in this matter. Demosthenes also makes the same mistake in another oration (c. Aristoc. § 239). It has indeed been supposed that Perdiccas was viceroy of some province, or regent during his father's lifetime, and that consequently he was dignified with the title of king. But on the other hand it must be remembered, that Herodotus (ix. 89) states that it was the Thracians (not the Macedonians) who inflicted such severe losses upon the Persians in their final retreat. Perhaps then, Demosthenes merely expressed the common belief of his times, which must be admitted to be a gross error. And as Mr. Blakesley observes (Herod. ii. 477), "To hypothesize a regency of Perdiccas during the lifetime of his father, is a less satisfactory way of explaining the variation, than to account for it by the ordinary phenomenon observable in every country, of the inaccuracy of popular traditions with regard to dates and persons. The ethnical affinity of the Thracians with the Macedonian commonalty, and the indefiniteness of the boundary between the two countries, would readily lead to the confusion of the two nations in common estimation."

- Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττης διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τάτϋχημα 10
 ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο πολιτείαν, ἀλλ'
 ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν μόνον, μεγάλην οἶμαι καὶ τιμίαν καὶ
 σεμνὴν τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα ἡγούμενοι καὶ πάσης μείζονα
 εὐεργεσίας. νῦν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φθόρους ἀνθρώ-
 πους οἰκοτρίβων οἰκότριβας, τιμὴν ὥσπερ ἄλλου του τῶν 15
 28 ὠνίων λαμβάνοντες, ποιείσθε πολίτας. ταῦτα δ' ὑμῖν ἐπ-
 ελήλυθε πράττειν οὐχ ὅτι τὰς φύσεις χεῖρους ἐστὲ τῶν
 προγόνων, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς παρειστῆκει μέγα
 φρονεῖν, ὑμῶν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιήρηται τοῦτο.
 1 ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, δυνατόν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράτ- 20
 τουτας μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ
 λαμπρὰ καὶ καλὰ πράττοντας μικρὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν·
 ὅποι' ἄττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾗ,
 1 τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημ' ἔχειν.
- 29 Σκέψασθε δὲ ἃ τις κεφάλαια ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν τ' 25
 ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἄρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων γε δύνησθε γενέσθαι κρείττους. πέντε μὲν 174
 τοῖνυν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἐκόντων
 ἐκείνοι, πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια τέλαιντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
 ἀνήγαγον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες
 ἔστησαν τρόπαια, ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς φιλοτιμούμεθα. 5
 καίτοι ταῦτα νομίζετε αὐτοὺς στήσαι οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζωμεν
 μόνον ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες; ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ μιμώμεθα τὰς
 30 τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς. ἐκείνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς δ', ὅσης
 ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, σκέψασθε εἰ παρα-
 πλήσια. οὐ πλείω μὲν ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τέλαιντα 10

πάσης μείζονα εὐεργεσίας] 'above all obligation.'

οἰκοτρίβων οἰκότριβας] 'menials and sons of menials.'

τιμὴν] scil. πολιτείας.

τοῖς μὲν . . . παρειστῆκει] 'they were in the habit of thinking highly of themselves.'

ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ'] As in Olyn. iii. § 36, p. 64.

Σκέψασθε δέ] "173, 23, usque ad 175, 20, ex Olyn. iii. p. 34, 27—37, 14."

Dobree.

ἂν ἄρ' ὑμῶν] 'if perchance, by such means, at any (ἀλλ') rate, you may rise superior to yourselves,' i. e. in consequence of the comparison.

πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια] Thucydides, ii. 13, says, τὰ πλείεστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο.

ἡμεῖς δ'] 'but as for us—though we have gained a position as unoccupied as you all see it is.' Ἐρημία here means a freedom from competition.

ἀνήλωται μάτην εἰς τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπόρους, ἐξανή-
λονται δὲ οἱ τε ἴδιοι πάντες οἴκοι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῇ πόλει
καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμ-
μάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἀπολώ-
31 λασιν; ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ταῦτα μόνον τότε εἶχε βέλτιον ἢ 15
νῦν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα χεῖρον. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὃ τι
βούλεσθε ἐξετάσωμεν. οἰκοδομήματα μὲν γε καὶ κόσμον
τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν
τούτοις τοιοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον κατέλιπον ἐκεῖνοι, ὥστε
μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι. Προ- 20
πύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ Παρθενῶν, νεώσοικοι, στοαὶ, τᾶλλα, οἷς
32 ἐκεῖνοι κοσμήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν παρεδосαν τὰς δ'
ιδίας οἰκίας τῶν ἐν δυνάμει γενομένων οὕτω μετρίας καὶ
τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ὀνόματι ἀκολουθοῦς, ὥστε τὴν Θεμι-
στοκλέους καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Μιλ- 25
τιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν, εἴ τις ἄρ' οἶδεν ὑμῶν
ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν 175
33 οὔσαν. νῦν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἡ πόλις
ἡμῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀγαπᾷ κατασκευάζουσα καὶ κρήνας καὶ
κονιάματα καὶ λήρους (καὶ οὐ τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις ταῦτ'
ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν, εἰ ταυτ' ἱκανὰ 5
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι διοικεῖν), ἰδίᾳ δ' οἱ τῶν
κοινῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένοι οἱ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδο-
μημάτων σεμνοτέρας τὰς ιδίας οἰκίας κατεσκευάκασιν, οὐ

εἰς τοὺς . . . ἀπόρους] The passage in Olyn. iii. § 32, p. 63, of which the text is clearly an imitation, has *εἰς οὐδὲν δέον*. As for the needy Greeks, to whom the text supposes the Athenians to have been so liberal, nothing else is known of them from any authority. Hence Schäfer approves of another reading, which is found in the Codices, viz. *εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους*. But then τῶν Ἑλλήνων is inexplicable; and the date of the oration being unknown, it is impossible to explain the reference by any contemporary illustration.

ἐξανήλονται δέ] 'and have there not been expended all our private means, and the public revenues of the city, and the contributions of our allies?' The word *οἶκος* comprehends all that goes with the

οἰκία or house, viz. family and estate. In the orations against Aphobus and Onetor it is frequently used to signify an estate of inheritance.

οἰκοδομήματα μὲν] "Praeter Olyn. iii. (§ 28), vide Arist. p. 689, 9—690, 7." Dobree.

Προπύλαια] See Appendix, p. 294.

ὁ Παρθενῶν] Some MSS. omit this clause, and Dindorf follows them. See Appendix, p. 304.

τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους] Comp. Olyn. iii. § 30, p. 62.

κονιάματα καὶ λήρους] 'whitewashing and trumpery.'

οἱ τῶν κοινῶν] 'those who have had the management of any public monies.'

- μόνον τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερηφανωτέρας, οἱ δὲ γῆν συνεων-
 μένοι γεωργοῦσιν, ὅσῃν οὐδ' ὄναρ ἤλπισαν πώποτε. 10
 34 τούτων δ' αἴτιον ἀπάντων ὅτι τότε μὲν ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης
 ἦν καὶ κύριος ἀπάντων, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν παρ' ἐκείνου τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐκάστω καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς μετα-
 λαμβάνειν· νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον κύριοι μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὗτοι,
 καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν ὑπῆρέτου 15
 καὶ προσθήκης μέρει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε ἅ ἂν οὗτοι μετα-
 διδώσι λαμβάνοντες.
- 35 Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως
 ἔστιν, ὥστε εἴ τις ἀναγνοίῃ τὰ ψηφίσματα ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς
 πράξεις ἐφεξῆς διέλθοι, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς πιστεύσειε τῶν αὐτῶν 20
 εἶναι ταῦτα ἀκείμενα. οἶον ἅ πρὸς τοὺς καταράτους Μεγα-
 ρέας ἐψηφίσασθε ἀποτεμνομένους τὴν ὀργάδα, ἐξιέναι,
 κωλύειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἅ πρὸς Φλιασίους, ὅτε ἐξέπεσον

τῶν πολλῶν] scil. τῶν οἰκίῶν τῶν πολ-
 λῶν.

ὅσῃν οὐδ' ὄναρ] F. L. p. 429. 18. Dobree.

τούτων δ' αἴτιον] Comp. Olyn. iii.

§ 34, p. 64.

οἶον ἅ πρὸς] 'as for example the reso-
 lutions which you passed against the ac-
 cursed Megarians when they appropriated
 the sacred ground.' Comp. note on Ep.
 Philip. § 4, p. 270. This ὄργας was a piece
 of land between Athens and Megara, sacred
 to Demeter and Persephone, the divini-
 ties of Eleusis (τῆς καλουμένης Ὀργάδας
 θεῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱερᾶς), and which
 therefore neither the Athenians nor the
 Megarians were allowed to cultivate. Ne-
 vertheless, as Plutarch (vit. Peric. c. 30)
 tells us, using the phrase of the text
 (ἀποτεμνεσθαι τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργάδα), the
 Megarians just before the Peloponnesian
 war did appropriate some of this district,
 and put to death the Athenian herald
 Anthemocritus, who was sent to remon-
 strate with them on their conduct. There-
 upon, adds Plutarch, γράφει ψή-
 φισμα κατ' αὐτῶν Χαρίνος, ἄσπονδον μὲν
 εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραν, ὅς δ' ἂν
 ἐπιβῇ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ
 ζημιούσθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς θταν
 ὁμῶναι τὸν πατρικὸν ὄρκον, ἐπομνύειν
 ὅτι καὶ δις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγα-
 ρικὴν ἐμβалоῦσι. To this vote it is not
 impossible (we cannot say more) that
 allusion is here made; for though it was

far from a contemporary affair, it was a
 well-known incident in Athenian history,
 from its alleged connexion with the Pelo-
 ponnesian war (Thucyd. i. 139), and it is
 contrasted with the more recent matter of
 Phlius (τὸ ξαναχῶς). Aristophanes, in his
 Acharnians (v. 525), gives a very different
 version of the quarrel between Megara and
 Athens.

ἅ πρὸς Φλιασίους] We are not able to
 explain this incident satisfactorily by any
 reference to contemporary history; and
 not knowing the date of the oration, we
 have no guide to the time when it hap-
 pened. But we know that during the
 war between Thebes and Sparta, Phlius
 was a faithful ally of the latter; in con-
 sequence of which she was exposed (after
 Leuctra, B.C. 371) to the attacks of her
 neighbours the Argives and Sicyonians,
 then in alliance with Thebes, who were also
 instigated by the then exiles from Phlius.
 The Athenians assisted the Phliasi-
 ans against their enemies; and when, in B.C.
 366, the Sicyonians were erecting a for-
 tress (Thyamia) on the frontier, to harass
 and annoy Phlius, the Athenians sent out
 Chares to its relief, who, in concert with
 the men of Phlius, wrested it from them.
 Xen. Hell. vii. 2. 21. Thirlwall's Greece,
 v. 130. Diodorus (xv. 40) relates, that
 in B.C. 375 Phlius was in a state of civil
 war, one party having driven the other
 into exile, and the exiles endeavouring to

τὸ ἔναγχος, βοηθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, τῶν ἐν
 36 Πελοποννήσῳ τοὺς βουλομένους παρακαλεῖν. ἅπαντα ²⁵
 καλὰ, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτα καὶ δίκαια καὶ τῆς πόλεως ¹⁷⁶
 ἄξια· τὰ ἔργα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδαμοῦ. οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν
 ἀπέχθειαν διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐκφέρεσθε, τῶν δ' ἔργων
 οὐδενὸς κύριοι γίγνεσθε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσματα πρὸς τὸ
 τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα ψηφίζεσθε, τὴν δύναμιν δ' οὐκ ἀκό- ⁵
 37 λουθον ὦν ψηφίζεσθε ἔχετε. ἐγὼ δὲ παραινέσαιμ' ἂν
 ὑμῖν (καὶ μοι μηδὲν ὀργισθῆτε) ἣ ἔλαττον φρονεῖν καὶ
 τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀγαπᾶν πράττοντας, ἣ μείζω δύναμιν
 παρασκευάζεσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σιφνίοις ἢ Κυθνίοις ἢ τιςιν
 ἄλλοις τοιούτοις οὔσι συνῆδειν ὑμῖν, ἔλαττον φρονεῖν ¹⁰
 συνεβούλευον ἂν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔστ' Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τὴν δύναμιν
 παρασκευάσασθαι παραινῶ· αἰσχροὺς γὰρ, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, αἰσχροὺς λιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος τάξιν, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ
 πρόγονοι παρέδωκαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐφ' ὑμῖν,
 38 οὐδ' ἂν ἀποστήναι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν βούλησθε· πολλὰ γὰρ ¹⁵
 ὑμῖν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πέπρακται, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους
 τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας αἰσχροὺς προέσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὔσιν ἐχθροῖς
 οὐκ ἐνὶ πιστεῦσαι καὶ μεγάλους ἑᾶσαι γενέσθαι. ὅλως δ'
 ὅπερ οἱ πολιτευόμενοι πεπόνθασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἔνεστιν
 αὐτοῖς, ὅταν βούλωνται, παύσασθαι, τοῦτο καὶ ὑμῖν περι- ²⁰
 ἔστηκε· πεπολίτευσθε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν.

effect their restoration by force of arms. More than 600 Phliasians were slain on that occasion, and something of the same sort appears to have happened when the Athenians determined to interfere, but without doing so. In fact, the events described by Diodorus correspond better with the allusion in the text (except as regards the time, τὸ ἔναγχος), than those narrated by Xenophon as having occurred after the battle of Leuctra. See Leake (Morea, iii. 346), who recognized the ancient city Phlius in the modern "Polyfengs" (Πολύφεγγος), formerly one of the bishoprics of the province of Corinth. The church, like many others in Greece, was probably an ancient temple, converted into a church on the establishment of Christianity, and repaired with masonry of later times."

ἐκφέρεσθε] 'you exhibit.'

τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα] 'the pretensions of the city.'

Σιφνίοις] Siphnus and Cynthus were small islands in the Aegean, s.e. of Attica. ἔλαττον φρονεῖν] 'to be more humble-minded.'

ἀποστήναι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν] 'to withdraw from Grecian affairs.'

ὅλως δ' ὅπερ] 'and in short the position in which your public men have stood relatively to you, (viz. that) it is not in their power to retire when they wish, is the very same to which you have been brought yourselves.' Mr. Kennedy thus: 'The position which your statesmen hold relatively to you—they cannot retire when they wish—is precisely that which you have arrived at, for you have interfered in the politics of Greece.'

39 Ἔστι δ', ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεφάλαιον πάντων τῶν
 εἰρημένων· οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ λέγοντες οὔτε πονηροὺς οὔτε
 χρηστοὺς ποιούσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τούτους, ὅπότερ' ἂν βού-
 λησθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὧν οὔτοι βούλονται στοχάζεσθε, ἀλλ' 25
 οὔτοι ὧν ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐπιθυμῶν οἴωνται. ὑμᾶς οὖν ὑπάρξαι
 δεῖ χρηστὰ βουλομένους, καὶ πάνθ' ἔξει καλῶς· ἥ γὰρ
 οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ φλαῦρον οὐδέν, ἢ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλεον ἔσται μὴ
 ἔχοντι τοὺς πεισομένους.

οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς] A remark applicable
 to our own times and country, as well as
 to Athens and the age of Demosthenes.
 For the press is never powerful except

when it expresses public opinion, to which
 it gives additional force by an apparent
 concentration of its many elements.

THE PROPYLAEA.

THE Propylaea occupied the west front of the Acropolis at Athens, to which it formed a grand entrance from the Agora under the Areiopagus, by a magnificent flight of white marble steps, seventy Greek feet wide, interrupted in the centre by an open road for carriages. It consisted of a portico and two wings projecting 26 feet in advance of it, towards the w.; the whole structure thus forming three sides of a quadrangle, and covering from n. to s. a breadth of 168 feet. (Leake's *Top. of Athens*, i. 315.) The existing ruins of the wings (A and B on plan, p. 302) are not sufficient to determine with certainty their original form. Till lately they were generally supposed to have been two Doric temples, externally symmetrical, and covered with roofs forming two pediments or gables facing each other, supported below by three Doric columns. But quite recently the removal of the Turkish fortifications has disclosed indications of a different construction, and led Mr. Penrose (*Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture*, p. 62) to the conclusion that the roofs did not run n. and s., and that if there was any pediment, it was to the w. Accordingly, he represents these two wings with what are called hip roofs. (Frontispiece, and Plate xxviii.)

The left or northern (A) of these two wings remains tolerably perfect, and is sometimes called the Pinacotheca, or 'Painted Chamber.' It was described by Pausanias (i. 22) as an *οἶκημα ἔχον γραφάς*, ornamented with numerous paintings by Polygnotus and others, the subjects being chiefly taken from Homer and the Cyclic poets. That these were panel paintings on the walls may be inferred from the common practice amongst the Greeks, and by the fact of Pausanias finding them there in the time of Hadrian. Had they been unattached, they would not, as Mr. Penrose (59) suggests, have so long escaped the spoliations of the Romans and other depredators.

Moreover, the surface of the walls, though not actually polished, is smoothed down to a sufficiently uniform face to paint upon.

The southern wing (B) is almost entirely ruined (Penr. 62), two of its columns being embedded in the walls of an adjacent mediaeval tower. There can be no doubt that it was originally intended to be symmetrical with the north wing; but, as Mr. Penrose states, there are some circumstances which lead to the belief that it was never entirely finished,—in fact, that only half of it was actually built.

The centre, or Propylaea properly so called, consisted of two hexastyle pedimented porticoes, the western facing the Agora below, and the eastern opening upon the platform of the Acropolis above, to which, says Dr. Arnold (Thucyd. i. 134), the Propylaea formed an entrance, as the gateways of the closes of Salisbury and Peterborough do to the 'Precincts' there. The columns were fluted Doric, six at each end, those of the western portico being taller by more than a foot than those of the eastern, where they were nearly 29 feet high (almost exactly five and a half diameters), and about 5.1 feet in the full round at their base. The full upper diameter of the angle columns between the fillets of the flutes was 3.97 feet. The shafts alone were 25.6 inches in height. (Penr. 40. 42. 63. Plate xxxi.)

The portico towards the west communicated with a vestibule or corridor (D), the roof of which was supported by six Ionic columns, three on each side of the passage. "The marble beams (Penr. 63) which spanned the interval between their architraves and the side walls have a longer bearing than is found in the ceiling of any other building at Athens." Pausanias (i. 22) alludes to them thus: τὰ δὲ προπύλαια λίθου λευκοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔχει καὶ κόσμῳ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν λίθων μέχρι γε καὶ ἐμοῦ προεῖχε.

Immediately behind this vestibule was the terminal wall, with five openings or gateways of bronze, diminishing in width and height as they receded from the central opening. This was large enough to admit a carriage, and there are or were "traces of a skilfully constructed inclined plane, by which carriages passed on to the interior of the Acropolis." (Antiq. of Athens, by Cockerell and Kinnard, p. 4.) This in some places was formed out of the natural rock, in others of slabs of Pentelic marble, both roughened by cross grooves to give a better footing. Traces of wheel-ruts may even now be found, but not regular enough to show the width of the carriages. (Penr. 63.) But the central door was equal in width to the space between the two central columns of the Doric portico in front, as well as to the space between the rows of Ionic columns in the vestibule. (Leake i. 315.)

Beyond this terminal wall again was the Posticum, or back portico

(G), also with six Doric columns, and pediment like that in front, facing the east, and opening immediately on the platform of the Acropolis. The whole structure was built of white Pentelic marble, under the administration of Pericles (Plut. in Vit. c. 13), and the superintendence of Mnesicles, as architect, who completed it (B.C. 342) in five years, and, as Harpocration (s. v.) states, at a cost of 2012 talents. Whether or not the cost was thus enormous, it was in after times cavilled at by Demetrius Phalereus, "qui Periclem vituperabat quod tantam pecuniam in praeclara illa Propylaea conjecerit." (Cicero, Offic. ii. 17.) But it may well have been immense; for Col. Leake (i. 315) describes this work as "the greatest production of civil architecture in Athens, which equalled the Parthenon in felicity of execution, and surpassed it in boldness and originality of design." So much was it admired, and so well was it known throughout Greece, that Epaminondas, when he wished to inspire his fellow-citizens with the resolution to supplant Athens in her pre-eminence, told them (Aesch. F. L. § 112) "that they must remove the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis to the front of their own Cadmeia" (εἶπε διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θεβαίων ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως προπύλαια μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας).

To the Athenian himself it was the portal to all the glories of his country, through the opening gates of which he saw the hearths of her home, the shrines of her temples, and the statues of her guardian deity. For thus in a burst of patriotic pride sang the poet:

ὄψεσθε δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος ἦδη τῶν προπυλαίων.
ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις,
καὶ θαυμασταῖς καὶ πολυύμνοις, ἵν' ὁ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.

Aristoph. Equit. v. 1326.

It will be observed also, that in the text the buildings are described as Προπύλαια ταῦτα. (Comp. c. Androt. § 95.) To understand this, we must remember that the oration was, or was supposed to have been delivered in the Pnyx, from which the Acropolis was visible (ἀτε ὁρωμένων τῶν Προπυλαίων ἀπὸ τῆς Πινκός), though the hill of the Areiopagus lies partly between them. Thus describing what an orator would view from the Bema of the Pnyx, Dr. Wordsworth observes (Athens and Attica, 57): "Above all, turning to the right rose the stately Acropolis, faced with the Propylaea as a frontlet, and crested with the Parthenon as a crown."

Such buildings would naturally serve as a model; and it is said that the entrance to the precincts of the temple at Eleusis (Uned. Antiq. of Athens, c. v. and Plates), was nearly an exact copy of the

Propylaea at Athens, though the details are very inferior. (Penr. 65.) We need not, however, suppose that structures of this kind had their origin in Greece. On the contrary, we read of them as previously existing in Egypt; and Herodotus (ii. 121 and 153) informs us that there was not only a western, but also a southern Propylaea to the Hephaesteium at Memphis.

In connexion with the Propylaea at Athens is to be noticed the Temple (E) of Νίκη Ἄπτερος, or 'Victory without wings,' a device by which the Athenians symbolized her constancy to themselves and the permanence of her favours. This building was of the Ionic order, and is described by Pausanias (i. 22) as on the right of the ascent to the Propylaea, at a point whence the sea was visible (ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν ἀπτερόν ναός. Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ θάλασσά ἐστι σύνοπτος). According to Mr. Penrose (2), it was erected on a small tower of thirty feet high, which served as a substruction, at the termination of the s.w. reach of the Hellenic wall of the Acropolis. In the time of the travellers Spon and Wheler (A.D. 1676) it was still existing, and used by the Turks to stow their powder in. One hundred years afterwards it had completely disappeared. (Giffard's Tour, 129.) But some bas-reliefs of its frieze were found in the wall of a powder-magazine, where they remained till Lord Elgin brought away four of them, which are now transferred to the British Museum. At last, on the removal (A.D. 1835) of a Turkish battery, which guarded the approach to the Propylaea, fragments of Ionic pillars, and other ornamental masonry, were discovered, and finally the floor of an ancient temple, which was at once recognized as that of the Temple of Victory, on the site specified by Pausanias, i.e. at the s.w. angle of the Acropolis. Moreover, nearly the whole frieze (Ζωφόρος) was discovered, the subjects of which are supposed to be the Athenian victory over the Amazons, and that over the Persians at Marathon (Wordsworth, 288), executed in the time of Cimon.

Thereupon the Greek government rebuilt the temple in its original form, and so far as possible from the ancient materials on its ancient site. It consists of a simple cella of solid masonry, with four Ionic columns in front, and four at the back, raised on a stylobate of three feet, and having the sides of the cella in a line with the external columns. The length is 27 feet from E. to W., and the breadth 18 feet. The columns are thirteen and a half feet high; and the total height of the temple, from the stylobate to the apex of the pediment, is 23 feet. (Leake i. 321, and Appendix XV. See also a view of it in Dr. Smith's Hist. of Greece, 216.)

Its position is a remarkable instance of that want of parallelism amongst the buildings of the Acropolis, on which Mr. Penrose

(p. 4) observes thus: "Except the Propylaea and Parthenon, which were perhaps intended to bear a definite relation to one another, no two are parallel. This *asymmetria* is productive of very great beauty; for it not only obviates the dry uniformity of too many parallel lines, but also produces exquisite varieties of light and shade. One of the most happy instances of this latter effect is in the Temple of Nike Apteros, in front of the s. wing of the Propylaea. The façade of this temple and the pedestal of Agrippa (F), which is opposite to it, remain in shade for a considerable time after the front of the Propylaea has been lighted up, and they gradually receive every variety of light, until the sun is sufficiently on the decline to shine nearly equally on all the western faces of the entire group. A similar want of parallelism in the separate parts is found to obtain in several of the finest mediæval structures, and may conduce in some degree to the beauty of the magnificent Piazza of St. Marc at Venice." The pedestal of Agrippa (so called from an inscription on its base), which still remains opposite to the Temple of Victory, on the north side of the grand flight of steps, is about 12 feet square, and 27 high. From the remarks of Pausanias (i. 22. 4) it has been inferred that on this pedestal there anciently stood two equestrian statues of the two sons of Xenophon, Gryllus and Diodorus. (Leake i. 327.)

We may now briefly notice the optical refinements in the construction of the buildings in question, referring the reader for complete information to Mr. Penrose's valuable and very instructive work. One of these is the curvature in a vertical plane of the horizontal lines, such as the stylobate (or steps on which the columns rest), and the entablature, or part above the abacus of the columns, including the architrave, frieze, and cornice.

On this subject Vitruvius (de Architect. iii. 3. 41) wrote thus: "Stylobatam ita oportet exaequari uti habeat per medium adjectionem. Si enim ad libellam dirigatur, alveolatus oculo videbitur," i.e., as translated by Mr. Wilkins (Civil Architect. of Vitruvius, 21): "The stylobate ought not to be constructed upon the horizontal level, but should rise gradually from the ends towards the centre, so as to have there a slight addition. If the line of the stylobate were perfectly horizontal, it would appear like the bed of a channel." Vitruvius adds (c. 51): "Capitulis perfectis, deinde in summis columnarum scapis non ad libellam sed ad aequalem modum collocatis, uti quae adjectio in stylobatis facta fuerit, in superioribus membris respondeat symmetria epistylorum." This Mr. W. (p. 25) translates: "In placing the capitals upon the shafts of the columns, they are not to be arranged so that the abaci may

be in the same horizontal level, but must follow the direction of the upper members of the epistylum; which will deviate from the straight line drawn from the extreme points, in proportion to the addition given in the centre of the stylobate."

Accordingly, in the E. portico of the Propylaea, it is found that the *entablature* rises $\cdot 119$ in a length of $68\cdot 1$ feet, i.e. $\cdot 175$ of a foot in 100. (Penr. 26.)

The entasis and inclination of the columns were also used as optical corrections (*πρὸς τὰς τῆς ὀψews ἀπάτας ἀλεξήματα*); the former (from *ἐντείνειν*, to stretch a bow) being a swelling in the middle of a column, used to correct an optical delusion, which causes tall columns with straight sides to appear concave or 'attenuated' in the centre. With this view, the profile of the column was made in a delicate curve from the base to the neck; and Mr. Penrose (40) observes, "I have found the entasis in every case so nearly resembling one of the forms of the conic sections, viz. the hyperbola, that I cannot doubt that this was the curve used in the Athenian structures." It is quite perceptible and measurable in the columns of the Propylaea, but in the smaller structure of the Temple of Νίκη Ἀπτερος there is no entasis at all. (Penr. 27.)

As for the inclination Mr. Penrose (35) observes: "The external columns of the Parthenon, Propylaea, Theseum, and Erechtheum, are found not to have their axes perpendicular, but to be inclined inwards at a uniform angle in each building; so that the axes of every pair of opposite columns, if produced far enough, would meet at a great height above the building." He adds: "The vertical faces of the architrave and frieze have an analogous inclination backwards, and generally we may remark that perpendicular faces are the exception, not the rule. In the Propylaea, the inclination of the columns is about the same as in the Parthenon, i.e. about $\cdot 22$ in the whole height, or 1 in 130. The antae, or pilasters, at the angles of the walls, lean *forwards* about 1 in 150, and the walls *inwards* at an angle of about 1 in 70. The architrave and frieze are inclined in the same way as the columns, but at a less angle of 1 in 140." "From these varieties of the positions of the different planes arise the delicate effects of light and shade, especially when light falls obliquely upon the fronts or flanks of the building." (Penr. 37.)

The last point for notice is the Polychromy of the Propylaea; for recent observations prove that it was highly ornamented, both in the inside and on the exterior, with colouring almost as varied and as bright as an ancient missal. (Penr. Plates xxiii—xxvi.) There is also reason to believe, that "a peculiar yellow tinge upon some parts of the columns" of the Parthenon is the result of a tint, or flat

colour applied externally to reduce the high light of the marble without obscuring its crystalline lustre. "It is not, however, to be supposed that the general surface of white marble was materially altered in appearance; but no one who has witnessed the painfully dazzling effect of fresh Pentelic marble, under an Athenian sun, will deny the artistic value of toning down the almost pure white of its polished surface, and the more so when considerable portions of the architecture were painted in strong positive colours." (Penr. 55.)



THE PARTHENON.

FROM the eastern portico of the Propylaea the spectator saw before him, somewhat to his right, the glorious Parthenon, or house of Ἀθηνᾶ Παρθένος, the guardian goddess of Athens. It stood on the highest level of the Acropolis, and was so far elevated above its western entrance, that the pavement of its peristyle was on a level with the capitals of the eastern portico of the Propylaea. (Leake i. 332.) Moreover, it was distinctly visible from Acro-Corinthus, a direct distance of nearly fifty miles. (Morea, iii. 259.) It was built entirely of white Pentelic marble, under the auspices and administration of Pericles, who, in this as well as in his other public works, availed himself of the superintendence of Pheidias, to whom the temple was further indebted for its decoration (πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας. Plut. Peric. c. 13.) According to Pausanias (viii. 41. 9), and Strabo (ix. 396), the sole architect was Ictinus, though Plutarch (l. c.) describes it as the joint work of Ictinus and Callicrates (τὸν ἐκατόμπεδον Παρθενῶνα Καλλικράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἴκτινος), the latter of whom was also the architect of the famous Phigaleian temple at Bassae in Arcadia (ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλίᾳ ναοῦ). (Leake's Morea, iii. 493. Paus. l. c.) That there was also an earlier temple on the same site, but not so large (long) by fifty feet, and that it was burnt down by the Persians, appears from a statement of Hesychius (s. v. Ἐκατόμπεδος). Ancient writers, indeed, do not expressly confirm this account; but it is supported by the fact, that the sub-basement of the later Parthenon is formed by the foundations of an earlier temple, which Mr. Penrose (73, 74) supposes to have been hexastyle, with 14 columns on the flanks, and about 176 feet long by 66 broad. This later Parthenon is supposed to have been commenced about B.C. 448; and as the public works of Pericles were executed with wonderful despatch (μάλιστα θανμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος) in the time of a single administration (μίας ἀκμῇ πολιτείας ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν), we may acquiesce in the opinion that it was completed in ten years afterwards. And yet, as Plutarch adds, this and the other

works of Pericles were not only remarkable for their beauty, which from the very first gave them an air of antiquity (κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε ἀρχαῖον), but also for their durability, which even in Plutarch's time, 600 years afterwards, made them look new, and as if fresh from the chisel. "Such a bloom of freshness, as it were, was there upon them, keeping their face ever untouched by time, as if they were animated by a spirit of eternal youth and undecaying vitality" (οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ τις καινότης ἀεὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ ἀειθαλὲς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγήρω καταμεμιγμένην τῶν ἔργων ἐχόντων). Sixteen centuries later, wrote Sir W. Gell: "The Temple of Minerva Parthenos is, without exception, the most magnificent ruin in the world, both for execution and design. Though an entire museum has been transported to England from the spoils of this temple, it still remains without a rival."

But this is far from being the only way in which it has suffered. When Alaric, king of the Goths (A. D. 396), captured Athens, it is probable that her public buildings were much injured and despoiled. Moreover it is recorded that Justinian (A. D. 550) removed columns from the city to the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople; though it is not stated that either injured the Parthenon. But at last, when in the 6th century Christianity had displaced Paganism, it was converted into a Christian church, dedicated to the Ἁγία Σοφία or Divine Intelligence, and covered with a roof and cupolas. (Leake i. 62.) A portion of the pronaos (at the east end) was pulled down to make room for the apsis or circular termination of the church. (Museum of Class. Antiq. i. 355. Penr. Plate 3.) In after times the Turks erected a mosque within the temple dedicated to the Panaghia, and described by Spon and Wheeler (i. 82) as "la grande Mosquée, qui était autrefois le Temple de Minerve," and which as we may suppose was built and repaired from its materials. Hence, in 1675, the centre of the eastern pediment was one large void, and S. and W. found that all its sculptured figures had fallen down, "excepté une tête de cheval marin." But greater damage still was done to it in 1687. The city then held by the Turks, was besieged by the Venetians, and a shell, thrown from the opposite hill of the Museum, exploded in the middle of the 'cella,' almost wholly levelled its walls, threw down five of the pillars of the peristyle on the north, and six on the south side. (Wilkins' Atheniensia, 114.) A model of it in its then state may be seen in the British Museum. Subsequently it has of course suffered partly by time, and partly in the present century by sieges during the war of the Greeks against the Turks, as well as by removals of its fragments. On the other hand, the present Greek government has excavated considerably more

than half of the whole Acropolis (Penr. 2), and cleared away the rubbish from the temple, the original plan and dimensions of which are described by Col. Leake (Top. of Athens, 332—338) as follows:—

“It consisted of a *σηκός* or cella, surrounded with a peristyle, which had 8 Doric columns in the front, and 17 in the sides (counting those at the corners double). Hence it was technically described as Peripteral Octastyle. These 46 columns were 6 feet 2 inches in diameter at the base ($6\cdot251$ from fillet to fillet. Penr. 10), and 34 feet in height ($34\cdot253 = \frac{7}{12}$ of height of pediment $= \frac{49}{144}$ of breadth of front. Penr. 13). They stood upon a pavement or stylobate composed of 4 steps resting upon a rustic basement of ordinary limestone. The entire height of the temple, from the upper step of the stylobate to the cymatium of the top of the pediment was $59\cdot127$ feet, or $\frac{7}{12}$ of the breadth of the west front, which measured on the upper step $101\cdot341$ English, or 100 Greek feet. The total length on the top of this step was $228\cdot141$ feet.” “Within the peristyle at either end there was an interior range of 6 columns, of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter ($5\cdot402$. Penr. 10, 14), and 33 feet high, standing before the end of the cella, and forming a vestibule to its door (H and M, the *Πρόναος* and Posticum). There was an ascent of 2 steps into these vestibules from the peristyle. The cella, $62\cdot5$ feet broad within, was divided into 2 unequal chambers, of which the western, called also the opisthodomus (O), was 43 feet 10 inches long, and the eastern, or *Ναός* (P), $98\cdot04$ feet, separated from the opisthodomus by a transverse wall more than 3 feet thick. The ceiling of the former was supported by 4 columns, 4 feet in diameter at the base,” supposed to have been Ionic, like those of the corridor of the Propylaea.

The Naos, or Parthenon proper had in the interior 2 flank rows of fluted Doric columns, 10 on each flank, with 3 in the western return. The full diameter of these was $3\cdot656$ feet; the number of their flutes 16 instead of 20, the usual number in Doric columns, probably because being in the interior of the building, but little light fell on them. From Wheler's account of them as they still remained in 1676 (Stuart's Athens, ii. 25), there can be no doubt (says Mr. Penrose, 5), that like those in the Temple of Neptune at Paestum, they were surmounted by an upper range of pillars of the same order, to which their entablature served as a sort of stylobate. A beautiful example of this arrangement was also exhibited in the Temple of the Olympian Zeus at Agrigentum. (Uned. Antiq. of Athens, v. Plate 2.) The peristyle was originally protected by a solid marble roof, but with regard to the covering of the Naos nothing is really known or determined. Mr. Stuart, and others agree with him, concluded from various circumstances that the two internal ranges of

columns divided it (the *Naός*) into three aisles, of which the two next the walls alone were roofed, and that in the centre exposed to the heavens (*ὑπ' αἰθρίας*), or as Vitruvius, iii. 1, c. 22, says, *medium sub divo est sine tecto*. If so, the roof of the side aisles must have rested on the upper and shorter tier of the columns. We may observe, by the way, that a hypaethral temple is clearly alluded to in the story of Pausanias (Thucyd. i. 133) retiring into a small chamber attached to the Temple of Athena Chalciocus, that he might not suffer from being exposed to the air (*ἐς οἶκημα οὐ μέγα δ' ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθὼν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίη*).

Another point connected with the Parthenon, on which earlier writers fell into error, has subsequently been cleared up. From the description of it in Pausanias (i. 24. 5), and the fact of the western end being turned to its great portal, the Propylaea, it was formerly supposed that this was the entrance or principal front of the building. But it is now agreed by the best authorities that the principal front faced the east, as is the case with most of the existing temples in Greece. Each of the fronts was surmounted with a pediment (*ἄετός*), the triangular flat or gable ends of which (the tympana) were filled with statues and sculptured groups, placed symmetrically on each side of a central group or figure. From the fragments which still remain, combined with some drawings (of which there are fac-similes in the British Museum) taken for the French Embassy by Jacques Carrey, in 1674—1678, the subject of the western pediment has been clearly made out to be the contest of Athena with Poseidon for the dominion of Athens, the central figures of which have been described “as the most beautiful group left us from antiquity.” An admirable restoration of the whole composition is given in the Museum of Classical Antiquities (i. 402), as designed by Prof. Cockerell, whose sculptured pediment of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, approaches somewhat in general character to that of the western pediment, and exhibits (says Mr. Falkener) “one of the finest pedimental groups of modern times.” In the same work (353), is a reduced fac-simile of Carrey's drawing of the eastern pediment, exhibiting the centre as one large void, from which however Mr. F. (402) has developed a beautiful but conjectural restoration, representing the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. This was the subject of the original, as we are informed by Pausanias (i. 24. 5), and Mr. F. supports his views with much learning and ingenuity, but the data for its reconstruction are so insufficient, that all attempts to re-produce its details and treatment can only be considered as speculative, however ingenious.

Nor was the sculptured ornamentation confined to the pediments.

The metopes also, i. e. the intervals between the Doric triglyphs of the exterior entablature, were filled with sculptures in high relief, representing for the most part subjects connected with Athenian history, and exhibiting a succession of 92 groups, 14 on each front, and 32 on each flank of the temple. Those on the south side related (except nine) to the contest between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. Fifteen of them are now in the British Museum, and they are described in the *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, i. 144—146. In those of the northern flank a female figure frequently occurs, and hence it is supposed that they related to the wars of the Amazons.

Those of the western front appear to have represented the warlike achievements of the Athenians, especially against the Persians; while those of the eastern, like the pedimental group above, related to Athena. (*Leake's Topog.* 336.) Under each metope of this eastern front, and upon the architrave, were also hung shields of gold, as appears by impressions on the wall, with inscriptions between them, the traces of which are still visible in the holes for the letters. (*Wordsworth, Athens and Attica*, 98; *Penr.* 13.) A fragment of one of the metopes may be seen in the vestibule of the University Library at Cambridge.

A still more elaborate series of sculptures embellished the interior frieze (*Ζωφόρος*) which ran along the outside walls of the cella, and within the colonnade formed by the columns of the peristyle. They comprised an entire length of more than 500 feet, forming, "as a connected subject, the most extensive piece of sculpture in Greece." It represented the Panathenaic procession celebrated every fifth year at Athens, on its way to the Acropolis, to place the sacred 'peplus' round the statue of Athena Polias, and dedicate it to the goddess. (*Wordsworth*, 105.) Of the whole frieze, the British Museum possesses an extent of rather more than 249 feet, with plaster casts of more than 76 feet in length, of which an excellent description is given, accompanied by illustrations, in the *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, 11. 165—230. The figures have the most varied character, arrangement, and costume: "the procession," says *Dodwell* (*Greece*, i. 387), "appearing as if it had been summoned to meet in the dead of the night, and every person had put on those parts of his dress which happened to present themselves at the time." The whole composition has elicited the admiration of all who have examined and written upon it. The horses especially are of exquisite beauty; and the sculptor *Flaxman* (*Lect.* iv. 104) expressed himself thus enthusiastically upon them: "The horses in the frieze in the Elgin collection appear to live and move, to roll their eyes, to gallop,

prance, and curvet; the veins of their faces and legs seem distended with circulation; in them are distinguished the hardness and decision of bony forms, from the elasticity of tendon and the softness of flesh. The beholder is charmed with the deer-like lightness and elegance of their make; and although the relief is not above an inch from the background, and they are so much smaller than nature, we can scarcely suffer reason to persuade us they are not alive."

But the great wonder and chief ornament of the Parthenon was the celebrated statue of the goddess, forty feet high, executed by Pheidias himself, in what was called chryselephantine, i.e. gold and ivory work. This stood in the eastern or principal chamber of the cella, and traces of its pedestal (R), and the step and railing which surrounded it, are still visible. Pausanias (i. 24. 7) and Pliny (H. N. xxxvi. 5, 4) inform us that the statue represented the goddess standing upright (τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀρθόν ἔστω), with a tunic reaching to her feet, a Medusa's head in ivory (originally gold) on her breast, a spear in her right hand, and a 'Victory' four cubits high in her left. The crest of her helmet was finished by a sphinx, and the sides were ornamented with griffins. At her feet lay her shield elaborately embossed on both sides with figures in relief, and the rest or lower end of the spear was supported by a dragon, the shaft and head being united by a sphinx in bronze (Plin. l. c.) The pure (ἄπεφθον) gold on the statue, &c., all of which was removeable (περιαφερτὸν ἅπαν), weighed, as Thucydides affirms (ii. 13), not less than forty talents, and other writers make it more. The face, feet, and hands were of ivory; the eyes were inlaid gems. (Plato, Hipp. Major, § 23.) Further details are given in the Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles, i. 136, 137, and in the Dict. of Biog. s.v. Pheidias. A presumed restoration of the statue, according to the ancient authorities, is also given in Mr. Quatremère de Quincy's Jupiter Olympien, p. 266, and in Mr. Lucas' admirable model of the Parthenon at the British Museum.

Two other statues of the same goddess on the Acropolis were the Athena Promachus and the Athena Polias.

The first was the ἡ χαλκῇ ἡ μεγάλη Ἀθηνᾶ (Demos. F. L. § 309), the Athena of bronze, the great Athena, of colossal size, with helmet, spear, and shield, placed on a lofty pedestal on the n.w. of the Acropolis, facing the west (Leake i. 349), and to the left of a spectator after passing through the Propylaea. The point of the spear and the crest of the helmet, seen over the Parthenon itself, were visible to the sailor approaching the Peiræus from Sunium (Paus. i. 28. 2. Leake i. 350), and the position of the statue, as well as its attitude, suggested the idea which the epithets of *Πρόμαχος*, the

‘Champion,’ and Πυλαιμάχος (Aristoph. Equit. 1172), the ‘Warder,’ expressed. It was the work of Pheidias, erected in commemoration of the Persian war (ἄριστῆιον τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου), the cost being defrayed by contributions from other states of Greece. ‘It was this Minerva, whose gigantic form, seen in a vision stalking before the walls of the citadel, terrified Alaric when he came to sack the Acropolis.’ (Wordsworth, 104.)

The Athena *Polias* was the most ancient of the three statues, and stood in that part of the Erechtheium which was known as the Temple of Athena Polias. It was made of olive wood, and its antiquity was so great that it was reported to have fallen from heaven (Paus. i. 26). As Dr. Wordsworth observes: “Inferior to the other two in material and in execution, this Minerva was more revered than either. Hers was emphatically the *ancient* statue (παλαιὸν βρέτας, Aeschyl. Eumen. v. 80); to her, and not to the Minerva of the Parthenon, the Panathenaic peplos, the embroidered fasti of Athenian glory, was periodically dedicated.” An illustration of the difference of the three statues is furnished by a passage in Aristophanes (Equit. 1165) quoted by Dr. W., and which, as he truly remarks, “can only be understood by a reference to the peculiar attitude, position, and character of each.” A statue of Athena discovered about twelve years ago on the Acropolis was thought by the archaeologist C. O. Müller to have been a copy of this Athena Polias, having been found, as believed, in the Aglaureium, under her temple. It is a sitting figure, four and a half feet high, of white Parian marble, and of very archaic character. Three views of it, by Mr. G. Scharf, jun., are given in the Museum of Class. Antiq. i. 192.

We may now briefly notice the curvature (in a vertical plane) of the horizontal lines, the inclination and entasis of the columns, &c., and the polychromy of the building.

1. The curvature Mr. Penrose (27) represents thus:—

Parthenon.	Length in feet.	Rise above a straight line joining the extremities.	Proportional rise in 100 feet.
Front	101·3	·228 = flank $\times \frac{1}{1000}$	·225
Flank	228·1	·355	·156
Entablature from E. front	100·2	·171 = $\frac{1}{2} \times \cdot 228$	·171
Do., on flanks, restored	227·	·307	·131

2. On the inclination of the columns of the east and west fronts, Mr. P. observes, “It appears probable that ·228 was the amount in the *total* height of the column (34·26), producing an inclination of

exactly 1 in 150, and being exactly identical with the increment of curvature in the front."

The vertical faces of the architrave and frieze have an analogous inclination backwards (technically called *batter*), only rather greater in amount. The tympanum appears to incline backwards 1 in 180, and the steps at a less angle not exceeding 1 in 250.

3. The entasis in a *shaft* of 31·43 feet in the peristyle is ·057, i. e. $\frac{1}{352}$ of it, and $\frac{1}{110}$ of the lower diameter, or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the semi-diminution, i. e. of the half difference between the upper and lower diameters of the shaft.

4. Polychromy. Mr. Penrose (56) informs us that on various parts of the building, traces are found of red and blue colouring, but very slight, if any, on the sculptures. Again, Otfried Muller states that the frieze of the Parthenon was coloured, and the background of all their bas-reliefs was painted by the Greeks. "At Budrum (Halicanassus), many of the fragmentary mouldings recently excavated retain a portion of their original colours, vermillion and ultramarine, or other pigments of equal intensity." (C. T. Newton.) Farther information on this subject may be found in a learned article (Museum of Class. Antiq. i. 228) by Gottfried Semper, of Dresden (author of *Bemerkungen über bemalte Architectur und Plastik*), who gives the following as the results of his researches:—

"The prevailing colour of the temple burned with all the glowing beauty of the setting sun, being of a yellow red, very vapoury, resembling that of the finest terra cottas. This yellow tint covered the columns, the architraves, the cornices, and probably the triglyphs and the beams. (In a note Mr. S. states his belief that the metopes were blue, and the triglyphs red.) But all the flat ground members, the tympana, the lacunaria, and perhaps the metopes were of a blue-black. The prevailing colours of the mouldings and ornaments were red, blue, and green, the latter very delicate, of a bright moss colour. The details of the ornaments alternate regularly, and are united by very delicate and projecting fillets of white, black, or gold. In the temples of Athens, I believe them to have been of gold." Mr. S. also states that "in 1830, Professor Donaldson fully proved that the whole surface of the marble temples at Athens was originally coloured." "One of the objects of this polychromy," says the learned Dane Brøndsted (*Voyages dans la Grèce*, ii. 146), was "pour relever la teinte insignifiante et monotone de la pierre;" and the way in which this appears to have been effected for the Parthenon is shown in a beautiful lithotint in chiaro oscuro, by Mr. Penrose, Plate xxiii. An illustration of its use for a different purpose is found in the colouring of the coffered ceiling of the Ionic Heroum at Xanthus

in Lycia, "upon all the soffits or panels of which," says Sir C. Fellows (Lycia, 199), "beautiful Greek patterns were traced in red lines." Fac-similes are preserved in the Lycian portfolio of the British Museum. (See also Museum of Class. Antiq. i. 282.) "In the figures of the tympanum (of this Heroum), a kind of horse-hair tail was traced from the helmets upon the unsculptured background."

The shafts of the columns exhibit a perceptible entasis amounting to one-sixth of an inch.

We may now sum up the description of the Parthenon with a synopsis of the principal dimensions, and their remarkable relations one to another, which Mr. Penrose gives as follows:—

	English Feet.
Front, on upper step (100 Greek feet)	101·341
Flank	228·141
Length of cella on the upper step	193·733
Breadth of cella on the upper step, measured in the opisthodomus	71·330
Length of naos within the walls	98·095
Breadth of naos	63·01
Length of opisthodomus	43·767
Breadth of step of peristyle	2·325
Breadth of step of posticum	1·39
Length of naos, including transverse wall (3·127)	101·222

Accordingly the term *ἐκατόμπεδος* is generally found with *ναός* in this restricted sense. Penr. p. 9.

Approximate Proportions.

The flank	= 228·141 feet = $\frac{2}{3}$ front.
Breadth of peristyle step	= $\frac{1}{10\frac{1}{2}}$ flank.
Length of opisthodomus	= $\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ breadth of cella.
Breadth of abacus of columns on east = $\frac{1}{15}$ breadth of temple.	

$\frac{1}{10}$ of lower diameter of the Peristyle columns = ·10426 feet, and measures almost all the architectural members; e. g. the length of the horizontal cornice of the pediment is 1000 times this modulus. Other curious commensurabilities are given by Mr. Penrose, and a model of the Parthenon, from his designs, may be seen at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham. The plan, p. 302, is copied from his splendid work, with his kind permission, for which I beg to express my obligations.

On the Calton Hill, Edinburgh, may be seen a fragment of a structure intended for a '*National Monument*,' and to have been an exact copy of the Parthenon. But only twelve columns have been erected, and their arrangement certainly does not indicate that the Caledonian Parthenon, if completed, would have been like the Athenian.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SPEECH ON THE SYMMORIAE.

THIS speech is a most remarkable one, for not only was it the first oration on a public matter which Demosthenes addressed to his countrymen (*ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν*), but its practical wisdom and comprehensive sagacity prove that even at the age of twenty-eight, the Orator was already a statesman, as well as a patriot. According to Dionysius (*Ad Amm. i. 724*), it was spoken in the archonship of Diotimus (B.C. 354), and the evidence of Demosthenes himself confirms this date. For in the *De Corona* (§ 21) he asserts, that he had not appeared in public life (*οὐ δὴ ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε*) when the Phocian war broke out (B.C. 356), and in his speech *De Rhod. Liber.* (B.C. 351), he speaks (§ 6) of his having previously addressed his countrymen on the subject-matter of this oration (*ἥνικ' ἐβουλεύεσθε περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν*). If so, it must have been spoken between B.C. 356 and B.C. 351, and there is internal evidence to determine the date still more closely. For as Mr. Grote (xi. 398. *Comp. A. Schäfer i. 426*) observes, the argument (§ 40, 41), as to the relations between Thebes and Persia, implies that Demosthenes knew nothing of any assistance given by the Thebans to the Satrap Artabazus against the King of Persia. But according to Diodorus (xvi. 34), the Thebans in B.C. 353—352, wishing to assist Pharnabazus in his revolt, sent him a body of 5000 auxiliaries, who, under the command of Pammenes, conquered the Persians in two great battles. Consequently this oration must have been delivered before that time.

The cause and occasion of it were connected with an expected expedition of the King of Persia against Athens in particular, and Greece in general. For only two years before, Chares, a commander of the Athenians, having been despatched against their revolted allies

(Chios, Cos, and Byzantium), and finding himself without funds to pay his troops, closed with an offer from Artabazus (Diod. xvi. 22. Dem. c. Phil. i. § 28, p. 90, and note), to employ them in his revolt against his master, the King of Persia. This he did so successfully, and was so well rewarded for it, that he was enabled to pay his soldiers liberally; and the Athenians, though at first displeased, were afterwards willing enough to look over the violation of their orders. But presently they learnt that the King of Persia, indignant at such an unprovoked wrong, was equipping a fleet to aid their revolted confederates, whereupon they took alarm and concluded a peace with them, B.C. 355. (Dé Rhod. Liber., Introduction.) But this did not dispel their fears of Persia. In the following year the alarm (ὁ παρὼν φόβος) still continued, it being reported that the King was preparing to attack Greece, though in all probability his preparations were directed against Egypt, and other revolted dependencies of Persia (§ 37. Grote xi. 609. Diod. Sic. xvi. 40).

But however the report arose, it served as a pretext for several of the Athenian orators to instigate their countrymen to declare war against Persia, and to solicit the co-operation of the other Greeks for that purpose. (Epist. Philip. § 6, p. 271.) To many of their hearers such a project was far from strange or novel. (Schäfer i. 414.) More than twenty-five years before, Isocrates, in his Panegyric Oration, had recommended an expedition against Asia by the several states of united Greece, under the guidance of Sparta and Athens. Nor was it likely to be unpopular with the Athenians, for it was supported by oratorical declamations about Marathon, Salamis, and Plataeae, which flattered their national pride, and asserted their supremacy over the Persians, while the recent successes of Agesilaus suggested the facility of penetrating into the heart of the Persian empire. But Demosthenes, with the judgment and forethought of an experienced statesman, said that, however Persia might be damaged, Athens could not eventually gain by an aggressive war against Persia. She was no longer what she had been at home, and her relations with the rest of Greece dictated mistrust and fear of her neighbours, rather than an attack upon a distant and powerful kingdom. Under such circumstances, had Demosthenes condescended to flatter the vanity of his countrymen, as a young and ambitious politician might have done, or had he been content to follow the lead of older and more experienced men, the consequences might have been most disastrous to his country. Instead of this, at the very outset of his political career, we find him tempering zeal with discretion, moderating the extravagance of less provident statesmen, endeavouring to improve the position and

augment the resources of his country, by reforming her institutions, and insisting, as he always did, on the necessity of 'energetic individual action, following upon full public debate and collective public deliberation.' Thus truly appreciating the position, and warning his countrymen that they had avowed enemies enough in Greece, without seeking more abroad, he counselled them to abstain from any offensive measures, and at the same time to prepare for hostilities whether from their neighbours or from abroad. He represented that they might do this, and yet meet any complaints from Persia by alleging that their preparations were rendered necessary by affairs at home. Such statesmanlike counsel could only have proceeded from a sagacious and thoughtful mind; but Demosthenes did not confine himself to mere generalities or vague advice. Like a good tactician, he endeavoured to profit by the opportunity, and turn it to practical account. The Athenian navy had for some time been grievously mismanaged, and the state had suffered by the dilatory and insufficient equipment of its fleets. To remedy this evil, he proposed a plan for the reform of the navy, and laid before the Assembly a sketch of the details of his scheme for its better regulation. The explanation of it, as given in this oration, will show that in addition to his other qualities as an orator and statesman, Demosthenes possessed the talents of an administrator. It does not however appear that his recommendations for this reform were carried into effect, though his proposal was eminently practical, and forms so prominent a portion of the oration, that it has been consequently styled *ὁ περὶ τῶν Συμμοριῶν*. Demosthenes himself seems to speak of it as *ὁ περὶ βασιλικῶν*, its primary subject being the relations of Athens with Persia. Dionysius (*Ars Rhet.* 10, p. 351) expresses his opinion that it might justly and properly be so entitled. He thus refers to it: *ἐν τῷ περὶ συμμοριῶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ, ὅσπερ λόγος εἰκότως ἂν καὶ δικαίως ἐπιγράφουτο περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μόνῳ παραστὰς ἀντιπεῖν*. In the 'Character of Thucydides,' c. 54, he describes it as *ὑμῖν ἄρεσκε ταῦτα, περὶ τοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα πολέμου*, and in this respect Demosthenes appears to have carried his point, for his advice was approved of (*ὑμῖν ἄρεσκε ταῦτα*, de Rhod. Liber. § 6), and war was not declared against Philip by the Athenians. It further appears from the letter of Philip (§ 6) that they resolved not to solicit the co-operation of the other Greeks, unless the King of Persia were the aggressor. His subsequent success in reforming the naval symmories is related in the Appendix to this Oration.

XIV.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ.

B.C. 354.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Φήμης γενομένης τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος κεκίνηται καὶ συγκαλεῖν ὥρμηται τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἤδη, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης συμβουλεύει μὴ προεξανίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀναμένειν τὸν βασιλέα νεωτερίσαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, οὐ πείσομεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχεῖν ἡμῖν, ἐπ' ἀδείας εἶναι δοκοῦντας· τότε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτὸς συστήσεται. παραινέει τοῖσιν ἡσυχάζοντας συντάξασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάσασθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ διέξεισιν ὃν τρόπον ἂν συνταχθεῖεν. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ συμμοριῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπιγράφεται· συμμορία γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τὸ τῶν λειτουργούντων σύνταγμα.

Οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν μοι δοκοῦσι προαιρεῖσθαι κεχαρισμένον, οὐ μὴ συμφέροντά γ' ἐκείνοις οὓς ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ποιεῖν· περὶ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἐπιχειροῦντες λέγειν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀξίως ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δύναιτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν τοῦ δύνασθαι 5

Οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες . . . τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα, § 3] This opening occurs in the Prooemia, No. vii. p. 1423. Reiske.

δοκοῦσι προαιρεῖσθαι] 'appear to me to wish to use gratifying language, and yet not to act for the advantage of those whom they eulogize.' Comp. De Rhod. Liber. § 43: χαίρετ' ἀκούοντες, ὅταν τις ἐπαινῇ τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐκείνοις διεξῇ καὶ τὰ τροπαῖα λέγῃ.

ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς] 'which no one can adequately reach by words.' Comp. c. Phil. ii. § 13, p. 135: ταῦθ' ἂ πάντες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τάκεινων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν ἔποι).'

τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν] The reading of S, found also in Προοίμιον vii. Bekker reads τοῦ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν.

- λέγειν δόξαν ἐκφέρονται, τὴν δ' ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν ἐλάττω τῆς
 ὑπειλημμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσι φαίνεσθαι ποιούσιν.
 2 ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἔπαινον τὸν χρόνον ἡγοῦμαι μέγιστον,
 οὐ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου μείζω τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων πραχθέντων
 οὐδένες ἄλλοι παραδείξασθαι δεδύνηται. αὐτὸς δὲ πει- 10
 ράσομαι τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν ὃν ἂν μοι δοκεῖτε μάλιστα
 δύνασθαι παρασκευάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει εἰ μὲν
 ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ μέλλοντες λέγειν δεινοὶ φανείημεν ὄντες,
 3 οὐδὲν ἂν τὰ ὑμέτερα εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι βέλτιον σχοίη· εἰ δὲ
 παρελθὼν εἰς ὅστισιν δύναιτο διδάξαι καὶ πείσαι τίς 15
 παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν πορισθεῖσα χρήσιμος
 ἔσται τῇ πόλει, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν φόβος λελύσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ
 τοῦτ', ἂν ἄρ' οἷός τε ᾧ, πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι, μικρὰ προ-
 ειπὼν ὑμῖν ὥς ἔχω γνώμης περὶ τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα.
 4 Ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων 20
 εἶναι βασιλέα, οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο παραινέσαιμ' ἂν μόνοις
 τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄρασθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὁρῶ κοινούς ἀλλήλοις ὄντας φίλους, 179
 ἀλλ' ἐνίους μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ πιστεύοντας ἢ τισιν αὐτῶν. ἐκ
 δὴ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν τὴν μὲν
 ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ζητεῖν, ὅπως ἴση καὶ δικαία γενήσεται,
 παρασκευάζεσθαι δ' ἃ προσήκει πάντα, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπο- 5
 5 κείσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας, εἰ μὲν ἐναργές τι γένοιτο καὶ σαφές ὥς
 βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖ, καὶ συμμαχήσειν καὶ χάριν
 μεγάλην ἔξειν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνον

ἐκφέρονται] 'acquire thereby.' Literally, 'they carry off for themselves.'
 οὐ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου] 'during the long course of which.'

αὐτὸς δέ] in contrast with οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες.

εἰ μὲν ἡμεῖς] 'even though all of us who intend to speak.' Demosthenes seems to endeavour by this remark to weaken the force of any observation which might be made by the speakers whom he expected to reply to himself.

εἰ δὲ παρελθὼν . . . λελύσεται] 'but if any one person whatever came forward, and could show and convince you what kind and what amount of force will be

serviceable to the State, and from what resources it should be provided, all our present apprehensions will be removed.' C. R. K.

ὁ παρὼν φόβος] Caused by the preparations of the king of Persia. The form of the future *λελύσεται* expresses a complete and immediate result.

περὶ τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα] 'about our relations with the king.'

ἐκ δὴ τούτων] 'now matters being in this state.'

καὶ τοῦθ' ὑποκείσθαι] 'and that this should be the groundwork of your resolution.'

ἀμύννομένοις· εἰ δ' ἔτι ἀδήλου τούτου καθεστηκότος προ- 10
 απεχθησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, δέδια, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τού-
 τοις μετ' ἐκείνου πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν προ-
 6 νοούμεθα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισχὼν ὧν ὥρμηκεν, εἰ ἄρ' ἐγχειρεῖν
 ἔγνωκε τοῖς Ἑλλησι, χρήματα δώσει τισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ
 φιλίαν προτενεῖται, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους πολέμους ἐπανορθώ- 15
 σασθαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες τὴν κοινὴν
 7 ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρόψονται. εἰς δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν ταύ-
 την καὶ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην παραινῶ μὴ προκαθεῖναι τὴν
 πόλιν ἡμῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπ' ἴσης ὁρῶ τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις
 Ἑλλησι καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν βουλήν 20
 οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν πολλοῖς ἐνδέχεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν
 ἰδία τι συμφερόντων διοικουμένοις τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
 ἀμελεῖσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὐδ' ἀδικουμένοις παρὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων
 καλὸν ἔστι λαβεῖν ταύτην τὴν δίκην, ἑᾶσαι τινας αὐτῶν
 8 ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ γενέσθαι. ὅτε δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, σκεπ- 25
 τέον ὅπως μὴτ' ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενησόμεθα οὐκ ἴσοι,
 μὴτ' ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἡμεῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἡγούμεθα τοῖς Ἑλλησι, 180
 τὴν τοῦ φίλος αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι πίστιν λήψεται. πῶς
 οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται; ἂν ἡ μὲν δύναμις τῆς πόλεως ἐξητασ-
 μένη καὶ παρεσκευασμένη πᾶσιν ἢ φανερά, φαίνεται δὲ

εἰ δὲ . . . προαπεχθησόμεθα] 'but if we shall prematurely rush into a quarrel.'

τούτοις μετ' ἐκείνου] 'lest we may be compelled to wage war not only with him, but also with those whom we are anxious to protect.'

ἐπισχὼν ὧν ὥρμηκεν] 'suspending his designs, if indeed he has resolved to attack the Greeks.' The designs of the king of Persia are here spoken of as doubtful; so that it is not improbable that the suspicions of the Athenians were roused by the preparations for the war against the revolted provinces of Phoenicia and Egypt. In ὧν ὥρμηκεν there is an attraction for τούτων ὧν ὥρμηκεν. Schäfer compares Arist. Aves 1200: ἐπίσχευς τοῦ δρόμου.

ἐπανορθώσασθαι] 'to bring their own wars to a successful issue.'

εἰς δὲ τὴν . . . πόλιν ἡμῶν] 'I exhort you not to plunge our country into such confusion and folly;' or, as C. R. K., 'I beseech you not to betray our country

into such embarrassment and folly.' Jacobs: 'In solche Verwirrung und Rathlosigkeit aber ermahne ich Euch die Stadt nicht gerathen zu lassen.'

οὐδὲ γὰρ] 'for neither can I see that the policy of the rest of the Greeks is based on the same principles as yours in reference to the king.'

ἐνδέχεσθαι] I. q. ἐξεῖναι. Xen. Hier. 4, 4: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἐξεστι . . . τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. Schäfer. Translate: 'It is open to, or competent for them, while managing any of their own private interests,' i.e. they may if they choose, but you cannot consistently.

μὴτ' ἡμεῖς . . . οὐκ ἴσοι] 'that we may neither be involved in war with unequal forces, nor.'

φαίνεται δὲ δίκαια] 'and if the State, possessing such a force, show that it is resolved to adopt sentiments of justice.'

This clause is of course contrasted with τὴν τοῦ φίλος αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι πίστιν. ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης

- 9 δίκαιά ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φρονεῖν αἰρουμένη. τοῖς δὲ θρασυνομέ- 5
νοις καὶ σφόδρα ἐτοιμῶς πολεμεῖν κελεύουσιν ἐκείνο λέγω,
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι χαλεπὸν οὐθ' ὅταν βουλευέσθαι δέῃ, δόξαν
ἀνδρείας λαβεῖν, οὐθ' ὅταν κίνδυνός τις ἐγγὺς ᾗ, δεινὸν
εἰπεῖν φανῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ προσήκον, ἐπὶ
μὲν τῶν κινδύνων τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ συμ- 10
10 βουλευεῖν φρονιμώτερα τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζω τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα
χαλεπὸν τῇ πόλει, τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ῥάδιον
ἂν συμβάντα. διὰ τί ; ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἅπαντας ἀναγ-
καίως ἡγοῦμαι τριήρων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τόπων δεῖσθαι, 15
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἀφθονώτερα ἐκείνους ἔχοντα ἡμῶν εὐρίσκω
11 τοὺς δ' ἀγῶνας οὐδενὸς οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ὁρῶ δεομένους ὡς
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, τούτους δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν κιν-
δυνεύουσι πλείους ὑπάρχειν νομίζω. τὸν μὲν δὴ πόλεμον
διὰ ταῦτα παραινῶ μηδ' ἐξ ἑνὸς τρόπου προτέρους ἀν- 20
ελέσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶν' ὀρθῶς φημι παρεσκευασμένους
12 ὑπάρχειν χρήναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερός τις τρόπος ἦν δυνά-
μεως ὥς τοὺς βαρβάρους οἷόν τε ἦν ἀμύνασθαι, ἕτερος δέ
τις ὥς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰκότως ἂν ἴσως φανεροὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἐγινγόμεθ' ἀντιπαττόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσης ἐστὶ παρασκευῆς 25
ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος καὶ δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι κεφάλαια τῆς δυνά-
μεως, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι δύνασθαι, τοῖς οὖσι συμ- 181
13 μάχοις βοηθεῖν, τὰ ὑπάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰ σώζειν, τί τοὺς
ὁμολογοῦντας ἐχθροὺς ἔχοντες ἐτέρους ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλ'

λήψεται, for such a demonstration would prove that the Athenians were the friends of Greece, not the king of Persia.

τοῖς δὲ θρασυνομένοις] 'but to the over-confident, and those who are vehement in urging you to make war at once.'

τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα] 'but that any conflict which may result from the war, will prove an easy matter.' As Schäfer observes, there is a tacit hypothesis implied in ἂν συμβάντα, 'si forte cum Persa congregiendum sit.' Demosthenes means that a protracted war with Persia would be a serious affair for Athens, though she might win every battle. Comp. c. Phil. iii. § 63, p. 222.

κινδυνεύουσι] Lege κινδυνεύουσιν. Vulg.

'utcunque defendas,' 'are threatened,' Dobree. So too Jacobs: 'wir und die so mit uns die Gefahr theilen,' 'we and those who share the danger with us.' The text clearly needs no alteration.

εἰκότως ἂν ἴσως] 'we might perhaps not unreasonably have been regarded as openly arraying ourselves against the king.'

δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι κεφάλαια] 'and the main points of every force should be the same,' viz. to have the means of repelling enemies, &c. Mr. Kennedy thus: 'but since all arming is of the same character, and your force must amount to the same thing, namely, the means of.'

τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας] Scil. ἐαυτοὺς.

- οὐ παρασκευαζόμεθα μὲν πρὸς τούτους, ἀμυνόμεθα δὲ
 κἀκεῖνον, ἐὰν ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρῇ; καὶ νῦν μὲν καλεῖτε 5
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ἐὰν δὲ ἂ κελεύουσιν
 οὗτοι μὴ ποιῆτε, οὐχ ἡδέως ἐνίων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων, πῶς χρή
 14 προσδοκᾶν τινα ὑπακούσθαι; ὅτι νῆ Δί' ἀκούσονται
 παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς. αὐτοὺς δ' οὐ
 προορᾶν ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς οἴεσθε τοῦτο; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ 10
 οἶομαι. ἀλλ' οὐπω μείζων οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ φόβος τῶν πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνίοις διαφορῶν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ'
 15 ἢ ῥαψωδῆσουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις περιόντες. τότε δὲ, ἂν ἄρα
 ἂ νῦν οἴομεθ' ἡμεῖς πράττηται, οὐδεὶς δῆπου τῶν πάντων
 Ἑλλήνων τηλικούτον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονεῖ, ὅστις ὁρῶν ὑμῖν 15
 χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, ὀπλίτας δὲ ὅσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις, ναῦς
 δὲ τριακοσίας, οὐχ ἤξει καὶ δεῖσεται, μετὰ τούτων ἀσφα-
 16 λέστατ' αἶν ἡγούμενος σωθῆναι. οὐκοῦν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ καλεῖν
 ἤδη τὸ δεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ τύχητε ἀφαρματεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ

'Why, when we have avowed enemies, do we seek for others?' The allusion is to the Thebans, who had been enemies of the Athenians ever since the latter, from jealousy of the aggrandizement of Thebes under Epaminondas, had abandoned its alliance, and gone over to the side of Sparta. The Sacred War too, which had now (B.C. 354) lasted two years, had aggravated the hostility; for in it Thebes was engaged as a principal against the Phocians, who on the other hand were befriended by the Athenians and Spartans.

ant
 Sas.
 181
 181J.
 οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἢ ῥαψωδῆσουσιν] 'will do nothing but rhapsodize;' i. e. they will do nothing but go about and repeat a form of words, without producing any practical result. The *ῥαψῳδοί* (*ῥάπτειν* *φῶδας*) were a class of persons who, before writing and reading were common, went about Greece reciting popular poems, principally those of Homer, to assemblages of their countrymen. Like the Troubadours of the feudal times in Europe, they were formerly in great repute, and welcomed every where. But in the time of Demosthenes, their art, which was founded chiefly on great powers of memory, had fallen into disrepute, and the word *ῥαψωδεῖν* began to be used as equivalent to *φλυαρεῖν*, or idle talking. Thus Suidas explains it: *ῥαψωδῆσαι* δέ

ἐστι τὸ φλυαρῆσαι ἢ ἀπλῶς λαλεῖν χωρὶς ἔργου τινός. Hence 'rhapsody' in English, as quoted by Mr. Kennedy from Shakspeare, Hamlet, Act iii. sc. 4:

"Oh! such a deed

As from the body of contraction
 plucks

The very soul, and sweet religion
 makes

A rhapsody of words."

Jacobs translates the text thus: 'und dann werden Eure Gesandten nichts ausrichten, sondern mit ihrem Spruche wie Bänkelsänger umher ziehn.' Pabst: 'vergeblich dasselbe Lied wiederholen.' Comp. c. Aristoc. § 3: *μάτην ἐρραψωδηκότας*. Lucian (Charon. § 7) uses the word of Homer repeating his own verses: *πολλὰ ῥαψωδοῦντος ἀκούσας*.

τότε δέ] 'but when that time comes.'

μετὰ τούτων] 'thinking that with the aid of these forces they will be most sure of safety.'

οὐκοῦν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ καλεῖν] 'the consequences then are, that by inviting them now you are petitioners, and incur failure if you do not obtain your request: whereas by waiting, and at the same time making your own preparations, you save men as petitioners, and have the full assurance that all will come (to you).'

τοῦ παρσκευάσθαι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν δεομένους 20
σώζειν καὶ εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας ἥξοντάς ἐστιν.

- 17 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ παρα-
πλήσια τούτοις λογιζόμενος λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ἐβουλόμην
θρασὺν οὐδ' ἔχοντα μάταιον μῆκος εὐρεῖν τὴν μέντοι
παρασκευὴν, ὅπως ὡς ἄριστα καὶ τάχιστα γενήσεται, 25
πάννυ πολλὰ πράγματα ἔσχον σκοπῶν. οἶμαι δὴ δεῖν ἀκού-
18 σαντας ὑμᾶς αὐτὴν, ἃν ἀρέσκη, ψηφίσασθαι. ἔστι τοίνυν 182
πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μέ-
γιστον, οὕτω διακεῖσθαι τὰς γνώμας ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἕκαστον
ἐκόντα προθύμως ὃ τι ἂν δέῃ ποιήσονται. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι, ὅσα μὲν πρόποθ' ἅπαντες ἡβουλή- 5
θητε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πράττειν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ
προσήκειν ἡγήσατο, οὐδὲν πρόποθ' ὑμᾶς ἐξέφυγεν, ὅσα δ'
ἡβουλήθητε μὲν, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἀπεβλέψατε πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξ-
19 οντα, οὐδὲν πρόποτε ὑμῖν ἐγένετο. ἐχόντων δ' ὑμῶν οὕτω 10
καὶ παρωξυμμένων, τοὺς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἀναπλη-
ρῶσαι φημι χρῆναι καὶ ποιῆσαι δισχιλίους, ὀκτακοσίους
αὐτοῖς προσνείμαντας· ἔαν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀποδείξῃτε τὸ πλη-
θος, ἡγχοῦμαι, τῶν ἐπικλήρων καὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν] 'I then, O men of Athens, arriving at these and similar conclusions, did not wish to make out a presumptuous harangue, nor one of unprofitable length.' Dobree compares λόγων μῆκος ἄπιστον, Thucyd. v. 89.

ἔστι τοίνυν πρῶτον] 'now the first and most important part of preparation is.'

ὅσα μὲν πρόποτε] 'whenever you have collectively wished for any thing to be done, and each individual has afterwards thought the execution of it to be his own duty, you have never failed in any thing; but in whatever cases you have wished for any object and afterwards looked to each other with the feeling that it was not for each individual to do it himself, but that his neighbour would act, you have never succeeded in any thing.' Comp. Thucyd. i. 141: ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δὲ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι προιδεῖν; ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματος λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον.

ἐχόντων δ' ὑμῶν] 'but supposing you to be thus animated and excited.'

τοὺς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους] See Appendix on the Trierarchy.

ἔαν γὰρ ἀποδείξῃτε] 'if you constitute this number.' τῶν ἐπικλήρων] 'heiresses, and orphanes, and the holders of colonial allotments, and of property as tenants in common, and persons disqualified by poverty, being subtracted.' Heiresses and wards were exempt, because there was a personal trust connected with the trierarchy which they could not discharge. The κληροῦχοι being absenteees were *ipso facto* exempt. The κοινοῖ were probably tenants in common of property, as brothers or coheirs, who would be exempt, when the share of each was not sufficient to qualify him. With κληρονηκῶν, κοινοικῶν, may be understood σωματῶν, persons of the class of colonists, &c. Some MSS. read ὀρφανικῶν instead of ὀρφανῶν, which is given in the codex S

κληρουχικῶν καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἀδύνατος 15
 ἀφαιρεθέντων, ἔσεσθαι χίλια καὶ διακόσια ταῦτα ὑμῖν
 20 σώματα. ἐκ τοίνυν τούτων οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι συμμορίας
 εἴκοσιν, ὥσπερ νῦν εἰσὶν, ἐξήκοντα σώματ' ἔχουσιν ἐκά-
 στην. τούτων δὲ τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐκάστην διελεῖν κελεύω
 πέντε μέρη κατὰ δώδεκα ἄνδρας, ἀνταναπληροῦντας πρὸς 20
 τὸν εὐπορώτατον ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους. καὶ τὰ μὲν σώ-
 ματα οὕτω φημὶ δεῖν συντετάχθαι δι' ὃ δ', εἴσεσθε,
 ἐπειδὰν ὅλον τὸν τρόπον τῆς συντάξεως ἀκούσητε· τὰς δὲ
 21 τριήρεις πῶς; τὸν ἅπαντα ἀριθμὸν κελεύω τριακοσίας
 ἀποδείξαντας, κατὰ πεντεκαϊδεκαναῖαν εἴκοσι ποιῆσαι 25
 μέρη, τῶν πρώτων ἑκατὸν πέντε καὶ τῶν δευτέρων ἑκατὸν
 πέντε καὶ τῶν τρίτων ἑκατὸν πέντε ἐκάστῳ μέρει διδόντας, 183
 εἶτα συγκληρῶσαι συμμορίᾳ σωμάτων ἐκάστη τὴν πεντε-
 καιδεκαναῖαν, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἐκάστῳ τῷ μέρει σφῶν
 22 αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἀποδοῦναι τριήρεις. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως
 ἔχοντα ὑπάρχη, κελεύω, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τίμημά ἐστι τὸ τῆς 5

and other MSS. Orphans were exempt from the trierarchy, not only during their minority, but for a year after passing their *δοκιμασία*. See Lysias c. Diogeit. § 37: τὸ ἥμισυ τούτων τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς οὐσι λελόγισται, οὓς ἡ πόλις οὐ μόνον παῖδας ὄντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὰν δοκιμασθῶσιν, ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν ἅπασιν τῶν λειτουργιῶν.

ἀνταναπληροῦντας] 'always putting the very poor men with the very rich man by way of compensation,' i. e. so that the deficiency of the amounts contributed by the small estates might be supplied by the larger contributions of the more wealthy. On this passage Mr. Grote, xi. 642, remarks: "Each group of 12 was to comprise the richest alongside of the poorest members of the 60, so that each group would contain individuals very unequal in wealth, though the aggregate wealth of one group would be nearly equal to that of another. These 12 persons were to defray collectively the cost of trierarchy for 1 ship, 2 ships, or 3 ships, according to the number required. But Demosthenes nowhere points out in what proportions they were to share the expense among them. There is nothing in his project to prevent the richer from insisting that all should pay

equally. This is the very abuse which he denounced afterwards (b.c. 340) as actually realized, and corrected by a new law." But we cannot suppose that Demosthenes would have failed to insert a proviso for this purpose, if he had proposed a formal resolution or bill to carry out the reform which he recommended. In this oration he merely explains the general principles of his scheme, and how he proposed to work it, without going into unnecessary details. See § 28.

κατὰ πεντεκαϊδεκαναῖαν] 'of 15 ships each, giving to each subdivision 5 from the 1st 100, 5 from the 2nd 100, and 5 from the 3rd 100.' From this it appears that the 300 triremes were divided into 3 centuries of 100 each, the first consisting of ships of the best class: A 1, as we should say, on the register.

ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως] 'but after these things are thus arranged.'

τὸ τίμημα] In the year b.c. 377, during the archonship of Nausinicus, a fresh valuation was made of the property of Attica, and the amount of the *taxable* capital was fixed at 6000 talents, in round numbers, or rather, according to Polybius (ii. 62), at 5750 talents exactly. It must be observed that this τίμημα of 6000 talents, was not the actual value of

χώρας ἑξακισχιλίων τάλαντων, ἢ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἢ
 συντεταγμένα, διελεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ποιῆσαι καθ' ἑξήκοντα
 τάλαντα ἑκατὸν μέρη, εἴτα πέντε ἑξηκονταταλαντίας εἰς
 ἑκάστην τῶν μεγάλων τῶν ἑκοσι συμμοριῶν ἐπικληρῶσαι,
 τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν μίαν ἑξηκονταταλαν- 10
 23 τίαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὅπως ἂν μὲν ὑμῶν ἑκατὸν δέη τριήρων, τὴν
 μὲν δαπάνην ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα συντελῇ, τριήραρχοι δ'
 ὧσι δώδεκα, ἂν δὲ διακοσίων, τριάκοντα μὲν ἢ τάλαντα
 τὴν δαπάνην συντελοῦντα, ἕξ δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα,
 ἂν δὲ τριακοσίων, ἑκοσι μὲν ἢ τάλαντα τὴν δαπάνην 15
 24 διαλύοντα, τέτταρα δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα. τὸν αὐτὸν
 δὲ τρόπον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὰ νῦν ὀφειλόμενα τῶν

the whole property of Attica, but only of that portion of it (say a fifth or a sixth) at which the proprietors were severally rated for the payment of taxes and contributions to the state. Böckh ii. iv. 8.

πέντε ἑξηκονταταλαντίας] Property returning a taxable capital of 300 talents was to be allocated to each of the 20 larger symmoriae, so as to exhaust the 6000 talents of the entire taxable capital of the state.

ἑκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν] Each of the larger symmoriae was to be responsible for the 20th part, i. e. for 15 ships of the whole 300, supposing the state required so many. Each then of its 5 subdivisions would be answerable for 3 ships, on the same supposition, and as each subdivision had allocated to it a taxable capital of 60 talents, and 12 trierarchs, it follows that each ship would be provided for by a capital of 20 talents and a body of 4 trierarchs. But supposing 200 only were wanted, then as each of the 5 subdivisions would be answerable for only 2 ships, each of these would have 30 talents and 6 trierarchs. If 100 triremes only were wanted, then each subdivision would be answerable for only 1 ship, which would have 60 talents and 12 trierarchs to equip and furnish it. Perhaps the following synopsis may make the subject more clear—

300 ships, 6000 talents, 1200 trierarchs are divided each into 20 parts, severally consisting of 15 ships, 300 talents, and 60 trierarchs, i. e. a symmoria. Then there is a further subdivision thus :

Ships	Talents	Trierarchs
15	300	60 = a symmoria.
—	—	—
3	60	12
3	60	12
3	60	12
3	60	12
3	60	12

It is clear then that if 100, or $\frac{1}{3}$ only of the 300 triremes were wanted, the first division of 15 would supply only 5, and each subdivision of 3 only 1, with a contributory capital of 60 talents, and 12 trierarchs as contributors to each ship. If 200 triremes were wanted, the first division would supply only 10, the subdivisions 2 each, with a contributory capital of 30 talents, and 6 trierarchs as contributors to each ship. If 300 were wanted, the first division would supply 15, the subdivisions 3 each, with a contributory capital of 20 talents, and 4 trierarchs as contributors to each ship. —Classic. Journ. iii. 49.

τὰ νῦν ὀφειλόμενα] 'I advise you to have a valuation made of the furniture of the ships now out on loan according to the inventory, and to divide the whole of it into 20 portions, and then to allot them to the great symmories, one lot of debtors to each.' From this it appears, as is abundantly proved by the inscriptions in Böckh's Urkunden, that individual trierarchs were supplied with naval implements and stores from the public arsenals. An inventory (διάγραμμα) was taken of the articles furnished, according to which the trierarchs were bound to restore or replace them, in default of a valid excuse

σκευῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τιμήσαντας ἅπαντα ἐκ τοῦ δια-
 γράμματος νεῖμαι κελεύω μέρος εἴκοσιν, ἔπειτα ταῖς μεγά-
 λαις ἐπικληρῶσαι συμμορίαις μέρος ἐν χρήστων ἐκάστη, 20
 τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἐκάστην διανεῖμαι τῶν ἑαυτῆς μερῶν
 ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἴσον, τοὺς δὲ δώδεκα τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ μέρει
 ταυτ' εἰσπράξαντας τὰς τριήρεις, ἃς ἂν ἕκαστοι λάχωσι,
 25 παρεσκευασμένας παρέχειν. τὴν μὲν δαπάνην καὶ τὰ σκάφη
 καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τὴν τῶν σκευῶν εἰσπραξίν οὕτως 25
 ἂν ἄρισθ' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πορισθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι
 πλήρωσις δὲ καὶ σαφὴς ὅθεν ἔσται καὶ ῥαδία, μετὰ ταῦτα
 26 λέγω. φημὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς δεῖν διανεῖμαι τόπους δέκα 184
 τῶν νεωρίων, σκεψαμένους ὅπως ὡς ἐγγύτατ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ
 τριάκοντ' ὧσι νεώσοικοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι, δύο
 συμμορίας καὶ τριάκοντα τριήρεις τούτων ἐκάστῳ προσ-
 27 νεῖμαι τῶν τόπων, εἴτ' ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς φυλάς, τὸν δὲ 5
 ταξίαρχον ἕκαστον ὃν ἂν ἡ φυλὴ τόπον λάχῃ, διελεῖν
 τρίχα καὶ τὰς ναὺς ὡσαύτως, εἴτ' ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς τριττὺς,
 ὅπως ἂν τῶν μὲν ὅλων νεωρίων ἐν ἐκάστης μέρος ἧ τῶν
 φυλῶν, τοῦ δὲ μέρους ἐκάστου τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡ τριττὺς

(σκήψις), and the τίμημα or valuation determined the amount of liability for repairs. The phrase μέρος ἐν χρήστων, for which some MSS. read χρηστῶν (good stores), is curious. Parreidt, Prolegomena, i. 44, proposes χρηστῶν, but, as Böckh (p. 204) observes, χρήστων "einerlei mit dem gewöhnlichen ὀφειλόντων das Richtige ist."

ταυτ' εἰσπράξαντας] 'should demand these implements, and get the triremes ready, which they may severally have had allotted to them.' The 12 partners in each of the smaller symmories were to obtain their respective allotments of implements and stores from those who held them, οἱ χρήσται.

τοὺς στρατηγούς] To illustrate their connexion with the τριηράρχοι, Amersfoordt quotes adv. Lacrit. § 61: οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον ἔστιν οἱ στρατηγοί (scil. οἱ εἰσάξουσιν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον). ἀλλὰ τοὺς τριηράρχους καθιστάουσιν οὗτοι εἰσάγοντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. From an inscription (xiv. p. 464) in Böckh it appears that one of the strategi, ὁ ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας ἡρημένος (v.c. 326), presided over the courts which tried the validity of

the pleas of non-liability alleged by those who had been chosen to serve as trierarchs: ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ αἱ σκήψεις εἰσαχθῶσι, τοὺς Θεσμοθέτας παραπληρῶσαι δικαστήρια εἰς ἕνα καὶ διακοσίους τῷ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας ἡρημένῳ. σκεψαμένους . . . ὧσι νεώσοικοι] 'providing that there may be 30 docks in each as near as possible to each other.'

εἴτ' ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς φυλάς] 'and then allot the (10) tribes, and that each taxiarch should divide into three parts the place which his tribe may obtain, and the ships in like manner.' With Dindorf, I adopt this reading, instead of Bekker's, εἴτ' ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς φυλάς, τὸν δὲ τριηράρχον ἕκαστον καθ' ἕκαστον νεώριον, ἵνα ὧσι συμμορίαι δύο, τριήρεις τριάκοντα, φυλὴ μία. ὃν δ' ἂν . . . The clause καθ' ἕκαστον—φυλὴ μία is omitted in the codex S, and stands in the margin of A. Dobree considers it as a "manifestum Scholium ad ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς φυλάς," and omits it. I cannot understand it. The taxiarchs at Athens were military officers, next in rank to the strategi, and 10 in number, one for each tribe.

τοῦ δὲ μέρους ἐκάστου] This proposed

ἔχῃ, εἰδῆτε δ', ἂν τι δέῃ, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν φυλὴν, ὅπου 10
 τέτακται, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν τριττὴν, εἴτα τριήραρχοι τίνες
 καὶ τριήρεις ποῖαι, καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν ἡ φυλὴ, δέκα δ' ἡ
 28 τριττὴν ἐκάστη τριήρεις ἔχῃ. ἔαν γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτως εἰς
 ὁδὸν καταστῇ, εἴ τι καὶ παραλείπομεν νῦν (πάντα γὰρ
 ἀκριβῶς εὑρεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον), αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἑαυτῷ εὐρήσει, 15
 καὶ μία σύνταξις καὶ πασῶν τῶν νεῶν καὶ μέρους ἔσται.
 29 Ὅτι δὲ χρημάτων καὶ πόρου φανεροῦ τινὸς ἤδη παρά-
 δοξον μὲν οἶδα λόγον μέλλων λέγειν, ὅμως δ' εἰρήσεται
 πιστεύω γὰρ, ἔάν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, μόνος τὰ ληθῇ καὶ τὰ
 30 γενησόμενα εἰρηκῶς φανεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι μὴ λέγειν 20
 νυνὶ περὶ χρημάτων· εἶναι γὰρ πόρον, ἂν δέῃ, καὶ μέγαν
 καὶ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν ἔαν μὲν ἤδη ζητῶμεν, οὐδ' εἰς
 τόθ' ὑπάρχειν ἡγησόμεθ' ἡμῶν οὕτω πολὺ τοῦ πορίσαι
 νῦν ἀποσχίσσομεν· ἔαν δ' ἐῷμεν, ἔσται. τίς οὖν ἔσθ' οὗτος
 31 ὁ νῦν μὲν οὐκ ὢν, ὑπάρξων δὲ τότε; αἰνίγματι γὰρ ὁμοιον 25
 τοῦτό γε. ἐγὼ φράσω. ὁρᾶτε τὴν πόλιν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 185
 ναῖοι, πᾶσαν ταυτηνί. ἐν ταύτῃ χρήματ' ἔνεστιν ὀλίγου
 δέω πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας εἰπεῖν πόλεις. ταῦτα δ' οἱ
 κεκτημένοι τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι νοῦν, ὥστ' εἰ πάντες οἱ λέγοντες
 the φοβοῖεν ὥς ἤξει βασιλεὺς, ὥς πάρεστιν, ὥς οὐχ οἶδόν τε 5
 a that ταῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λεγόντων ἴσοι τὸ πλῆθος
 τούτοις χρησμοφδοῖεν, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἂν εἰσενέγκαιεν, ἀλλ'
 32 οὐδ' ἂν δείξαιεν οὐδ' ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν κεκτῆσθαι. εἰ
 μέντοι τὰ νῦν διὰ τῶν λόγων φοβερὰ ἔργῳ πραττόμενα

arrangement is thus described in the Dict. of Class. Antiq. s. v. Τριηραρχία: "With a view to levying the crews, and for other purposes, the generals were to divide the dockyards into 10 parts for 30 ships' stations (νεώσοικοι) adjacent to each other; and to assign each of these parts to a tribe, or 2 large symmoriae of 30 ships." Consequently we might infer that Demosthenes intended the partners of each symmoria to be all of the same tribe. But at the time of this oration, the joint trierarchs of each ship were not uniformly so, as appears from Böckh's Urkunden, p. 186, and the Inscription, No. X. ἡ τριττός] The division of the tribes into thirds (trithings or ridings) was an

arrangement as old as Solon's time. Thus we read in Pollux viii. 108: ναυκραρία δ' ἦν τῶς φυλῆς δωδέκατον μέρος, καὶ δώδεκα ναυκραρία ἦσαν, τέτταρες κατὰ τριττὴν ἐκάστην.

[Ὅτι δὲ χρημάτων] 'But as regards money, and some certain supply.'

οὐδ' εἰς τόθ'] 'we shall not think we have it even for a future occasion.'

ὀλίγου δέω πρὸς] 'equal, one may almost say, to all the other states put together.'

καὶ μετὰ τῶν λεγόντων] 'and if in unison with the orators, just as many other persons should give oracular warnings.'

εἰ μέντοι] 'if however they should per-

αἰσθονται, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἡλίθιός ἐστιν ὅστις οὐχ ἐκὼν ἂν 10
δοίῃ καὶ πρῶτος εἰσενέγκουι τίς γὰρ αἰρήσεται μᾶλλον αὐτὸς
καὶ τὰ ὄντα πάντ' ἀπολωλέναι ἢ μέρος τῶν ὄντων ὑπὲρ
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσενεγκεῖν ; χρήματα μὲν δὴ φημι
εἶναι τότε, ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς δέῃ, πρότερον δ' οὐ. διὸ μὴδὲ
33 ζητεῖν παραινῶ· ὅσα γὰρ νυνὶ πορίσασθαι ἂν, εἰ προέλοισθε 15
πορίζειν, πλείων ἐστὶ γέλως τοῦ μηδενός. φέρε γὰρ, ἑκα-
τοστήν τις εἰσφέρειν ἐρεῖ νῦν ; οὐκοῦν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα.
ἀλλὰ πεντηκοστήν τις ἐρεῖ, τὸ διπλοῦν ; οὐκοῦν ἑκατὸν
καὶ ἑκοσὶ καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἔστι πρὸς διακοσίας καὶ χιλίας
καμήλους, ἃς βασιλεῖ τὰ χρήματ' ἄγειν φασὶν οὗτοι ; ἀλλὰ 20
θῶ, βούλεσθε, δωδεκάτην ἡμᾶς εἰσοίσειν, πεντακόσια τάλ-
αντα ; ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἀνάσχοισθε οὐτ' ἂν, εἰ καταθεῖτε, ἄξια
34 τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα. δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
παρασκευάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα νῦν μὲν ἔαν τοὺς κεκτη-
μένους ἔχειν (οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἐν καλλίονι σώζοιτο τῇ 25
πόλει), ἔαν δέ ποθ' ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, τότε ἐκόντων εἰσφερόν-
των αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δυνατὰ ἐστίν, ὧ 186
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πράττειν καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ
βασιλεῖ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπιτήδεια ἀπαγγελλῆναι, καὶ φόβος
35 οὐκ ὀλίγος γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τούτων. οἶδε μὲν γε
τριακοσίαις τριήρεσιν, ὧν ἑκατὸν παρεσχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, τοὺς 5

ceive that what is now terrible in report, is being realized in fact.'

χρήματα μέν] 'I say then that there will be money hereafter' in the time of need.

πλεῖων ἐστὶ γέλως] 'is more ridiculous than nothing at all.'

ἀλλὰ θῶ] 'but, am I to suppose,—will you have it so, that you will contribute a twelfth, 500 talents?'

οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἔν] 'for no where could they be in better keeping for the state.'

τριακοσίαις] The Codex S has διακοσίαις, which Dindorf adopts. But Aeschylus (Persae, 341), a contemporary, represents the number of Grecian ships at Salamis to have been 300, *τρηκάδας δέκα*, and Herodotus (viii. 48) makes it to have been 378. However, it is remarkable that Demosthenes should assert, that the Athenians furnished only 100 ; for Herodotus (l. c.) relates that they mustered 127 at Artemisium before they were re-

inforced by the arrival of 53 more, which raised their force at Salamis to 180. If we further reckon, as an Athenian squadron, the contingent of 20 ships furnished by the Athenians, but manned by the Chalcidians, who were emigrants from Athens (Herod. v. 77), the total number of Athenian ships would be 200, as represented by Diodorus, xv. 78. But Demosthenes, wishing to depreciate, as his argument suggested, the number of Athenian ships engaged against Xerxes, might boldly and in round numbers fix it at 100 instead of 127, the number originally present at Artemisium. On the other hand, in the De Cor. § 297, he describes it as 200 : τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πόλιν παρῆσχετο. In Thucydides (i. 74) the Athenian orators at Sparta are made to assert that the total number of Greek ships at Salamis was 400, of which Athens contri-

- προγόνους αὐτοῦ χιλίας ἀπολέσαντας ναῦς, ἀκούσεται δὲ
 τριακοσίας αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς νῦν παρεσκευασμένους· ὥστε μὴ
 κομιδῇ, μηδ' εἰ πάννυ μαινόμενοι, νομίσειν ῥάδιόν τι τὸ τὴν
 36 ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ποιήσασθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γ' ἐπὶ
 χρήμασιν αὐτῷ μέγ' ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν, καὶ ταύτην ἀσθε- 10
 νεστέραν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐρήσει. ὁ μὲν γε χρυσίον,
 ὥς φασιν, ἄγει πολύ. τοῦτο δὲ ἂν διαδῶ ζητήσῃ καὶ γὰρ
 τὰς κρήνας καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπιλείπειν πέφυκεν, εἴαν τις ἀπ'
 αὐτῶν ἀθρόα καὶ πολλὰ λαμβάνῃ· ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ τῆς χώρας
 τίμημα ὑπάρχον ἀφορμὴν [ἐξακισχίλια τάλαντα] ἀκού- 15
 σεται, ὑπὲρ ἧς ὡς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκείνων ἀμνυνόμεθα
 οἱ Μαραθῶνι τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστ' ἂν εἰδείν, ἕως
 δ' ἂν κρατῶμεν, οὐκ ἐνὶ δήπου χρήμαθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπειν.
 37 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ τινας δεδίασι, μὴ ξενικὸν πολὺ συστή-
 σῃται χρήματ' ἔχων, ἀληθεὲς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ. ἐγὼ γὰρ 20
 ἡγοῦμαι ἐπὶ μὲν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ὀρόνταν καὶ τινας τῶν
 ἄλλων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἂν ἐβελῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μι-
 σθοφορεῖν παρ' ἐκείνῳ, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκείνος ἔλῃ τινὰ τούτων,
 ἀλλ' ἵν' εὐπορίαν τινὰ ἕκαστος αὐτῷ κτησάμενος ἀπαλ-
 λαγῇ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης πενίας· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλληνα 25

buted rather less than two-thirds, the same *proportion* as Demosthenes affirms in the De Cor.

χιλίας] Plato (Legg. iii. 14) and Ctesias (ap. Photium, p. 39) agree in making the numbers of the Persian ships rather more than 1000. Aeschylus (Persae, v. 341), as interpreted by Mr. Blakesley, states the amount at 1000 exactly:

Ξέρξης δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἶδα) χιλιάς μὲν ἦν,
 ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος.

and the authority of the text confirms Mr. B.'s conclusion, "that a definite tradition which confined the numbers to a thousand or a little more, existed in the early part of the fourth century B.C., even amongst those tempted to exaggerate the enemy's force."

καὶ ταύτην] 'he will find even this a weaker resource than yours is.'

τοῦτο δὲ ἂν διαδῶ] 'if he distribute this (to the other Greeks), he will come to want.'

ἀθρόα καὶ πολλὰ] 'constantly and by wholesale.'

ἐξακισχίλια τάλαντα] I agree with Dindorf in bracketing these words; for though found in all the MSS. except two, which have *δικτακισχίλια*, they are an unnecessary specification of amount, inserted probably as an explanation by some interpreter. Schäfer and Dobree are of the same opinion.

Αἴγυπτον] Egypt had for some time been in revolt against Persia; and Orontas (satrap of Mysia) was one of several Persian satraps, who (B.C. 362) in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, formed a great conspiracy against that monarch, which but for the treachery of Orontas himself might have overthrown the Persian empire. The heroic Datames, whose life was written by Cornelius Nepos, was one of the conspirators. Diod. Sic. xv. 90, 91.

μισθοφορεῖν] Diodorus (xv. 90) states that Tachos the Egyptian employed many Greeks as mercenaries in the revolt against Persia: πολλοὺς ξενολογήσας ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πρόλεων.

38 οὐδένα ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι· ποῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς τρέφεται μετὰ 187
ταῦτα ; εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐλθὼν δουλεύσει ; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλον
τινὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πόλεμος ἢ περὶ χώρας
καὶ βίου καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων.
τίς οὖν οὕτως ἐστὶ δυστυχῆς ὅστις ἑαυτὸν, γονέας, τάφους, 5
πατρίδα ἔνεκα κέρδους βραχέος προέσθαι βουλήσεται ;
39 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδένα ἡγοῦμαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ συμφέρει
ξένους κρατῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ γὰρ ἡμῶν κρατήσαντες
ἐκείνου γε πάλοι κρείττους ὑπάρχουσι, βούλεται δ' ἐκείνος
οὐκ ἀνελὼν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἄλλοις εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πάν- 10
των, εἰ δὲ μή γε, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δούλων ἑαυτῷ νῦν ἄρχειν.

Εἰ τοίνυν τις οἶεται Θηβαίους ἔσσεσθαι μετ' ἐκείνου,
40 ἔστι μὲν χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος· διὰ γὰρ
τὸ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ἡδέως ἀγαθὸν περὶ
αὐτῶν ἀκούσaiτε· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοὺς περὶ πραγμά- 15
των μεγάλων σκοποῦντας μηδένα συμφέροντα λογισμὸν
41 παραλιπεῖν διὰ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν οἶμαι
τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν Θηβαίους τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνου ποτ' ἂν
ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὥστε πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων,
εἰ ἔχοιεν δοῦναι, πρίασθαι γενέσθαι τιν' αὐτοῖς καιρὸν δι' 20
οὗ τὰς προτέρας ἀναλύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀμαρ-
τίας. εἰ δ' ἄρα παντάπασί τις οὕτως οἶεται φύσει δυστυ-
χεῖς Θηβαίους εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ γε δήπουθεν ἅπαντες ἐπί-
στασθε, ὅτι Θηβαίων τὰ ἐκείνου φρονούντων ἀνάγκη τοὺς
τούτων ἐχθροὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φρονεῖν. 25

42 Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ 188

προέσθαι] 'to sacrifice himself.'
οἱ γὰρ ἡμῶν κρατήσαντες] 'for those
who conquer us must long before have
been his masters.'

δούλων] Comp. Xen. Anab. i. 9. 29 :
παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος, and ii. 5.
38 : ἐπεὶ περ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δού-
λου.

μηδένα συμφέροντα] 'no useful con-
sideration.'

ἐγὼ τοίνυν] 'I however think that the
Thebans are so far from being likely
ever to join him in an attack upon the
Greeks.'

γενέσθαι τιν' αὐτοῖς] 'the occurrence

of any opportunity of atoning for their
former offences against the Greeks.' The
first and great offence was their siding
with Xerxes against the other Greeks ;
and they had always shown themselves
especial enemies of the Athenians, from
the time of the Peloponnesian war till the
age of Demosthenes. No wonder then
that he had great difficulty in inducing
his hearers to listen to any observations
in their favour. Comp. c. Phil. ii. § 13,
p. 136.

ταύτην τὴν τάξιν] 'that this our cause
of justice, and those who side with it,
will be stronger against all adversaries

τοὺς μετ' αὐτῆς ὄντας κρείττους τῶν προδοτῶν καὶ τοῦ
 βαρβάρου ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας. ὥστ' οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι
 φημι δεῖν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου οὔθ' ὑπαχθῆναι προτέρους
 43 ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα 5
 ἂν εἰκότως Ἑλλήνων φοβηθέντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὁρῶ
 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἕως μὲν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐκείνους
 ὑπειληφότες ὠμονόουν ἀλλήλοις, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν
 κύριοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ φίλον αὐτὸν νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν
 περὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διηνέχθησαν διαφόρων, ὅς' ἂν οὐδὲ 10
 καταρώμενος εὗρέ τις αὐτοῖς, τοσαῦτα πεπόνθασι κακά ;
 44 εἰθ' ὃν ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον φίλον μὲν ἀλυσίτελῃ, συμ-
 φέροντα δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐμφανίζει, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς φοβώμεθα ;
 μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ ρηδ' ἀδικῶμεν αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπιστίας, ἐπεὶ εἴ γ' 15
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦν μετὰ πάντων ἐπιθέσθαι μόνῳ, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν
 45 ἡμᾶς ἐκείνους ἀδίκημ' ἂν ἔθηκα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐχ οὕτως
 ἔχει, φυλάττεσθαι φημι δεῖν μὴ πρόφασιν δώμεν βασιλεῖ
 τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ζητεῖν· ἡσυχίαν
 μὲν γὰρ ἐχόντων ἡμῶν ὑποπτος ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτό τι πράττων, 20
 πόλεμον δὲ ποιησαμένων προτέρων εἰκότως ἂν δοκοίη διὰ
 τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐχθραν τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλος εἶναι βούλεσθαι.
 46 μὴ οὖν-ἐξελέγξητε ὥς κακῶς ἔχει τὰ Ἑλληνικά, συγκα-
 λοῦντες ὅτ' οὐ πείσετε, καὶ πολεμοῦντες ὅτ' οὐ δυνήσεσθε·
 ἀλλ' ἔχετε ἡσυχίαν θαρροῦντες καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ 25

than the traitors and the Oriental will be.'

ἕως μὲν] Bekker, with several MSS., has τέως. But 'F. O. et correctus Y' read ἕως. See Buttmann, Meid. Ind. s. v. τέως, who thinks that in some cases τέως, ἕως was originally the true reading. Comp. Olynth. ii. § 24, p. 45: τέως μὲν ἂν ἐρρωμένους ἦ τις, and F. L. § 374: δ, τέως ἦσαν φωκέις σφῶι, οὐδὲ πάποτ' ἐποίησαν.

ὅς' ἂν οὐδὲ καταρώμενος] 'as no one could have thought of for them, not even while cursing them.'

αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἔνεκα] 'having regard to our own interests, and the agitation and jealousy of the rest of the Greeks.' "Um ihrer selbst willen und wegen der Zer-

würfnisse und des Mistrauens der Hellenen." Schäfer. Comp. c. Phil. iii. § 27, p. 210: ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες.

οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς] 'I should not then have considered our doing him an injury as any injustice.' Demosthenes here adopts a curious sentiment, and makes the moral quality of an attempt to depend upon the probability of success, as if it furnished "a just cause for doing wrong."

τὰ δίκαια... (ζητεῖν) 'of vindicating their rights on behalf of the other Greeks.'

μὴ οὖν ἐξελέγξητε] 'do not then disclose how melancholy the condition of Greece is.'

- 47 βούλεσθε ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι περὶ ὑμῶν πρὸς βασιλέα μὴ μὰ 189
 Δία ὥς ἀποροῦσιν ἢ φοβοῦνται ἢ θορυβοῦνται πάντες οἱ
 Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι, εἰ μὲν
 μὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοίως αἰσχροὺς ἦν τὸ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ
 ἐπιорκεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ καλὸν, πάσαι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνους 5
 48 ἐπορεύεσθε, νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσατε ὑμῶν ἕνεκ'
 αὐτῶν, εὔχεσθε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν παρά-
 νοιαν ἐκείνων ἣν πέρ ποτε τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτ'
 ἂν ἐπὶ σκοπεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλιγῶρος ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους
 εὐρήσει. ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους πολέ- 10
 μων σύννοιδε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην γεγενη-
 49 μένην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἧς ἦγε πρὸ τούτων, οὐδεμιᾶς
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τοσοῦτον ὅσον νῦν ὑπεραί-
 ρουσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρᾷ δεομένους ἡτοι-
 τινὸς ἐκουσίου ἢ κάκουσίου διαλλακτοῦ, τοῦτον δ' αὐτὸν 15
 50 ἂν οἶδε φανέντ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ πόλεμον κινοίη. ὥστε καὶ γνώ-
 ριμα καὶ πιστὰ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκούειν ἔσται.
 Ἵνα δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μακρὰ λίαν λέγων
 ἐνοχλῶ, τὰ κεφάλαια ὧν συμβουλεύω φράσας ἄπειμι.
 παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς κε- 20
 λεύω, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, ἐὰν ἀδικεῖν
 ἐπιχειρῶσι, ταύτῃ τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει φημὶ δεῖν, ἄρχειν δὲ
 μηδενὸς μήτε λόγου μήτ' ἔργου ἀδίκου, τὰ δ' ἔργα ἡμῶν
 ὅπως ἄξια τῶν προγόνων ἔσται σκοπεῖν, μὴ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ
 βήματος λόγους. κὰν ταῦτα ποιῇτε, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ 25
 τοῖς τὰναντία πείθουσι συμφέροντα πράξετε· οὐ γὰρ ὀρ-
 γιέσθε αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, νῦν ἁμαρτόντες.

νῦν δέ] 'but that now you would not do this for the sake of your own selves, though you pray indeed to all the gods that he may be seized with the same infatuation as his ancestors in past times.'

διαλλακτοῦ] Demosthenes means, that if the Persian king attacked any of the Greeks, they would in the presence of a common enemy forget all their differ-

ences, and become a united nation. So that whether he wished it or not he would prove a mediator for them, ἐκούσιος ἢ κάκούσιος διαλλακτής, 'voluntary or involuntary.'

τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει] 'with the same force as that which you provide (παρασκευάζετε) against your actual enemies.'

THE TRIERARCHY.

ATHENS was the chief maritime power of Greece, and her navy was of paramount importance for the maintenance of her position and supremacy. But instead of this navy being provided and in every way furnished by the State, a system was adopted which led to the evils which Demosthenes in this oration proposed to remedy. The ships or triremes themselves belonged to the State; but their manning and equipment devolved either upon certain corporations or private individuals, sometimes upon one in fact, and sometimes on the other. Thus in the earliest times the forty-eight naucraries of Solon and the fifty of Cleisthenes were severally responsible for the equipment and manning of one vessel each. Afterwards the ten tribes of Cleisthenes were charged with five vessels each.

In later times this obligation was superseded by the different forms of the trierarchy, which we may define as one of the extraordinary war services or liturgies at Athens, and the object of which was to provide for the equipment and maintenance of the ships belonging to the State. Thus we are told (Thucyd. vi. 31) that for the Sicilian expedition (B.C. 415) the State furnished nothing but the hull of the vessel (*ναὺς κενός*), and the pay of the crews, a drachma per day for each man. The *equipment* was at the cost of the trierarchs, who also gave *ἐπιφοραί* (Pollux iii. 94), or additional pay, to secure the best men for the crews. But what we are to understand by *ναὺς κενή* is a question, and Böckh (Urkunden, 201) seems to think that it may have included the masts and spars, and other articles of wood, but not the rigging. For in B.C. 425 (Aristoph. Equit. 906) we are told that the State furnished the hull and a mainsail (*ἱστίον*¹), and it is probably a mere accident that we

¹ In Böckh's Pol. Econ. ii. 332 (English Trans.) *ἱστίον* is translated 'mast,' and also in the 'Urkunden' (261). That this is an error appears plainly enough from the inscriptions where *ἱστίον* is found as one of the *σκεύη κρεμαστά*, including *ὑποζώματα*, *τοπεῖα*, *κ.τ.λ.*, and *ἱστός* amongst the *ξύλινα*, including *ταρρὸν*, *πηδάλια*, *κλιμακίδας*, *κεραίαις*, *κοντούς*. Comp. Homer, Il. 1. 433: *ἱστία μὲν στείλαντο, θέσαν δ' ἐν νηϊ μελαινῇ*, *ἱστὸν δ' ἱστόδοκῃ πέλασαν*, and Il. 1. 481: *Ἐν δ' ἀνεμος πῆρσεν μέσον ἱστίον*.

know this of the sail only. Again, by several inscriptions in Böckh's *Urkunden* (201) it appears that in the year B.C. 376 and afterwards the State possessed a great variety and abundance of ships' furniture and rigging, from which the trierarchs were supplied with σκεύη, as well κρεμαστά as ξύλινα. These they were bound to keep and return in good repair; an obligation expressed in inscriptions by the phrase δέῃ τὴν ναὺν δόκιμον καὶ ἐντελῇ παραδοῦναι. Another source of expense was the *procuring* of the crew; for foreign sailors not being admissible, the trierarchs were sometimes obliged to give bounties and premiums over the State allowance, in order to induce persons to serve.

With regard to the trierarchy in the time of Demosthenes, it would seem (if we can trust his assertions as an advocate) that there was some change effected between B.C. 364 and B.C. 361. For in the speech against Meidias, § 198, we are informed that in the former year, the trierarchs manned their vessels, and provided the ships' furniture themselves (τάναλώματα πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαπανῶμεν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπληρούμεθ' αὐτοί). The precise liability involved in these duties is a matter of question; but it is contrasted with the practice afterwards, when the State provided the crews and contributed the ships' furniture (εἴτα πληρώματα ἢ πόλις παρέχει καὶ σκεύη δίδωσιν). Moreover in the oration against Polycles we learn the following particulars (B.C. 361):—The trierarchs were obliged to launch their ships; the sailors were supplied from particular townships (δῆμοι), through the agency of the demarchi; but those supplied to Demosthenes' client were few and insufficient, consequently he mortgaged his estate (ὑποθεῖναι τὴν οὐσίαν), and gave bounties (προδόσεις) to hire the best men he could get. He also equipped the vessel with his own tackle and furniture, taking nothing from the public stores (ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἔλαβον οὐδέν). Again, from his sailors deserting he was put to additional expense in hiring substitutes at different ports. The provision money (σιτηρέσιον) was provided by the State; but Demosthenes' client only received it for two months, and as he served for five months more than his time, he had to advance it himself for fifteen months, with but an uncertain prospect of repayment. The observation that he took nothing from the public stores, proves that in B.C. 361 the trierarchs could furnish their ships from the public stores, subject of course to the liability of returning or replacing what they took, in default of which they were considered debtors to the State. Thus in Böckh's *Urkunden* we find such entries as this (No. III. 296): Ἀρτεμισία, τριήραρχος Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν· οὗτος ὀφείλει τῶν ξυλίων κλιμακίδα μίαν, κοντούς, κεραίας μεγάλας. That the ship's tackle was either wholly or

in part supplied by the State, also appears from another speech (c. Euer. et Mnes. § 27), and from the oration (§ 5) 'On the Crown for the Triarchy' (τὰ σκεύη, ὅσα δεῖ παρέχειν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τριηράρχοις).

We may then conclude, that about B.C. 360 the only compulsory expenses of the trierarchs were those of keeping in repair the ship and the ship's furniture. But even these in an old ship, with bad weather and ill luck, might be considerable; and of course ambitious or patriotic men would often incur unnecessary expenses, and be lavish in their expenditure, to the benefit of the State. Sometimes indeed a trierarch appears, though after a trial at law, to have undertaken to return his ship "as good as new" (ὁμολογῆσαι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καὶνὴν ἀποδώσειν τριήρη), thereby subjecting himself to an expense of 5000 drachmae for repairs. (Urkunden, xiv. 480.)

The duration of a trierarchy was for a year; and if any trierarch served longer than his legal time, he could charge his extra expenses (τὸ ἐπιτριηράρχημα) to his successor. As for the amount, this would of course depend upon circumstances, but in ordinary cases it was not more than 60, nor less than 40 minae, the average being about 50. Thus in B.C. 364 a whole trierarchy was let out for 40 minae, in later times the general cost of a contract was 60. (c. Meid. §§ 103 and 198. Lysias c. Diogeit. § 37. Böckh's Pol. Econ. ii. iv. § 14.) From the Urkunden (xiv. 484), the expense of a trierarchy for the ship 'Proplus' appears to have been 5044 drachmae. The vessel itself we must remember was always supplied by the State, though wealthy citizens sometimes presented it (ἐπέδωκαν) with a trireme, or served in their own ship, as Cleinias the father of Alcibiades (Plut. in Vit. c. 1) did at Artemisium. For the Aeginetan war indeed we are told that 100 ships were built by as many citizens, but they were partly reimbursed by a payment of a talent each from the revenues of the State mines. (Polyaen. i. 30. 5.)

We will now explain the different forms of the trierarchy which superseded the original system connected with the constitution of Solon and Cleisthenes. In ancient times one person bore the whole charge, but afterwards it was customary for two persons (συν-τριήραρχοι) to share it. This practice, as Böckh (Urkunden, 177) conjectures, was first introduced (about B.C. 412) after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Indeed, the most ancient account of a syntrierarchy is later than B.C. 410 (Lysias, l. c.), and mention is made by Demosthenes of a voluntary one so late as (B.C. 358) the year of the Athenian expedition into Euboea. But this syntrierarchy did not entirely supersede the older and single form, being only meant as a relief in cases of emergency, when there was not a

sufficient number of wealthy citizens to bear the expense singly. In fact, numerous instances occur of single trierarchies between B.C. 410 and B.C. 358; and in two passages of Isaeus, who flourished about B.C. 364 (De Dicaeog. Hered. § 58; De Apoll. Hered. § 48), the single and double trierarchy are mentioned as contemporaneous. Böckh (Urkunden, 177) asserts that not more than two cases of a syntrierarchy are recorded in ancient writers from B.C. 412 to B.C. 358.

The next or third form of the trierarchy was connected with the syntrierarchy, and constituted according to the law of Periander, the original enactment on the subject. (c. Euer. et Mnes. § 25.) For in B.C. 358, the Athenians being unable to procure a sufficient number of legally appointed trierarchs, and the old system thus proving inadequate, they determined to manage the trierarchy somewhat in the same way as the property taxes (B.C. 378), namely, by classes, or *symmoriae*. With this view, 1200 *συντελεῖς* (c. Meid. § 198) were named, who were probably the wealthiest individuals of the State. These were divided into *συμμορίαι*, or classes, out of which a number of persons joined for the maintenance and management of a ship, under the title of a *συντέλεια* or company. This for one ship was composed of 15 persons of different degrees of wealth, so that 4 ships only were provided for by each *symmoria* of 60 persons. Demosthenes however states (De Cor. § 130), that before he carried his new law (B.C. 340) on the subject, 16 persons used to unite in a *συντέλεια* for a single ship, who bore each the same portion of the charges. In the interval then either the members of the *symmoriae* had been increased from 1200 to 1280, or some alterations had taken place in their internal arrangements, of which no account has reached us. The superintendence of the whole system was in the hands of the 300 wealthiest persons, who were called the leaders of the *symmoriae* or *ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν* (not necessarily the same as the leaders of the *symmoriae* of the property tax), and on whom the burdens of the trierarchy chiefly fell, or rather ought to have fallen. Each *συμμορία* had also its own *ἐπιμελητής* (c. Euer. et Mnes. l. c.), on whom as we may suppose devolved its general management and the superintendence of the accounts. As for the charges imposed upon these companies, it appears from this oration (§ 24) that the State provided the ship and the ship's tackle (*σκεύη*) and the crew. A corresponding statement (*εἴτα πληρώματα ἡ πόλις παρέχει καὶ σκεύη δίδωσιν*) is made in the speech against Meidias (§ 198), so that the only duty of the trierarchs of the *συμμορίαι* was to keep their vessels and the furniture in good order, and to deliver them up in good condition, according to the inventory originally taken of their equipment.

But even this duty was evaded; for the wealthiest members, who had to serve as the representatives of their *συντέλεια*, let out their trierarchies for a talent, which was refunded to them by their *συντελεῖς*: so that in reality they paid next to nothing, or at any rate much less than they ought to have done, considering their wealth. (c. Meid. l. c.) Harpocration, s. v. *Συμμορία*, apparently referring to this system, informs us also, that under it the richest men in Athens contributed but little (*μέτρια ἀνήλiskon*), and defrauded the State (*παρακρονόμενοι τὴν πόλιν*) by forming partnerships of 5 or 6 members for one trierarchy (*σύμπεντε καὶ σύνεξ τριηραρχοῦντες*). Probably this may mean that a disproportionate number of the wealthiest men in each *συμμορία* of 60 united in one *συντέλεια*, leaving for the other 3 none but the poorer *συντελεῖς*, an abuse which Demosthenes proposed to reform (§ 20), by grouping together the richest and the poorest members of each *symmoria*. Other evils and irregularities of the system are represented by Demosthenes in the De Corona, § 127, and the changes which he had wished to effect in it are described in this oration. But it does not appear that he succeeded in his attempt; for the evils which he complained of still continued in B.C. 352 (c. Phil. i. § 42, p. 96), and it was not till after that time, when he was superintendent (Aesch. c. Ctes. § 223) of the Athenian navy (*ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*), that he carried a law for improving the system of the *symmoriae*, and so introduced the fourth form of the trierarchy (B.C. 340).

The great principle of this enactment was, that every citizen of any means, should contribute according to his property (*τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι*), so that individuals who before were only liable for one-sixteenth of a trierarchy, now became trierarchs of two ships at once. This we learn from Demosthenes himself in the De Cor. § 134, and a document (the *κατάλογος*) in the same speech further states, that an owner of property rated at 10 talents (*κατὰ τίμησιν*) was liable for 1 trireme, and so in proportion up to 3 triremes and a tender (*ὑπηρετικόν*). Moreover, that those who were rated at less than 10 talents, were to club together in *συντέλεια* of that amount in the aggregate. But the genuineness of this document, as we shall see hereafter, is extremely doubtful, though Böckh (*Urkunden*, 182) relies upon it as sufficient evidence for these details. However this may be, there can be no doubt that by the principle of this measure, all persons were legally compellable to contribute to the navy according to their property, so that the poor were relieved, and at the same time the State was benefited. Other advantages which resulted from it are described in the De Cor. § 136.

The duties and services to which the trierarchs were subject under this new law, were probably the same as under the third form of the trierarchy, and the cost for one triremé was about a talent. How long it remained in force is uncertain, but in the *De Corona* (B.C. 330), where much is said on the trierarchy, it is neither mentioned that this law was in existence, nor that it was repealed, though Demosthenes (§ 385) says that Aeschines had been bribed by the leaders of the *symmorai* to nullify it. But Böckh asserts that in inscriptions of a later date than B.C. 335, he can find nothing that militates against its continued operation, but much which implies it. Thus some persons appear as sole trierarchs of one ship and joint trierarchs of others; and again, in No. XVII. (B.C. 322) we find evident cases of *συντέλεια* of 7, 8, and 10 contributors. In No. XVI. the title of *συντέλεις* occurs repeatedly, and the parties are not generally of the same tribe. Some of the earlier inscriptions also show, that even before this law of Demosthenes, 6 or 7 persons occasionally joined in a trierarchy, forming a *συντέλεια* or company, as described in Harpocration (l. c.). They are not called trierarchs. (Böckh, *Urkunden*, 189. See also c. 11—13, and *Pol. Econ.* ii. iv. c. 11—13. Grote xi. 639—645. Notes on c. Phil. i. p. 96.)

ON THE LIBERTY OF THE RHODIANS.

INTRODUCTION.

According to Dionysius Halic. (ad Amm. i. 726) this oration was delivered B.C. 351, and the correctness of this date is confirmed by internal evidence in the speech. For in § 12, Artemisia of Caria is mentioned as being alive, and in § 34 Mausolus is spoken of as dead. But from Diodorus (xvi. 36. 45) it appears that Mausolus died in the archonship of Eudemus B.C. 353, and that Artemisia survived her husband only two years. Pliny also, N. H. 36. 4. 9, gives Olymp. 107. 2 (B.C. 355), or, according to another MS. reading, Olymp. 106. 2 (B.C. 351), as the date of his death. (A. Schäfer, i. 440.) The next year (B.C. 350) was remarkable for the expedition of Phocion into Eubœa, and the battle of Tamynæ. Clinton, Fast. Hell. ii. 132.

The subject of the oration is of a simple character. The island of Rhodes, on the s.w. coast of Asia Minor, and opposite to Caria, had in the most ancient times a democratical government. It is probable, however, that, as in most other Grecian states, so in Rhodes, there were frequent struggles between the democratic and oligarchic parties; and at the close of the Peloponnesian war, the oligarchs, with the support of the Lacedæmonians, gained the supremacy. But this did not continue; for in B.C. 396, the Athenian Conon (Diod. xiv. 79), supported by the Persians, was admitted with his fleet into the Rhodian harbours, and the alliance with Sparta abruptly terminated. A democracy was the natural result, but its duration was very short. Five years afterwards the oligarchical or Lacedæmonian party rose against the democracy, and gaining the upper hand, they killed many of their opponents, and outlawed others who made their escape. The arrival of a force from Sparta enabled the oligarchs to consolidate and maintain their

authority (Diod. xiv. 97), and for the next thirty years or so, nothing is recorded of Rhodian affairs. But perhaps soon after the Spartan defeat at Leuctra (B.C. 371), and at any rate before B.C. 358, Rhodes with other islands in the Aegean must have returned to the Athenian confederacy, and in all probability to democratical institutions also. For in the next year she appears as one of the allied states (Byzantium, Cos, and Chios were the others), between whom and Athens differences had for some time been rankling, which at last broke out in the Social War. The proximate causes of this contest we cannot with any certainty determine. But we know that in B.C. 378 an extensive confederacy was formed, with Athens as its head, and a common fund raised by fixed contributions (*σύνταξις*), and a common force, for the purpose of securing each confederate state against foreign aggression, and maintaining the independence of all. (Diod. v. 29.) Most of the principal islands and maritime cities in the Aegean joined this confederacy, the affairs of which were regulated by a congress (*συνέδριον*) at Athens, and its earlier operations were successfully directed to the expulsion of the Lacedaemonian Harmosts from the cities in which they still governed, and the suppression of the oligarchies supported by them. (Isocr. Plat. § 20. Grote x. 150.)

This proceeding, though in the interest of Athens, was not less advantageous to the whole confederacy, and was in fact dictated by the spirit in which it was formed. But subsequently, and especially after Sparta was humbled at Leuctra (B.C. 371), Athens began to use it more and more as an instrument for her own purposes, and for objects in which her allies had no interest. The labour and expense were contributed by the confederates, the advantage was monopolized by Athens. Consequently their adherence became more and more reluctant even on this account, while the behaviour of the Athenian generals aggravated their discontent and increased their alienation. These commanders, as we learn from Demosthenes and his contemporaries, were but ill supplied with pay and provisions from home, and being in command not of Athenian citizens, but of mercenaries, were compelled to satisfy them in the best way they could. This they did not always, or even generally, at the expense of their enemies, but by levying contributions on the confederates, or plundering their trading vessels at sea. Some of the commanders, especially Chares (Diod. xv. 95), were themselves ready enough to profit by these exactions, and, as Demosthenes states (Phil. i. § 51, p. 100), the allies were frightened to death by the expeditions under their command. (οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει¹

¹ In addition to the illustrations given in p. 100 of a noun governing an accusative,

τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους). It is even asserted (Argum. ad Isocr. Orat. de Pace), that Chares, having been despatched against Amphipolis, proceeded, without orders, to attack the Chians, Rhodians, and other allies of Athens. However this may be, the islands of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, and the city of Byzantium, at last united, and withdrew from the confederacy. Moreover, they accused the Athenians of having treacherous designs against themselves (§ 3); and mustering their fleets at Chios, commenced the Social War (B.C. 358), which continued three years, and ended in a peace humiliating to Athens. (Diod. xvi. 7.) In this they were assisted by Mausolus, the neighbouring king of Caria, though a vassal of Persia, who appears to have fomented the secession for his own purposes. At any rate, we find that he established an oligarchy in Rhodes, and supported it by a garrison of Carian troops (De Pace, § 25, p. 127); so that in exchange for a burdensome alliance with Athens, Rhodes was virtually brought under subjection to a foreign prince, with the power of Persia to support him. On Mausolus dying soon afterwards, he was succeeded by his queen Artemisia, in whose reign the oligarchy became so oppressive to the Rhodians, that they sent a deputation to Athens to request her assistance. Such petitioners could not expect to be, nor indeed were they, favourably received. However, they found an influential supporter in Demosthenes, who, if he had not the good sense to see that the secession of Rhodes was justified by the conduct of Athens, was at any rate wise enough to perceive and impress upon Athens, that in such a case generosity was her truest policy, and that even her own interests dictated the liberation of the Rhodians from the thralldom of their oligarchy. With these views he delivered the oration which follows, but without effect; for Athens declined to interfere, and Rhodes continued under its oligarchy, and subject to the rulers of Caria (περὶ Εἰρήνης, l. c.; περὶ Συντάξεως, § 9).

may be quoted two from Plautus as given in Mr. Key's Grammar, § 907: "Quid tibi hanc curatist rem?" (Am. i. 3. 21) 'What business have you to trouble yourself about this matter?' "Quid tibi istunc tactist?" (Cas. ii. 6. 54) 'What business have you to touch that person?' Comp. Cic. Ver. ii. 5, c. 7: "expectatio summa quidnam id esset."

XV.

ΠΕΡΙ

ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ. 190

B.C. 353.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Τὸν συμμαχικὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον ἤραντο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Χίοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι, πρότερον μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκοοι γεγονότες, τότε δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχίαν πεποιημένοι κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. γείτονες δὲ ὄντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῇ Καρίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ταύτης ὑπαρχον Μαύσωλον οἰκείως ἔχειν ἐδόκουν. ὁ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον πιστευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ δήμου συν-εστήσατο, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀφελόμενος ὀλίγοις τοῖς δυνα-τωτέροις τὴν πόλιν κατεδούλωσε. συμβουλεύει τοῖνυν ὁ Δημοσθένης μὴ περιορᾶν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥοδίων, συμφέρειν λέγων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις. εἰ δὲ ἡδικήκασιν ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, Ῥόδιοι, ἀλλὰ πρέπειν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ σύνηθες τὸ καὶ τοὺς λυπήσαντάς τι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἀμαρτάνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

Οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τηλικούτων βουλευομένους διδόναι παρρησίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμβου-λευόντων. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδεπώποτε ἡγησάμην χαλεπὸν τὸ διδάξαι τὰ βέλτιστα ὑμᾶς (ὥς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀπλῶς, ἅπαντες ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες μοι δοκεῖτε,) ἀλλὰ τὸ πείσαι πράττειν 191 ταῦτα· ἐπειδὰν γάρ τι δόξῃ καὶ ψηφισθῇ, τότε τοσοῦτον 2 τοῦ πραχθῆναι ἀπέχει ὅσον περ πρὶν δόξαι. ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἐν

ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες] 'you all seem to me to have understood what it is your-selves.'

ἔστι μὲν οὖν] 'now then one of the

things for which I think you ought to be grateful to the gods, is the circumstance that those who not long ago were at war with you from their own insolence.' The

ὦν ἐγὼ νομίζω χάριν ὑμᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλειν, τὸ τοὺς διὰ
 τὴν αὐτῶν ὕβριν ὑμῖν πολεμήσαντας οὐ πάλαι, νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν 5
 μόνοις τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ἄξιον δ'
 ἡσθῆναι τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ· συμβήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἂ
 χρῆ βουλευέσθε περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὰς παρὰ τῶν διαβαλλόντων
 τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν βλασφημίας ἔργω μετὰ δόξης καλῆς ἀπο-
 3 λύσασθαι. ἤτιάσαντο μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς 10
 Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα συνέστησαν
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸν τελευταῖον τουτονὶ πόλεμον· φανήσεται δ' ὁ
 μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος, φίλος εἶναι
 φάσκων Ῥοδίων, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῶν ἀφηρημένος, οἱ δ'
 ἀποδείξαντες ἑαυτοὺς συμμάχους Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι τοῖς 15
 4 ἀτυχήμασιν αὐτῶν οὐ βεβοηθηκότες, ὑμεῖς δ' οὓς ἐφο-
 βούντο, μόνοι τῶν πάντων τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι. ἐκ
 δὲ τοῦ ταῦθ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὀφθῆναι ποιήσετε τοὺς πολλοὺς
 ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι σύμβολον τῆς
 αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, ἐὰν ὑμῖν ᾧσι φίλοι· οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν 20
 ὑμῖν γένοιτο ἀγαθὸν ἢ παρὰ πάντων ἐκόντων ἀνυπόπτου
 τυχεῖν εὐνοίας.

5 Θαυμάζω δ' ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ ὑπὲρ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων

Rhodians, in conjunction with the Chians and Byzantines, had lately been engaged in the Social War against Athens. See Introduction.

ἔργῳ μετὰ δόξης] 'to refute practically and with an honourable reputation the calumnies of those who traduce our country.'

φανήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν] 'and it will appear that Mausolus, who was the director and instigator of these things, declaring himself a friend of the Rhodians, has deprived them of their freedom, and that the Chians and Byzantines, who proclaimed themselves their allies, have not relieved their misfortunes.' I prefer ἑαυτοὺς with the codex S, to αὐτοὺς, the common reading.

πρυτανεύσας] Comp. de Pace, § 6, p. 126: τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα. Phil. iii. § 72, p. 224: χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον, καὶ πρυτανεύμενοι παρ' ἐκείνου.

ποιεῖσθαι σύμβολον τῆς] 'to consider this a pledge of their security.' The word σύμβολον originally meant a contract or agreement between two parties, from

which sprung such derivative meanings as a signal, or watchword in war, a mark or token, a creed or recognized summary of faith, common to all who adopted it.

ἀνυπόπτου . . . εὐνοίας] 'unsuspecting attachment.' Schäfer quotes a similar construction from Plato, *Leges* v. § v: οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθόν, ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι. The particle ἢ is of course explanatory, and after the relative οὐδὲ it could hardly be avoided.

ὑπὲρ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων] Egypt had revolted from Persia, and unsuccessful attempts were made for its recovery. Probably on one or other of these occasions Artaxerxes Ochus the king of Persia, had applied to Athens for succour, when the question of the propriety of granting it was discussed. Diod. xvi. 40. 44. 47, 48. Isocr. Philipp. § 118. It is clear that the application here alluded to, was not in connexion with the last and successful attempt which the king made upon Egypt, for that was not till some years after this oration. Grote xi. 609. Thirlwall vi. 142.

τὰναντία πράττειν βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν πείθοντας, ὑπὲρ δὲ
 τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου φοβουμένους τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον. καίτοι 25
 τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας ὄντας ἅπαντες ἴσασι, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ
 6 ἀρχῇ τῇ ἐκείνου μεμερισμένους. οἶμαι δ' ὑμῶν μνημο- 192
 νεύειν ἐνίους ὅτι, ἡνίκ' ἐβουλευέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλικῶν,
 παρελθὼν πρῶτος ἐγὼ παρήνεσα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ μόνος ἢ
 δεῦτερος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μοι σωφρονεῖν ἂν δοκοῖτε, εἰ τὴν
 πρόφασιν τῆς παρασκευῆς μὴ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἔχθραν 5
 ποιοῖσθε, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζουσθε μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχον-
 τας ἔχθρους, ἀμύνουσθε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνον, εἰ μὴς ἀδικεῖν
 ἐπιχειρῇ. καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον ταῦτα, ὑμῖν δ' οὐκ
 ἐδόκουν ὀρθῶς λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα.
 7 ἀκόλουθος τοίνυν ὁ νῦν λόγος ἐστί μοι τῷ τότε ῥηθέντι. 10
 ἐγὼ γὰρ, εἰ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντα με σύμβουλον
 ποιοῖτο, ταῦτ' ἂν αὐτῷ παραινέσαιμι ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ὑπὲρ μὲν
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμεῖν, εἰ τις ἐναντιῶται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν
 δὲ μὴδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκει, τούτων μὴδ' ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τὴν
 8 ἀρχήν. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὅπως ἐγνώκατε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 15
 ὅσων ἂν βασιλεὺς ἐγκρατὴς γένηται φθάσας ἢ παρακρου-
 σάμενός τις τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παραχωρεῖν, οὐ καλῶς
 ἐγνώκατε, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω· εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πολε-
 μεῖν, ἂν τούτου δέη, καὶ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν οἴεσθε χρῆναι,
 πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῖν ἥττον δεήσει τούτων, ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον 20
 ἐγνωκότες ᾗτε ταῦτα, ἔπειθ' ἂ προσήκει φρονεῖν δόξετε.
 9 Ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν καινὸν οὐτ' ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν κελεύων Ῥοδίου
 ἐλευθεροῦν, οὐθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν πεισθῇτέ μοι, ποιήσετε, τῶν

τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον] The king of Persia.
 τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ] 'and the former (the
 Egyptians) a portion of his subjects.' So
 Reiske: μέρος ὄντας τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς.
 Jacobs: 'jene hingegen unter der Herr-
 schaft des Königs stehn.'
 ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλικῶν] 'about the king's
 business.'

παρήνεσα] In the Oratio de Symmo-
 riis, p. 319.

καὶ οὐκ ἐγώ] 'nor did I give such
 advice, and yet fail to win your approba-
 tion, for you too were pleased with it.'

παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντα] 'for if I were there,
 and the king should take me into his

counsels.' The accusative, after παρὰ,
 implies that to realize the supposition,
 Demosthenes would have to move from
 Athens to Persia.

ὧν δὲ μὴδὲν] 'but in the case of terri-
 tories which do not belong to him, not
 even to think of laying claim to them at
 all.'

φθάσας . . . ταῖς πόλεσι] 'by surprise
 or by deceiving some of the inhabitants.'

ἥττον δεήσει] 'you will have less
 necessity for these trials, the more you
 have resolved upon them.'

τῶν γεγενημένων] 'I will remind you
 of certain operations, and those too suc-

- γέγεννημένων ὑμᾶς τι καὶ συνειρηνοχότων ὑπομνήσω. ὑμεῖς
 ἐξεπέψατε Τιμόθεόν ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθή- 25
 σοντα Ἀριοβαρζάνη, προσγράψαντες τῷ ψηφίσματι “μὴ
 10 λύνοντα τὰς σπονδὰς τὰς πρὸς βασιλέα.” ἰδὼν δ' ἐκείνος 193
 τὸν μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνην φανερώς ἀφεστῶτα βασιλέως,
 Σάμον δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Κυπροθέμιδος, ὃν κατ-
 ἔστησε Τιγράνης ὁ βασιλέως ὑπαρχος, τῷ μὲν ἀπέγνω
 μὴ βοηθεῖν, τὴν δὲ προσκαθεζόμενος καὶ βοηθήσας 5
 ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐ γέγονε
 11 πόλεμος διὰ ταύθ' ὑμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ
 πλεονεκτεῖν πολεμήσειεν ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
 μὲν ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ πάντες πολεμοῦσιν,
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐφίενται μὲν, εἰάν 10
 τις ἑᾷ, εἰάν δὲ κωλυθῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἡδικηκέναι τοὺς ἐναντιω-
 θέντας αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται.
- 12 Ὅτι δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πράξει ταύτῃ
 νῦν Ἀρτεμισία τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων,
 μικρὰ ἀκούσαντες σκοπεῖτε, εἴτ' ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι ταύτ' 15
 εἶτε μή. ἐγὼ νομίζω πράττοντος μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάνθ'

cessful,' or, more briefly, 'of certain measures which proved successful.' Wolf explains τῶν συνειρηνοχότων by τῶν ἀφεληκότων, quae profuerunt. Comp. § 30: οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνήνοχεν: also § 18.

Ἀριοβαρζάνη] Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, was one of the Persian viceroys of the coast of Asia Minor, who, in B.C. 362, revolted and conspired against Artaxerxes. From the text it appears that about that time, he solicited aid from the Athenians, without expressly stating the object which he had in view, and that Timotheus was despatched to assist him, with special instructions not to violate the peace made by Antalcidas in B.C. 387. Diod. xv. 90. Corn. Nep. Datames, c. 2.

Σάμον δὲ φρουρουμένην] This was an infringement on the part of Persia of the treaty of Antalcidas; for by its provisions the independence of the Grecian Islands was expressly stipulated. Xen. Hell. v. 1. 31.

τῷ μὲν ἀπέγνω] 'he renounced the intention of assisting the one.' The construction is a result of compendiousness: for the words evidently mean that Timo-

theus abandoned (ἀπό) his original intention, and decided not to assist (ἐγνώ μὴ βοηθεῖν) Ariobarzanes.

οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως] 'for no one would go to war with the same readiness for the purpose of aggrandizement as for his own possessions.'

ὑπὲρ . . . ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται] 'against acts of spoliation all men fight with all their might, but for aggrandizement not so: for they make the attempt indeed, if there be none to hinder them, but should they be prevented, they do not consider that those who have opposed them have done any wrong.'

Ἀρτεμισία] See Introduction.

τῆς πόλεως οὔσης] 'if our city were embarked in the affair.' Demosthenes argues that the very fact of Athens having undertaken to assist the Rhodians, would prevent Artemisia from supporting the oligarchy, which was naturally in the interest of the king of Persia, whose vassal she was.

πράττοντος . . . πάνθ'] 'were the king succeeding in every thing, as he designed, in Egypt.'

- ὡς ὥρμηκε βασιλέως, σφόδρα ἂν Ἀρτεμισίαν πειραθῆναι περιπουῆσαι Ῥόδον αὐτῷ, οὐ τῇ βασιλέως εὐνοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι πλησίον αὐτῆς διατρίβοντος ἐκείνου μεγάλην εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἵν' ὡς οἰκειότατ' αὐτὴν 20
- 13 ἀποδέχεται πρᾶττοντος δ' ὡς λέγεται, καὶ διημαρτηκός τις ἐπεχείρησεν, ἡγείσθαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ὅπερ ἔστιν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶναι βασιλεῖ χρησίμην ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχισμα πρὸς τὸ μὴδ' ὅτι οὖν παρα- κινεῖν. ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν μὴ φανερώς 25 αὐτῆς ἐνδούσης ἢ ἵκεῖνον λαβεῖν βούλεσθαι. οἶμαι μὲν 194 οὖν οὐδὲ βοηθήσειν αὐτὴν, ἂν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο ποιῇ, φαύλως
- 14 καὶ κακῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέα γ' ὅς τι μὲν ποιήσει μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι ἔγωγ' ὡς οἶδα, ὅτι μέντοι συμφέρει τῇ

[πλησίον αὐτῆς] These words following after πρᾶττοντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, naturally lead to the conclusion that the king of Persia was at the time spoken of, in some place nearer Caria than Susa, and that the place in question was Egypt, and the scene of an unsuccessful campaign. Isocrates also (Phil. §§ 117, 118) in B.C. 346, speaks of an expedition of Artaxerxes Ochus into Egypt, in which he commanded in person, and was so completely unsuccessful, that the Egyptians were released from all fear of a future invasion. If so, Egypt could not have been recovered by the Persians till after B.C. 346; though, according to a passage in Philip's Letter (§ 6, p. 271), it was before B.C. 340. But strange to say, Diodorus (xvi. 40—51) places the reconquest of Egypt during the three years between B.C. 351—348, and states that Artaxerxes failed in all his attempts, till he invaded the country in person, when he was completely successful. The historian then is in direct opposition to the contemporary orators, and the most natural way of reconciling the discrepancy, is to suppose with Mr. Grote (xi. 609) that Diodorus confounded the date of the first expedition (about B.C. 351) wherein Ochus failed with that of the last, about B.C. 345, in which he succeeded. Thirl. Hist. of Greece v. 305; vi. 142.

εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι] 'to lay him under a great obligation,' literally, 'to deposit a great service with him.' The metaphor, as Mr. Blakesley observes (Herod. ii. 109), is "taken from the de-

positing of a balance with a banker, on whom the depositor thus acquires a hold."

ἀποδέχεται] Having recently succeeded her husband, she would be anxious to be confirmed in the succession by the king of Persia.

διημαρτηκός τις ἐπεχείρησεν] For τούτων οἷς.

ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν] 'would be of no further use to the king at the present, but only a fortress of observation against her own kingdom to prevent her making any revolution.' The argument, which is not a very clear one, seems to amount to this,—had the king been successful in Egypt, and thus established himself comparatively near to Artemisia, it would have been worth her while to resist any attempt of the Athenians for the liberation of Rhodes, and to secure it for him, in the hope of his making her a satisfactory return for the service. But, as he was still unsuccessful in Egypt, and not likely to visit the neighbourhood of Rhodes, Artemisia could not expect any thing from him, though he might manage to play off its aristocratical government against her, if, like some of his satraps, she attempted to assert her independence of him. Still more directly would he be able to prevent any such attempt if he got possession of the island himself.

ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέα] The particle ἐπεὶ depends upon the suppressed conclusion of a rapid argument. Artemisia will not help the Rhodian government effectually at any rate, and therefore we may at once assist the people: for (ἐπεὶ) as to the

πόλει δῆλον ἤδη γενέσθαι πότερα ἀντιποιήσεται τῆς 5
πόλεως τῆς Ῥοδίων ἢ οὐ, τοῦτ' ἂν ἰσχυρισαίμην· οὐ γὰρ
ὑπὲρ Ῥοδίων βουλευτέον, ὅταν ἀντιποιηῖται, μόνον, ἀλλ'
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων.

- 15 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δι' αὐτῶν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν οἱ νῦν
ὄντες ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥόδιοι, παρήνευσα ἂν ὑμῖν τούτους ἐλέσθαι, 10
οὐδ' εἰ πάνθ' ὑπισχνοῦντο ὑμῖν ποιήσειν. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅπως καταλύσωσι τὸν δῆμον, προσλα-
βόντας τινας τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπραξαν, πάλιν
ἐκβαλόντας τούτους· τοὺς οὖν μηδετέροις πιστῶς κεχηρ-
μένους οὐδ' ἂν ὑμῖν βεβαίους ἡγοῦμαι γενέσθαι συμ- 15
16 μάχους. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐδέποτ' εἶπον ἂν, εἰ τῷ Ῥοδίων δῆμῳ
μόνον ἡγοῦμένην συμφέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ προξενῶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
οὔτ' ἰδία ξένος αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἐστί μοι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ
ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρ' ἦν, εἰ μὴ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν ἡγοῦμένην, εἶπον
17 ἂν, ἐπεὶ Ῥοδίοις γ', εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν τῷ συναγορεύ- 20
οντι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτῶν, συγχαίρω τῶν γεγεννημένων. τοῦ
κομίσασθαι γὰρ τὰ ὑμέτερ' ὑμῖν φθονήσαντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν
ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκασι, καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ
βελτίοσι αὐτῶν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἴσου συμμαχεῖν, βαρβάροις καὶ
δούλοις, οὓς εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις παρεῖνται, δουλεύουσιν. 25
18 ὀλίγου δὲ δέω λέγειν, ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς ἐβελήσγητε βοηθῆ-
σαι, ὥς καὶ συνενήνοχε ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς· εὖ μὲν γὰρ πράτ- 195
τοντες οὐκ οἶδ' εἶποτ' ἂν εὖ φρονῆσαι ἠθέλησαν, ὄντες
Ῥόδιοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πειραθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες ὅτι πολλῶν

King, we need not be deterred on his account: if he does mean to claim Rhodes, he means to subjugate Greece, and we had better anticipate him.

οἱ νῦν ὄντες] 'the Rhodians who are now in possession of it.'

ὅπως καταλύσωσι] With προσλαβόντας we might have expected the optative; but the conjunctive is better fitted to describe the permanent and abiding result. 'μηδετέροις] 'to neither of the two parties;' i. e. neither 'to the people at large, nor to the select few whom they had at first associated with themselves.' C. R. K.

οὔτε γὰρ προξενῶ] 'for neither am I their state friend.' C. R. K.

ἐπεὶ Ῥοδίοις γ'] 'for as to the Rhodians indeed, I rejoice with you at what has

happened to them.' The construction is: συγχαίρω τῶν γεγεννημένων τοῖς Ῥοδίοις. So Jacobs: 'was den Rhodiern begegnet ist, . . . darüber freue ich mich mit Euch,' and the context seems to require this interpretation.

τοῦ κομίσασθαι] In the Social War, when they opposed the Athenians in their attempts to reduce their revolted allies, Cos, Chios, and Byzantium.

εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις] In such towns as Lindus, Ialysus, and Cameirus, Ἀνδρον Ἰηλυσσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόντα Κάμειρον.

οὐκ οἶδ' εἶποτ' ἂν] 'I don't know whether they ever would have been willing to behave sensibly.'

ὄντες Ῥόδιοι] Homer (ii. 654) calls them ἀγερώχοι, which is generally understood

- κακῶν ἢ ἄνοια πολλοῖς αἰτία γίνεται, τάχ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοιεν, σωφρονέστεροι πρὸς τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου γένοιτο. 5
- 19 τοῦτο δ' οὐ μικρὸν αὐτοῖς ὠφέλημα ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ δὴ χρῆναι πειράσθαι σῶζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευ-
σάντων ἐξηπάτησθε, ὧν οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς δοῦναι δίκην δίκαιοι-
ναι ἂν εἶναι φήσαιτε. 10
- 20 Ὅρατε δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι πολλοὺς ὑμεῖς πολέμους πεπολεμήκατε καὶ πρὸς δημοκρατίας καὶ πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίας. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἔσθ' ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, τοῦτ' ἴσως
- 21 ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς λογίζεται. ὑπὲρ τίνων οὖν ἐστίν; πρὸς μὲν 15 τοὺς δῆμους ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων, οὐ δυνηθέντων δημοσία διαλύσασθαι ταῦτα, ἢ περὶ γῆς μέρους ἢ ὄρων ἢ φιλονεικίας ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίας· πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδενὸς, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθε-
- 22 ρίας· ὥστ' ἔγωγ' οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιοι εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖσθαι 20 συμφέρειν δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ἢ ὀλιγαρχουμένους φίλους εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ὄντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν εἰρήνην ὑμᾶς ποιήσασθαι νομίζω, ὅποτε βουλευθείητε, πρὸς δὲ ὀλιγαρχουμένους οὐδὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἀσφαλῆ νομίζω· οὐ γὰρ 25 ἔσθ' ὅπως ὀλίγοι πολλοῖς καὶ ζητοῦντες ἄρχειν τοῖς μετ' ἰσηγορίας ζῆν ἡρημένοις εὖνοι γένοιτ' ἂν.

to be a term of praise. Buttmann (Lex. s. v.) observes, that we find the word a frequent epithet of the Trojans, and once of the Mysians, but always as soldiers and warriors. He adds, Pindar (Pyth. i. 96) uses it as an epithet of riches, πλούτου στεφάνω· ἀγέρωχον, which may perhaps bring to our recollection that the only Greek nation which has this epithet in Homer is the wealthy Rhodians.

οὐ μικρὸν . . . ὠφέλημα] Dindorf, from the codex S, reads οὐχὶ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν, which looks rather like the emendation of a critic who thought ὠφέλημα too poetical a term for an orator. Comp. Aeschyl. Prom. 251: μέγ' ὠφέλημα τοῦτ' ἐδωρήσας βροτοῖς.

ὧν οὐδενός] Demosthenes urges, or rather insinuates, that the Rhodian people

were not responsible for the misdemeanours of their leaders, any more than the Athenians were for the misdeeds of the statesmen who had imposed upon themselves.

οὐ δυνηθέντων] 'when you were unable to settle them by the act of the state.'

φιλονεικίας ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίας] 'rivalry or supremacy.'

οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως] 'it is not possible that an oligarchy could be well disposed to a democracy: nor those who aim at ruling, to those who wish to live with equality of rights.' Ἰσηγορία properly expresses the right of speaking and voting in civic assemblies, the equal enjoyment of which by every citizen was the great characteristic of a Greek democracy.

- 23 Θαυμάζω δ' εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἡγεῖται Χίων ὀλιγαρχου- 196
 μένων καὶ Μυτιληναίων, καὶ νυνὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγου δέω λέγειν εἰς ταύτην τὴν δουλείαν
 ὑπαγομένων, συγκινδυνεύειν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν πολιτείαν,
^{κατα}μηδὲ λογίζεται τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, εἰ δι' ὀλιγαρχίας 5
^{ἀπαντα}ἅπαντα συστήσεται, τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν δῆμον ἐάσουσιν.
 ἴσασι γὰρ οὐδένας ἄλλους πάλιν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τὰ πράγ-
 ματ' ἐπαναξοντας· ὅθεν δὴ κακὸν αὐτοῖς ἄν τι γενέσθαι
 24 προσδοκῶσι, τούτους ἀνελεῖν βουλήσονται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν
 ἄλλους τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς τινας αὐτῶν τῶν κακῶς πεπονθό- 10
 των ἐχθροὺς ἡγεῖσθαι χρή· τοὺς δὲ τὰς πολιτείας κατα-
 λύνοντας καὶ μεθιστάντας εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν κοινούς ἐχθροὺς
 παραινῶ νομίζειν πάντων τῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμούντων.
 25 ἔπειτα καὶ δίκαιον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοκρατουμένους
 αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα φρονούντας φαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀτυχούν- 15
 των δῆμων, οἷάπερ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιώσαιτε φρονεῖν περὶ
 26 ὑμῶν, εἴ ποθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τοιοῦτό τι συμβαίῃ. καὶ γὰρ
 εἰ δίκαιά τις φήσῃ Ῥοδίους πεπονθέναι, οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος ὁ
 καιρὸς ἐφησθῆναι· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐτυχούντας περὶ τῶν
 ἀτυχούντων αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευομένους· 20
 ἐπειδὴ περ ἄδηλον τὸ μέλλον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις.
 Ἀκούω δ' ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐνταυθὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τινῶν λεγόν-
 των ὥς, ὅτε ἡτύχησεν ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν, συνεβουλευθήσαν
 τινες αὐτὸν σωθῆναι· ὧν ἐγὼ μόνων Ἀργείων ἐν τῷ
 27 παρόντι μνησθήσομαι βραχύ τι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς βου- 25
 λοίμην, δόξαν ἔχοντας τοῦ σώζειν τοὺς ἀτυχούντας αἰεὶ,
 χείρους Ἀργείων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει φανῆναι, οἳ χώραν 197

Μυτιληναίων] Comp. De Syntaxi, § 9, p. 281.

ὑπαγομένων] 'are being gradually drawn into this slavery.' Ὑπάγεσθαι is a favourite word with Demosthenes. Comp. De Chers. § 64, p. 194: *Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγεται*.

εἰ δι' ὀλιγαρχίας] 'if every state shall be organized as an oligarchy.' Jacobs: 'wenn sich Alles zu Oligarchien bildet.' *τοιαῦτα φρονούντας*] 'to have the same feeling for democracies in misfortune, as you would expect others to have in your case.' "Vestigia imitatoris in Prooem. 22.

p. 1433. 16." Dobree.

ἐφησθῆναι] 'for exulting about it.'

τὰ βέλτιστα] 'following the most generous counsels.'

ὅτε ἡτύχησεν] At the close of the Peloponnesian war, when the fate of Athens being submitted to the decision of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, the Thebans advocated its destruction, the Corinthians its preservation. Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 19.

συνεβουλευθήσαν] 'recommended.' This is rather a rare usage of *συμβουλευέσθαι* for *συμβουλεύειν*.

ὁμορον τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκοῦντες, ὀρῶντες ἐκείνους γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἀπάκησαν οὐδ' ἐφοβήθησαν εὐνοϊκῶς ὑμῶν ἔχοντες φανῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὥς φασιν, ἐξαιτήσοντας τινὰς τῶν 5
 28 δύντος ἀπαλλάττωνται, πολεμίους κρίνειν. εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσ-
 χρὸν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὸ μὲν Ἀργείων πλήθος οὐκ ἐφοβήθη τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς οὐδὲ τὴν ῥώμην, ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι βάρβα- 10
 29 ρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, φοβήσεσθε; καὶ μὴν οἱ μὲν ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πολλάκις ἡττηνται ὑπὸ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ νενικήκατε μὲν πολλάκις βασιλέα, ἡττησθε δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν βασιλέως οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου· εἰ γάρ τί που κεκράτηκε τῆς πόλεως 15
 βασιλεὺς, ἣ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ προ-
 δότας αὐτῶν χρήμασι· πείσας ἢ οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως κεκρά-
 30 τηκεν. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνενήνοχεν ἀλλ' ἅμα·
 εὐρήσετε αὐτὸν τὴν τε πόλιν διὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀσθενῇ
 ποιήσαντα καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κινδυνεύσαντα 20
 πρὸς Κλέαρχον καὶ Κῦρον. οὐτ' οὖν ἐκ φανεροῦ κεκρά-
 31 τηκεν οὐτ' ἐπιβουλεύσαι συνενήνοχεν αὐτῷ. ὁρῶ δ' ὑμῶν
 ἐνίους Φιλίππου μὲν ὡς ἄρ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου πολλάκις ὀλι-

τῶν φυγάδων] These fugitives had probably left Athens when under the domination of the thirty tyrants supported by Lacedaemonian power, immediately after the close of the Peloponnesian war. From Diodorus (xiv. 6) we learn that the Lacedaemonians had ordered their extradition by every state in Greece, whereupon they were kindly received by the Argives.

ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς] In those well-known times when the power of Sparta was at its height.

δούλων] Used opprobriously for ὑπάρχων, of whom Artemisia was one. See note (3), p. 387.

εἰ γάρ τι] 'for if in any case the king has gained any advantage over our state, he has either gained it in this way—by bribing the basest of the Greeks, and those who would betray them—or in no other.' This construction of ἢ—ἢ is rather curious than logical. Schäfer

says: "λογικῶς sic scribendum fuit: οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως ἢ χρήμασι πείσας κεκράτηκε."

ἀλλ' ἅμα] It was chiefly through Persian gold, that Lysander, the Lacedaemonian admiral, was enabled to man and supply the fleet with which he crushed the Athenian navy, and then captured Athens, B.C. 403. Two years afterwards, Cyrus, who had been most active in aiding Lysander and the Spartans, marched from his province in Asia Minor, with a body of Grecian mercenaries under Clearchus, against his elder brother Artaxerxes, with the intention of dethroning him, and assuming the sovereignty of Persia himself. A battle was fought at Cunaxa, near Babylon (B.C. 401), in which Cyrus was slain, but the Grecian mercenaries defeated the orientals opposed to them. Xen. Anab. i.

οὐτ' ἐπιβουλεύσαι] 'nor has intriguing against us done him any good.'

Φιλίππου] The first Philippic of De-

γωρούντας, βασιλέα δ' ὡς ἰσχυρὸν ἐχθρὸν οἷς ἂν προέλ-
 ται φοβούμενους. εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς φαῦλον οὐκ ἀμυνούμεθα, 25
 τῷ δὲ ὡς φοβερῷ πάνθ' ὑπέξομεν, πρὸς τίνας, ὦ ἄνδρες 198
 Ἀθηναῖοι, παραταξόμεθα;

- 32 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρ' ὑμῖν δεινότατοι
 τὰ δίκαια λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἷς παραινέ-
 σαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς 5
 ἄλλους ζητεῖν τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ τὰ προσήκοντα
 πρῶτοι φαίνωνται ποιοῦντες· ὡς ἔστιν ἄτοπον περὶ τῶν
 δικαίων ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντα· οὐ γάρ
 ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὄντα πολίτην τοὺς καθ' ὑμῶν λόγους, ἀλλὰ
 33 μὴ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐσκέφθαι. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν 10
 σκοπεῖτε, τί δή ποτ' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οὐδεὶς ἐσθ' ὁ διδάξων
 ἐκείνους μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Χαλκηδόνα, ἥ βασιλέως μὲν
 ἐστίν, εἴχετε δ' αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς, ἐκείνοις δ' οὐδαμόθεν προσ-
 ήκει μηδὲ Σηλυβρίαν, πόλιν ὑμετέραν ποτὲ σύμμαχον
 οὔσαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς συντελῇ ποιεῖν καὶ Βυζάντιον ὀρίζειν 15
 τὴν τούτων χώραν παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐν
 34 αἷς αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι γέγραπται; οὐδὲ Μαύ-
 σωλον ζῶντα, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν

mosthenes, the earliest oration in which he refers to a war with Philip, was delivered in B.C. 352—351, and did not produce any immediate effect,—the illness and consequent inaction of Philip perhaps contributing to that result. This oration was delivered shortly afterwards, in B.C. 351—350. Grote xi. 444.

πρὸς τίνας] 'against whom shall we take the field?' Literally, 'against whom shall we form in battle array?'

ἵν' αὐτοὶ . . . πρῶτοι] 'that they may themselves set an example of doing their duty.'

ἐκείνους] Demosthenes means to argue, that no Byzantine orator would imitate those Athenians who disparaged the proceedings of their own countrymen.

Χαλκηδόνα] This city, founded seventeen years before Byzantium by a colony from Megara, was called the city of the blind, because its founders overlooked a superior situation on the opposite shore of Europe, where Byzantium was built on the site of the modern Constantinople.

Herod. iv. 144. Another and perhaps more genuine form is *Καλχίδων*, but there seems to be no MS. authority for it here.

μηδὲ Σηλυβρίαν] 'and not to make Selymbria, a city formerly in alliance with you, tributary to themselves (ὡς αὐτοὺς for εἰς), and to mark out its territory as Byzantine.' Some MSS. have *Βυζαντίους*, but I agree with Dindorf and Bekker in adopting the reading of the text, on which Reiske says: "ὀρίζειν Βυζάντιον, idem est atque ὅροις Βυζαντίου προσσέμειν." Dobree proposes *καὶ Βυζαντίων ὀρίζειν*, 'and make their territory part of Byzantium.' Selymbria, or Selybria, was in Thrace, on the Propontine coast, between Byzantium and Perinthus. Herodotus (vi. 33) associates it with the former thus: *Σηλυβρίῃ τε καὶ Βυζάντιον*. The termination *βρια*, according to Strabo (vi. c. 6, p. 111), signified *πόλις* in the dialect of the country.

οὐδὲ Μαύσωλον] 'and why is it that there has been no one to warn Mausolus while living, nor Artemisia after his death?'

οὐδεὶς ἐστ' ὁ διδάξων μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον
καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἑτέρας Ἑλληνίδας, ὧν βασιλεὺς ὁ ἐκείνων 20
δεσπότης ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀπέστη τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ
περὶ ὧν πολλοὺς κινδύνους καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας οἱ κατ'
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους Ἕλληνες ἐποιήσαντο. εἰ δ' ἄρα
καὶ λέγει τις ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ γε πεισόμενοι
35 τούτοις, ὡς ἔοικεν,* οὐκ εἰσὶν. ἐγὼ δὲ δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι 25
νομίζω κατάγειν τὸν Ῥοδίῳ δῆμον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
εἰ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν, ὅταν εἰς ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι βλέψω,
προσθήκειν οἶμαι παραινέσαι κατάγειν. διὰ τί; ὅτι πάν- 199
των μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὠρμηκότερον
αἰσχροὺν ἡμᾶς μόνους μὴ ἐθέλειν, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
ὅπως ἀδικεῖν δυνήσονται παρασκευαζομένων μόνους ἡμᾶς
τὰ δίκαια προτείνεσθαι, μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβανομένων, οὐ 5
δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλ' ἀνανδρίαν ἡγοῦμαι· ὁρῶ γὰρ ἅπαντας
πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν δύναμιν καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀξιουμένους.
36 καὶ παράδειγμα λέγειν ἔχω τούτου πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γινώριμον.
εἰσὶ συνθήκαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι διτταὶ πρὸς βασιλέα, ἃς
ἐποίησατο ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἃς ἅπαντες ἐγκωμιάζουσι, 10

Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον] The seizure of these islands is alluded to in the De Pace, § 2, p. 127: *ἔωμεν τὸν Κῆρα τὰς νήσους καταλαμβάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον*. With *ἄλλας πόλεις ἑτέρας*, Dobreë compares *ἄλλος δεύτερος* Eurip. Troad. 614, and *δεύτερον δ' ἑτέρον* Demos. c. Aristoc. § 83.

ὧν . . . ἀπέστη] 'which the king their sovereign lord (i. e. of Mausolus and Artemisia) ceded to the Greeks by the treaties.' If Demosthenes by *συνθήκαις* refers to one treaty of peace, it would be that of Antalcidas (B.C. 387); if to more than one, he probably meant that of Callias also. See note on § 36.

ἀμφοτέροις] The Byzantines and Artemisia. Translate: 'But if indeed any one does say so, still, as it seems, there are none who will give heed to him.'

πάντων . . . ὠρμηκότερον] 'if all were inclined to do justice, it would have been disgraceful for us alone to refuse.' Demosthenes was willing to admit, that as the Athenians were at peace with Persia, it was not consistent with that peace, and so far not just for Athens to attack Persia.

But he maintains, that as Persia had oppressed Rhodes, and acquired over it a supremacy dangerous to Athens, it was not unjust, but rather an act of self-defence for the Athenians to protect Rhodes against Persia. Her position as a nation would not allow of the aggressions and encroachments of such a neighbour as Persia.

μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβανομένων] 'without undertaking any thing.'

ὁρῶ γὰρ ἅπαντας] 'for I see that in proportion to the power which men have, so far also have they in every case their rights conceded.' It is difficult to translate *καὶ* here by a single word, and indeed its chief value is to give additional emphasis to the latter clause. The meaning is, that the greater the power of a state, the greater also is the regard paid to her just claims. The best way of securing peace, is to be prepared for war.

ἃς ἐποίησατο] Demosthenes is probably here alluding to the peace attributed to Callias the son of Hipponicus (Fal. Leg. § 311) as the result of the victories of Cimon over the Persians, and

καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτας ὧν δὴ κατηγοροῦσιν καὶ ταύταις οὐχὶ ταῦτ' ἀδίκαια ἀμφοτέραις ὄρισται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἰδίων δικαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις οἱ νόμοι κοινὴν τὴν μετουσίαν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἴσην καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς· τῶν δ' Ἑλληνικῶν 15 δικαίων οἱ κρατοῦντες ὄρισται τοῖς ἥττοσι γίνονται.

37 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐγνωκέναι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὑπάρχει, ὅπως καὶ πράξαι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτ', εἰν ὑποληφθῇτε κοινοὶ προστάται τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. εἰκότως δέ μοι δοκεῖ χαλεπώτατον ὑμῖν 20

38 εἶναι πράξαι τὰ δέοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀγὼν ἔστιν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς προδήλους ἐχθροὺς, ὧν εἰν κρατήσωσιν, οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς κυρίοις τῶν

especially that of the battle of the Eurymedon (B.C. 466). According to the generally received opinion, the Persians agreed by the terms of this treaty to acknowledge the independence of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, not to approach (of course for military purposes) within a day's ride of its western coast, and to abstain from sending a ship of war into the western sea, beyond the mouth of the Bosphorus on the N., and the Chelidonian Islands off the coast of Lycia on the S. But there is very great doubt whether such a treaty was ever made; for Thucydides does not allude to it, and there is considerable discrepancy in the orators and later authors, who do refer to it, both as regards the conditions and the date of the treaty. Thirlwall's Greece, iii. 37. Diodorus (xii. 4) states that the peace was made after Cimon's successes at Cyprus, B.C. 449, by which the Persian king was so much alarmed, that he was glad to make peace on almost any terms.

ταύτας ὧν δὴ] The peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, brought about by Lacedaemonian agency, was generally considered, as it really was, both disgraceful and injurious to Greece. By it, the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenae, and Cyprus, were secured to Persia, and all the other Greek cities were declared independent, and the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, were assigned as of old to the Athenians. Xen. Hell. v. 1. 31. There was then a great difference between

the treaties in question, and they are contrasted by Diodorus (xii. 26) in the same spirit and terms as by Demosthenes in this passage.

οὐχὶ ταῦτ' ἀδίκαια] 'the definition of rights in both the treaties is not the same.'

τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἰδίων] 'with regard to private rights, civil and political.' The reasoning, if it can be so called, is not very logical or consecutive; but the meaning is plain enough. Demosthenes states that under settled constitutions, the laws secure an equality of rights, to the strong and the weak alike, and independent of their own efforts. But with nations the case is different: with them might settles right, and the stronger nations decide upon the rights of the weaker, and enforce their own claims to the injury of others, as was shown in the two treaties with Persia. The inference was, that Athens should, from regard to her own interests, show her power by protecting Rhodes, and that she would not be contravening the established practice of international usage, if, as an influential power, she interfered to determine the position and maintain the rights of a weaker state.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν] 'Since then you have formed the resolution to act with justice, it behoves you to consider how you may also have the means to carry the same.'

εἰκότως δέ μοι] 'but naturally enough, as I think, is it most difficult for you to do what you ought.'

ἀγαθῶν εἶναι ὑμῖν δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δύο, οὗτός θ' ὁ
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ προσέθ' ἕτερος τούτου πρότερος καὶ 25
μείζων· δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους κρατῆσαι τῶν τάναν-
39 τία τῇ πόλει παρ' ὑμῖν πράττειν προηρημένων· ὅταν οὖν 200
μηδὲν ἢ διὰ τούτους ἀκονιτὶ τῶν δεόντων γενέσθαι, πολλῶν
διαμαρτάνειν ὑμῖν εἰκότως συμβαίνει. τοῦ μέντοι πολλοὺς
ἀδεῶς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν αἰρεῖσθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἴσως μὲν
αἱ παρὰ τῶν μισθοδοτούντων αὐτοῖς ὠφέλειαί μάλιστ' 5
αἵτιαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν τις ἔχοι δικαίως αἰτιάσθαι.
ἐχρῆν γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν
ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάξεως, ἥνπερ περὶ τῆς ἐν
40 ταῖς στρατείαις ἔχετε. τίς οὖν ἐστὶν αὕτη; ὑμεῖς τὸν
λείποντα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τάξιν ταχθεῖσαν ἄτιμον 10
οἴεσθε προσήκειν εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν μετέχειν.
χρὴ τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων τάξιν ἐν τῇ
πολιτείᾳ παραδεδομένην λείποντας καὶ πολιτευομένους
ὀλιγαρχικῶς ἀτίμους τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποι-
41 εῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν συμμάχων τοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν 15
καὶ φίλον ὑμῖν ἔξω ὁμωμοκότας νομίζετε εὐνουστάτους,
τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οὓς ἴστε σαφῶς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
ἐχθροὺς ἡρημένους, τούτους πιστοτάτους ἡγείσθε.
42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅ τι τις κατηγορήσει τούτων ἢ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ἐπιπλήξει χαλεπὸν εὔρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὁποίων 20
λόγων ἢ ποίας πράξεως ἐπανορθώσεται τις ἂν νῦν οὐκ
ὀρθῶς ἔχει, τοῦτ' ἔργον εὔρεῖν. ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ
τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ περὶ πάντων λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἂ

δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς] 'for you must in council overcome those amongst you whose principle it is to act in opposition to the state.'

ὅταν οὖν] 'when therefore by reason of these men, nothing that you should do, can be done without a struggle.'

ταύτην τὴν τάξιν] 'this line of politics.'

τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] 'the post of civil duty.'

ἄτιμον] By a λειποταξίου γραφή. πολιτευομένους] 'who support oligarchical measures.'

ἀτίμους . . . ποιεῖσθαι] 'to degrade

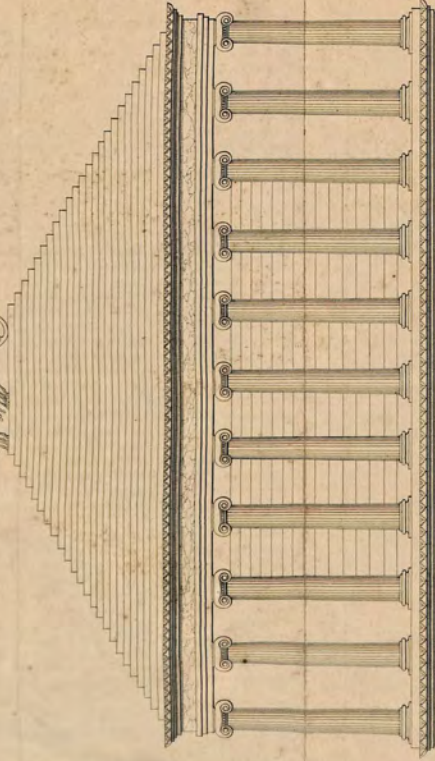
from the privilege of being your counsellors.'

Ἀλλὰ γάρ] 'But, however, matter of accusation against them, or of reproof against you the rest, it is not difficult to find.'

ἔργον εὔρεῖν] "I. e. χαλεπὸν εὔρεῖν. Eodem modo Xenop. Mem. 4. 7. 9, ἔργον ἔφη εἶναι εὔρεῖν."

ἐὰν ἂ προήρησθε] 'if you can give effect to your policy by any corresponding exertion, matters in general might perhaps go on, one after the other, continually improving.'

προήρησθε δυνηθῆτε ἐπικυρώσαι συμφερούση τινὶ πράξει,
 43 καὶ τὰλλ' ἂν ἴσως καθ' ἐν ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἔχοι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν 25
 οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων
 ἔρρωμένως, καὶ πράττειν ἄξια τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθυμουμένους 201
 ὅτι χαίρετ' ἀκούοντες, ὅταν τις ἐπαυῇ τοὺς προγόνους
 ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐκείνοις διεξίη καὶ τὰ τρόπαια
 λέγη· νομίζετε τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀναθεῖναι τοὺς προγόνους
 ὑμῶν οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζητ' αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα 5
 καὶ μιμῆσθε τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.

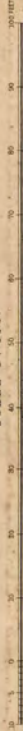


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J. E. Colburn

SCALE 1. 180.



MAUSOLUS AND THE MAUSOLEUM.

Μαύσωλος] This Mausolus was the prince (τὸν ἐκ τοῦ τάφου περιβοητόν. Lucian, *Necyom.* 17) in whose honour his queen and sister Artemisia raised the magnificent structure from which other sepulchral monuments on a splendid scale are called Mausolea (Pausan. viii. 16. 3). It was built at Halicarnassus (Boudroum) in Caria, and the authors by whom it has been described all represent it as the *chef-d'œuvre* of its kind. Pliny (N. H. xxxvi. 4. 9) says that it was one of the seven wonders of the world ("inter septem miracula"), on which Scopas and three other distinguished sculptors, exhibited their powers of decoration, each sculptor taking one of its four sides. He adds: "Opus id (sepulchrum) ut esset inter septem miracula, ii maxime artifices fecere.—Patet ab austro et septentrione sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a frontibus, toto circuitu pedes quadringentos undecim: attollitur in altitudinem viginti quinque cubitis: cingitur columnis triginta sex. Pteron vocavere . . . Supra Pteron, pyramis altitudine inferiorem aequavit, viginti quatuor gradibus in metae cacumen se contrahens. In summo est quadriga marmorea quam fecit Pythis. Haec adjecta centum quadraginta pedum altitudine totum opus includit."

Of this description various interpretations have been given, which may be seen in the Museum of Class. Antiq. i. 157; but none, I think, agrees so well with Pliny as that of Lieut. R. M. Smith, R.E., in a Report presented (May, 1858) to both Houses of Parliament. This is founded upon the important discoveries recently made by excavating near to and upon the site of the Mausoleum, especially on the N. side of a wall of white marble blocks, which appears to have formed a portion of the *peribolus*, or boundary wall, of the precinct of the whole building. Here were found by Mr. C. T. Newton several square blocks having a uniform depth of $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and which evidently formed the steps of the pyramid. Fragments of

lions were also found there, and the remains of one of the colossal horses of the quadriga, which, as it now stands in the British Museum, appears to have been rather more than 13 feet in height from the hoof to the crest of the neck. The base or plinth on which the horses and chariot stood is identified by a fragment with a hoof attached, and is about 9 inches thick: so that the steps ($24 \times 11\frac{3}{4}$) plus the base and the height of the horses, give a total height of $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 25 cubits as Pliny states it.

Fragments of the wheels have also been found, from which it appears that they had 6 spokes, with the alternate intervals closed up, and a diameter of 7 ft. 7 in. The figures in the chariot must have stood on the same level as the axle, i. e. 3 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. above the base; and assuming their height to have been 10 feet, that of the *entire* quadriga would be 14 ft. 6 in., which plus the $23\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of the steps, gives 38 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. as the entire height of the quadriga and pyramid. "This," says Mr. Newton, "corresponds within a little with Pliny's dimensions of 25 cubits, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and with Lieut. Smith's calculations made before discovering the diameter of the wheels."

From this diameter the *length* of the quadriga may be calculated as at least 10 feet, and that of the horses being assumed to be the same, we get for the entire length of the quadriga at least 20 ft., which, with a margin of 2 ft. at each end, would require a platform 24 ft. long.

Again, the tread of the steps on the two adjacent sides of the pyramid was found to be 1 ft. 9 in. and 1 ft. 5 in. respectively. Assuming then that the platform was 18' by 24', we get $2 \times 24 \times 1' 9'' + 24'$, or 108 feet for the longer base of the pyramid, and $2 \times 24 \times 1' 5'' + 18'$, or 86 ft. for the breadth of the base.

Below was the Pteros, or portico, with its 36 columns surrounding a 'cella,' and resting, as well as the 'cella,' on a large pedestal or basement, *the order* (i. e. the columns and the members above them) being of the same height as the pyramid. The columns were Ionic, with an upper diameter of 3 ft. 1 in., and a lower of 3 ft. 6 in. Several of their volutes are now in the British Museum, and the eyes are hollowed out as if for the reception of a metallic or other ornament.

The 'sexagenos ternos pedes' of Pliny Lieut. S. refers to the length of the longer sides of this cella, and supposing "the step or stylobate on which the columns rested to have projected 3 feet on each side beyond the base of the pyramid," he gets as the total outer circumference, $2\{108 + (2 \times 3) + 86 + (2 \times 3)\} = 2(114 + 92) = 412$ English feet, which agrees almost exactly with Pliny's 'totus circuitus' of 411 Roman feet. Moreover, "the site of the Mausoleum

which has been excavated is a rectangular space hollowed out in the rock, measuring 126 feet by 107," and therefore well adapted for a building with dimensions as above found.

The 36 columns Lieut. S. places in single rows, 11 on the long, and 9 on the short sides of the 'cella,' those at the angles being counted twice,

The total height being 140 feet, there remains 65 feet for the basement, which certainly seems a great height, but corresponds with the basement of a similar tomb, still standing at Mylasa, the former capital of Caria, and probably copied from the Mausoleum. It agrees too, so far, with the lines in Martial (de Spect. i. 5, 6), who describes the tomb as hanging in the air :

" Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea
Laudibus immodicis Cares ad astra ferant."

Nor did this basement present a flat and monotonous surface. On the contrary, the analogy of other tombs suggests, that it was relieved by one or more belts of frieze, and the numerous fragments that have been discovered confirm this supposition.

The remains of the frieze indeed appear to have formed portions of two series of bas-reliefs, some fragments having different mouldings, and figures on a different scale from the rest. The subject is a battle with Amazons, and one slab Mr. Newton describes as "of extraordinary beauty, representing an Amazon on horseback, in the finest condition, and one of the most beautiful works in relief he had ever seen." Another represents an Amazon on foot, "the face being finished with the delicacy of a cameo."

The remains now in the British Museum Mr. Hawkins classifies as follows:—

1. Sculptures from the Mausoleum consisting of

(α) Two large, and several smaller portions, of one or more of the colossal horses of the quadriga.

(β) A colossal equestrian figure, much mutilated.

(γ) A colossal male statue, probably that of Mausolus himself.

(δ) A colossal female statue.

(ε) A colossal seated figure, much mutilated, and a colossal male torso.

A female figure about the size of life.

Four slabs of the frieze, forming part of a continuous composition, and for the most part well preserved; the subject being an Amazonomachia, and the frieze evidently the same as that of which several portions were brought to England in 1846, and presented to the Museum by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

Six lions, with their heads and bodies more or less preserved.

2. Architectural fragments, of which there is a large number, comprising most of, if not all, the elements requisite for the reconstruction of the *order* (Ionic), and many of them exhibiting the most beautiful and well preserved details. "From these fragments, by careful measurement and skilful deduction, it will be possible to put together the most essential parts of the original building." On some of them traces of blue and red colouring have been detected.

(α) With regard to the colossal horses, it is doubtful whether "two large pieces, one 6 tons, and the other 2 in weight," belonged to the same horse, as Mr. N. thought, or to two different horses, though both from one quadriga. "The head," which is nearly perfect, "has been rejoined to the neck, to which it originally belonged, and the scale of the statue (says Mr. H.) exceeds that of any horse in marble yet discovered." It still retains the bronze bit, bridle, and rosettes with which it was decorated more than 2100 years ago.

(β) The equestrian figure, as Mr. N. thinks, may have formed part of a group, and perhaps represented Mausolus transfixing with his spear a prostrate enemy, his horse rearing up. "The execution of this sculpture is more finished than that of the colossal horse: the drapery of the rider approaches in delicacy to the pedimental figures of the Parthenon; and the body of the animal, modified in form by the throwing back of the weight upon the haunches in rearing, exhibits a subtle observation of anatomical structure."

(γ) The colossal male statue,—very probably that of Mausolus himself,—has been reconstructed with no less than 57 pieces successively identified and put together. It is nearly 10 feet high, and is probably the most ancient specimen of Greek portrait statuary which we possess. The face is slightly bearded; the features are massive, but finely formed, and the expression noble and dignified. As Mr. H. justly observes, "whether we regard the grandeur and simplicity of the conception, the admirable composition of the drapery, or the skilful combination of the ideal with the individual in the treatment of the features, it is equally deserving of the admiration of every student of sculpture." Mr. N. remarks, "I have never seen in classical art any head in which such majesty was combined with the traits of individual likeness." Personal examination enables me to confirm these opinions of a work of art which is also interesting as a specimen of the transition school between Pheidias and Lysippus.

(δ) The colossal female statue, also standing, has been reconstructed in a similar manner. It is on the same scale, and if, as

probable, it formed a companion statue to the other, it may have represented Artemisia, and have formed one of the figures of the quadriga. Unfortunately the head has been broken off, and is not yet recovered.

(ε) The colossal seated figure proves to be that of a draped female in a chair, which Mr. N. thinks "not inferior in its exceedingly grand style of sculpture to the pedimental sculptures in the Elgin room."

The arrangement of all these figures is of course quite conjectural; but from the variety and abundance of the remains, it is evident that the Mausoleum, like other great ancient monuments, was elaborately ornamented with statuary and other sculpture,—a fact indeed already known from history. For Lucian (*Dialog. Mortuor.* xxiv.) says, that no "monument in the world was equal to it in magnitude or beauty, nor so beautifully embellished with men and horses copied to the life in the finest marble" (*μνῆμα παμμέγεθες ἔχων ἐπικείμενον ἡλίκον οὐκ ἄλλος νεκρὸς, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων λίθου τοῦ καλλίστου, οἷον οὐδὲ νεῶν εὔροι τις ἂν ῥαδίως*). This was written about A.D. 170, but the tomb existed as a wonder even in the 12th century; for Eustathius (*i.* 1298. *Il. ψ. v.* 256) wrote of it: *ὁ μὲν τοῦ Μουσώλου μάλα πολλὰς τάφος ἄκρως περιείργασται, καὶ θαῦμα καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν*. Afterwards it was probably overthrown by an earthquake, and the principal sculptures covered with débris from the mountain, a supposition suggested by the locality, as well as by the wide dispersion of the fragments, and the distances to which they were hurled. Then (A.D. 1404) the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem having established themselves at Rhodes ("s'estans retirés à Rhodes," says Guichard), took possession of Halicarnassus, and used the materials of the Mausoleum to build the castle of San Pietro, from which some derive Boudroum. A German knight named Henry Schlegelholz is mentioned by Fontanus (*de Bello Rhod. lib. ii. k. 1*) of Bruges as the leader in the spoliation.

Again, when (A.D. 1522) the Turks were about to attack Rhodes, the Grand Master knowing the importance of the place then known as Mesy (Mylasa?), sent some of the knights to repair this castle of Boudroum. Their proceedings are described by Claude Guichard of Lyons (*Funérailles des Romains* iii. 5, 378—381), and according to his record, these Christian knights did not spare the pagan monuments. They wanted lime, and so "pour avoir de la chaux ils firent abattre et prendre pour cest effect certaines marches de marbre blanc," which had evidently formed the steps of the pyramid. Digging below the surface, they discovered "une ouverture comme pour

entrer dans un cave: ils deualèrent dedans, où ils treuèrent une belle grande salle carrée, embellie tour au tour de colonnes de marbre avec leurs bases chapiteaux architraves frises et cornices gravées et taillées en demy bosse." Between the columns were "sculptures conformes au reste de l'œuvre." All this, says Guichard, "ayans admiré de prime face, en fin ils desirèrent, brisèrent, et rompirent, pour s'en servir comme ils avoyent fait du demeurant" (the rest), i. e. to repair their castle with. "Ainsi," adds the record, "ce superbe sepulchre, après avoir échappé la fureur des Barbares, et demeuré l'espace de 1870 ans debout, du moins enseveli dedans les ruines de la ville d'Halicarnassus fut découvert, et aboli pour remparer le chateau de S. Pierre, par les chevaliers arrivés de Rhodes, lesquels en furent incontinent après chassés par le Turc, et de toute l'Asie quant et quant." But in the walls of their castle portions of the frieze and of the lions of the Mausoleum remained as built in by the knights till A.D. 1846, when permission was obtained by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe for their removal to England. Several of the fragments of the lions recently sent over by Mr. Newton, were also taken from the same building, under a firman obtained by his lordship. A portion of frieze, corresponding in scale, style, and subject, was also found in 1849, in the palace of the Marchese di Negro, at Genoa, a cast of which in the British Museum proves that it formerly belonged to the Mausoleum. (*Annali dell' Instituto Di Corrispondenza Archaeologica*, v. 74. 1849.)

The subject as already stated represents a battlé between the Greeks and the Amazons, and the entire length of the original slabs, now in England, is at least 80 feet, of which Mr. Newton says: "No museum in Europe can show so magnificent a series of high reliefs as this will form." Casts of the portions of frieze removed in 1846 may also be seen at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Other interesting details are given in the Classical Museum (July, 1847, No. XVI.), and in the Museum of Class. Antiq. i. 157. Each of the articles contains a conjectural design of the original Mausoleum, one by Professor Cockerell, the other by Mr. Falkener. A second "study according to the idea in the Class. Mus., and from the measurements of the fragments recently excavated," has been lately published by the Professor, on which we may remark, that Guichard (l. c.) appears to be a sufficient authority for placing sculptures between the columns. The lions might have been placed at the angles of the basement and elsewhere around it.

A third design is given by Lieut. Smith, R.E., of the general plan of which (see p. 353) Mr. N. observes: "I am of opinion that it approximates more nearly to the true form of the edifice, and can be more

satisfactorily reconciled with the measurements of Pliny than any restoration of it hitherto (A.D. 1857) published." But the quadriga at the top is, I conceive, an inadequate representation of the original, which not improbably contained the colossal male statue (γ) of Mausolus. The belts below are supposed to have been decorated by a frieze (see plan), as may be seen in Mr. Falkener's design, in which the sculptural decorations of the basement are beautifully, though of course conjecturally, delineated. They are partly suggested by the frieze of the Temple of Wingless Victory at Athens. We might also have expected that the medals of Artemisia would have been useful in reproducing the Mausoleum. For according to Guichard (375): "Il se treuve encoꝛ auiourdhuy (A.D. 1581) quelques médailles de la Roine Artemisie, où la figure de cest admirable bastiment est représentée, et j'ai bonne souvenance d'en avoir veu deux à Lyon." But one of these (as drawn in Guichard) can scarcely be genuine; and the pyramid on the other may perhaps represent a monument which Artemisia erected in Rhodes itself, to commemorate her naval successes over the Rhodians (Vitruv. ii. 8). For Guichard (376) observes: "Les petites figurines de galères en forme de croissant qui se voient le long des marches de la pyramide, dénotent la victoire navale, que ceste courageuse Roine obtint sur les Rhodiens."

An intended, but very absurd imitation of the Mausoleum itself, may be seen in the stone steeple of St. George's, Bloomsbury, near to the British Museum, the height of which, 136 feet, is a close approximation to the 140 feet given by Pliny as that of the original. It is crowned with a statue of George I., as expressed in the epigram:

"When Henry VIII. left the Pope in the lurch,
The Protestants made him the head of the Church;
But George's good subjects, the Bloomsbury people,
Instead of the Church, made him head of the steeple."

We may add, that the "Illustrated News" for Oct. 24, 1857, contains several illustrations of the recently acquired sculptures, with descriptions. In the number for June 5, 1858, further particulars are given, and a copy of Lieut. Smith's design, from which is taken the plan at p. 353.

THE SPEECH FOR THE MEGALOPOLITANS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371), in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas, defeated the Lacedaemonians under Cleombrotus, was most disastrous to the latter. Not only did it disable Sparta by a serious loss of life in action, but it established the superiority of an enemy whom she had hitherto despised; and by destroying the prestige of her invincibility in the open field, deprived her at once of the supremacy which she had previously maintained, and gradually broke up the empire of fact and opinion which she had won. By a pacification concluded at Sparta only three weeks before (Xen. Hell. vi. 3. 18. Grote x. 249), the Lacedaemonians had bound themselves to disband their forces, to remove their garrisons and governors from dependent towns, and to leave every subordinate city, autonomous or free to act as it chose. Had they been successful at Leuctra, the engagements of this compact might never have been effectually redeemed. Their defeat not only ensured, but occasioned its immediate fulfilment. Sparta had no troops to spare for the maintenance of her Hellenic ascendancy; and, accordingly, her Harmosts and their supporters disappeared at once from their several localities and withdrew to Laconia. The local and generally oppressive oligarchies or decemvirates which she had supported in Peloponnesus and elsewhere were overthrown, and a series of revolutions followed which she had no means to control. (Diod. xv. 39, 40. Grote x. 271.) At Argos the commonalty rose against the upper classes, and after butchering 1200 of the aristocracy turned against their own leaders. "The violence and bloodshed of this insurrection were," says Diodorus (xv. 57), "unparalleled in Grecian history," but Sparta was too weak or discouraged to interfere for the protection of her friends. It was, however, in Arcadia that the influence of the battle of Leuctra

was most powerfully felt, and at Mantinea that its effect was first and most distinctly exhibited. About 15 years before, this city had been broken up by the Lacedaemonians into 4 villages, each under an oligarchy; and the result, says Xenophon (*Hell.* v. 2. 7), was, that the inhabitants served with the Spartans much more readily than when under a democracy. But it was fear and compulsion, though perhaps aided by the love of plunder, which made them submit to it, and the humiliation of Sparta was immediately followed by a formal resolution to re-establish Mantinea with its walls as before.

With the sympathy and co-operation of other Arcadians, and perhaps in reliance upon Theban support, this resolve was effectually and rapidly carried out (B.C. 371—370), though Sparta interfered as vigorously as she could and dared, in order to prevent it. Force she could not or dared not use, and her remonstrances were met with a courteous but mortifying contradiction. But there was worse to follow. The consolidation of Mantinea and animosity to Sparta, appear to have suggested to the Arcadians the idea of a political confederation with a central authority, by means of which their previously disunited communities might be enabled to act together, and the will of the majority determine the action of all. (*Xen. Hell.* vi. 5, 6.) A revolution at Tegea, one of the chief strongholds of Sparta in Arcadia, was caused by the agitation of this scheme; and the patriotic party, being assisted by the Mantineans, succeeded in expelling the oligarchs who had ruled in the interests of Sparta, and of whom 800 thereupon took refuge there. (*Hell.* vi. 5. 8—10.) This result decided the success of the new movement, and a general meeting of all the Arcadians having been assembled at a village called Asea, to the w. of Tegea, the Pan-Arcadian confederacy was resolved upon, and became an accomplished fact.

By all these proceedings the interests of Sparta were seriously compromised, and still more seriously threatened. Accordingly, in order to assist the exiles from Tegea, and arrest, if possible, the further progress of the Arcadian movement, she resolved, humbled and dispirited as she was, to despatch a force against Mantinea under the command of Agesilaus. Thereupon he crossed the frontiers, ravaged the country, confronted the assembled Arcadians in battle array, and then retired, with the reflection (*Xen. Hell.* vi. 5. 21) that "he had raised Sparta from her former despondency, inasmuch as the Arcadians had not dared to give him battle when he was ravaging their country." But they and their allies the Eleans had good reasons for keeping within the walls of Mantinea; for Epaminondas, and the Theban army, had been invited to protect the

smaller states of Peloponnesus against Sparta (Hell. vi. 5. 19), and were not only expected, but actually approaching to their aid. He arrived soon after the departure of Agesilaus, and being joined by the Arcadians and their allies, their combined forces presented so imposing an array, that in the confidence of their strength they pressed and persuaded Epaminondas to invade Laconia itself. (Hell. vi. 5. 24, 25.) On his return into Arcadia (Diod. xv. 66), after plundering Laconia far and wide, and threatening Sparta itself, he proceeded to develop his designs against that state, in which the Arcadians were of course ready enough to co-operate. Indeed, they had already resolved to found a new city as a centre of union for their confederation; but the jealousies and rivalries of the several states, especially those of Mantinea and Tegea, combined with individual attachments to old localities, were formidable obstacles to the execution of this design, and might have prevented it.

In this emergency, the character and influence of Epaminondas supplied the deficiency of a controlling and recognized authority, and the foundation of the new city was soon laid by the Arcadian commissioners in conjunction with him. (Paus. viii. 27. 2.) Its site was fixed in the upper plain of the famous Alpheus, and on one of its branches, the Helisson, which flowed through the city, and divided it into two parts. (Paus. viii. 30.) No less than 40 distinct *κῶμαι* or villages (Diod. xv. 72) were comprehended in the new settlement; and 4 small townships, already occupying a part of its territory, being unwilling to unite with them, were compelled to do so, except the Trapezuntians, who left their country, and found a new home at Trapezus (Trebizond) on the Euxine.

The walls of the city enclosed a space of 50 stadia, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles round, with a rural territory attached, extending northwards 24 miles from the city, and of considerable magnitude in other directions. According to its native historian Polybius (ix. c. 21), its dimensions were on a larger scale than those of Sparta itself, and even its name (*ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις*) indicated the views and objects of its founders. These, however, were far from being permanently realized, for Cleomenes (Plutarch, c. 24. Paus. ii. 9. 2; viii. 27. 10), king of Sparta, partly destroyed it 150 years afterwards; and, according to a comic poet quoted by Strabo (viii. 8. 1), 'the great city' was in his time a great desert:

Ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στίν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις.

But the building of Megalopolis as a bulwark against Sparta, was not the only scheme which Epaminondas had formed. With a long-sighted policy, and a clear perception of the best means of per-

manently disabling her, he had resolved to dispossess her of the fertile territory of Messenia, cultivated for her by her Helots, and to occupy it with a population rankling with hatred against her. For this purpose he communicated with the Messenian exiles, and invited them from their different places of settlement to return to their ancient country under the protection of Thebes. (Diod. xv. 66. Paus. iv. 26. 34.) His summons was eagerly responded to. Many had already joined him when he entered Arcadia in B.C. 370, and so many more followed, that it was resolved to build a new town for their reception upon the slope of the celebrated Ithome, with a citadel on the summit. (Paus. iv. 31. 4.) After solemn sacrifices and to the strains of patriotic airs (Paus. iv. 27), the foundations were laid, Epaminondas himself being expressly honoured with the title of founder (*οἰκιστής*). The best builders and architects of Greece were invited to join in the work, and especial care was taken with the fortifications as a protection against attack by Sparta. It was surrounded on all sides with a wall of stone, strengthened by towers and buttresses, the excellence and solidity of which were an object of admiration to Pausanias (iv. 31. 4) 500 years afterwards, and have ensured the preservation of some of its remains to modern times.

Describing the north gate towards Megalopolis, Colonel Leake (Morea, i. 372) says, "It is one of the finest specimens of Greek military architecture in existence. It is a double gate with an intermediate circular court of sixty-two feet in diameter, and the interior masonry is the most exact and beautiful I ever saw. Two towers next to the gate on the slope of Mount Ithome, with the interjacent curtain (*τὸ μεσσωργιον*) and the curtain between the lower town and the gate, show this part of the fortification to have resembled a chain of strong redoubts, each tower constituting a fortress of itself. The embrasures in each face of the towers have an opening of seven inches within, and of three feet nine inches without, so that with a small opening their scope is very great. Both the curtains and towers in this part of the walls are constructed entirely of large squared blocks without rubble or cement. The curtains are nine feet thick."

Thus situated and fortified was the new town to which the Messenians repaired nearly 300 years after their ancestors had been driven from their homes. Its erection was indeed a heavy blow to Spartan interests, and a painful wound to Spartan pride, aggravated also by a loss of territory which included some of the most fertile land in the Peloponnesus. All the district s.w. of Ithome, from the river Neda on the N. to the sea-coast on the W. and S., was taken from Sparta, and appropriated as the domain of the new settlement

and its dependencies. For centuries before, this region had been occupied by the vassals, and tilled by the serfs of Sparta, the Perioeci who served as light troops in her armies, and the Helots who served as the slaves of her citizens. Many of these were the descendants of the ancient Messenians, whom the removal of the Spartan yoke at once converted into freemen, and whose independence was confirmed and guaranteed by the new establishment of Messene. Instead, therefore, of receiving tributes, and rent, and produce from this district, Sparta saw it suddenly transformed into a hostile country, peopled by men whose feelings and interests made them her deadly enemies, and whom she had wronged too grievously for reconciliation or forgiveness. (Grote x. 311.) The bitterness of her feeling under this humiliation may be readily conceived, and is forcibly expressed by Isocrates in his oration called Archidamus (§§ 30. 101), composed only five or six years after the revolution. For, as he represents, the Spartans complained indignantly that not only were the genuine Messenians restored, but their own slaves, the Helots, were located as freemen on their borders, and so far elevated to an equality with their late masters themselves.

But galling as all this was to Sparta, she was obliged to submit, for she could not alter it. She was now hemmed in by Messene on the w. and Megalopolis and Argos on the n., while the Thebans were actually at war with her, and occupied Tegea with a garrison. (Xen. Hell. vii. 4. 36.) Accordingly, for some time at least (Paus. iv. 28), she abstained from any acts of hostility to the new establishments, except when Archidamus invaded Arcadia (B.C. 367); and with some auxiliaries (Κέλται) from Dionysius of Syracuse, gained the 'Tearless Battle' over the Arcadians and Argives. (Hell. vii. 1. 28.) This, however, was but an isolated success; and the influence of Thebes continued so predominant, that she was enabled to obtain from the king of Persia a recognition of the independence of Messene, and a declaration of her own headship in Greece. (Hell. vii. 1. 36. Grote x. 383.) Moreover (in B.C. 366), she succeeded in detaching Corinth, and other allies from Sparta, and securing their neutrality upon the general basis of the Persian mandate, which of course involved the independence of Messene. (Xen. Hell. vii. 4. 9.) Sparta herself was solicited to accept peace on the same terms, but she firmly refused to do so, and declared her resolution never to give up a territory which she had inherited from of old. According to Isocrates (Archid.), this determination was expressed in the strongest terms by Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, while he at the same time conjured his countrymen to make every sacrifice for its recovery. His first attempt with

this object was the occupation of a post called Cromnus (ὁ Κρόμνος), not far from Megalopolis, and so cutting off its communication with Messene. This, indeed, was done at the instigation of the Eleans, then at war with the Arcadians; but it proved a failure, for the latter blockaded the fort, and at last dislodged the garrison. (Hell. vii. 4. 27.)

The lapse of a few years brought about great changes. The Arcadians quarrelled among themselves, some remaining firm in their friendship to Thebes; others, and Mantinea especially, rallying round Sparta. To secure the ascendancy they had so lately gained, the Thebans once more invaded Peloponnesus, and won the battle of Mantinea against the Spartans and their allies, but lost their hero Epaminondas (Diod. xv. 87. Xen. Hell. vii. 5. 24), and with him all hope of future success (B.C. 362). In the same battle fell two other Theban captains, whom he had intended to succeed him, on hearing of whose death, he said to his comrades in his last words: "Then you must make peace with the enemy." (Plutarch, Apophtheg. p. 194, c. Aelian, V. H. xii. 3.) His injunction was followed, and peace was concluded between the two principals and their allies on the basis of the *status quo*, and admitting the independence of Messene. At least this admission was made, and the independence guaranteed by the allies of both, though Sparta herself stood out against it, preferring a state of isolation and the loss of friends, to what she thought a degradation, and hoping for better times to re-assert her claims. (Diod. xv. 89. Polyb. iv. 33.)

In a few years a favourable opportunity appeared to present itself. The Sacred War had broken out (B.C. 356) between the Phocians and the Thebans, which during its continuance for ten years gave the latter so much occupation nearer home, that their protection of Peloponnesian dependents might well seem impossible. Indeed, Archidamus himself was said (Diod. xvi. 24) to have fostered the war, by promising men and money to the Phocian leaders, and he actually furnished them with 15 talents to carry it on. Accordingly, when (B.C. 353) the Phocian arms were triumphant, he thought the time was arrived for re-establishing the Spartan ascendancy in the Peloponnesus, by breaking up the hostile states of Megalopolis and Messene. With this view he announced the principle, that ancient rights ought to be restored; that Athens, for instance, ought to be put in possession of Oropus, which Thebes had taken from her some 14 years before; that Thespieae, Plataeae, and Orchomenus, ought to be re-established; that Phlius should regain a fortress called Tricarantum (Xen. Hell. vii. 2), and Elis the territory of Triphylia, over which she claimed the same rights as Sparta did over Messenia.

Obviously if these arrangements were carried out, the parties benefited could hardly refuse Sparta their assistance in the recovery of Messene, and the re-establishment of the former state of affairs at Megalopolis. This it was evident was the real object of Archidamus, and other indications plainly showed that Lacedaemon was planning operations against that city. In this conjuncture the Megalopolitans sent an embassy to Athens, soliciting her aid in the approaching struggle, while at the same time the Spartans sent another to oppose them. Public opinion it would seem was divided upon the subject in Athens, her interests suggesting one policy, and her sympathies another. Demosthenes took a wise and comprehensive view of the case, though an unpopular one; pointing out, that although they had recently been, and still were allies of Sparta against Thebes, nevertheless, justice and expediency required them to protect Messene and Megalopolis against Spartan aggression.

It does not, however, appear that these sensible views prevailed; for Archidamus soon afterwards (B.C. 352—351) advanced into the territory of Megalopolis with a body of Spartan troops, and 3000 Phocian mercenaries. Megalopolis on her side was assisted by the Thebans and Argives; and a war was carried on for some time with various success, till at last the Lacedaemonians concluded a peace, and the Thebans returned home. The inference is that they would not have done this without having accomplished their object; and that virtually, if not formally, the Lacedaemonians were compelled, for the time at least, to desist from designs against Megalopolis, and to acquiesce in her independence. (Diod. xvi. 39. Grote xi. 419.)

This was the second speech of Demosthenes on public matters, delivered by him when only about 28 years of age; and it is remarkable, that neither in it, nor in the *De Symmoriis* of the year before, is there any allusion to Philip. Another point worthy of notice is, that so young a man, naturally desirous of conciliating the good opinion of his countrymen, should have had the moral courage to oppose their sympathies as he did, and the statesmanlike judgment to appreciate the necessity for doing so.

XVI.

ΥΠΕΡ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

B.C. 352.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι νικηθέντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς κίνδυνον μέγαν κατέστησαν, ἀποστάντων Ἀρκάδων καὶ προσθεμένων τοῖς Θηβαίοις, Ἀθηναῖοι σύμμαχοι Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενοι διέσωσαν αὐτούς· ὕστερον δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγέντες καὶ προϊόντες πάλιν εἰς δύναμιν ἐπὶ Μεγάλῃν πόλιν τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἤρχοντο, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεκάλουν διὰ πρεσβείας κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου. πεπόμφασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται πρέσβεις Ἀθήναζε παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ τοίνυν Δημοσθένης συμβουλευεῖ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀναιρεθεῖσαν Μεγάλῃν πόλιν μηδὲ εἰς ἰσχὺν προελθόντας Λακεδαιμονίους, συμφέρειν λέγων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ μὴ φοβερὰν εἶναι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.

Ἀμφότεροί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀμαρτάνειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 202
ναῖοι, καὶ οἱ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
συνειρηκότες· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἤκοντες, οὐχ ὑμῶν
ὄντες πολῖται, πρὸς οὓς ἀμφότεροι πρεσβεύουσι, κατ-
2 ηγοροῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλους. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν 5
τῶν ἀφικμένων ἔργον, τὸ δὲ κοινῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
λέγειν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σκοπεῖν ἄνευ φιλο-
νεικίας τῶν ἐνθάδε συμβουλευεῖν ἀξιούντων. νῦν δ' ἔγωγε,

ἀμφότεροι πρεσβεύουσι] Namely the Arcadians and Lacedaemonians. The former ἀμφότεροι refers to the Athenian partizans of both.

ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν] 'now this indeed was the duty of the envoys, but to

speak independently upon the question, and to consider what is best for your interests without party-spirit, is the part of men who presume to give counsel here.'

εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀφέλοι τὸ γιγνώσκεισθαι καὶ τὸ τῇ φωνῇ
λέγειν Ἀττικῶς, πολλοὺς ἂν οἶμαι τοὺς μὲν Ἀρκάδας, τοὺς 10
8 δὲ Λάκωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίσαι. ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ μὲν ὡς
χαλεπὸν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ἐστὶ συνεξηπατημένων γὰρ
ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ταυτὶ βουλομένων τῶν δὲ ταυτὶ, ἐὰν τὰ
μεταξύ τις ἐγχειρῇ λέγειν καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ περιμένητε μαθεῖν,
χαριεῖται μὲν οὐδετέροις, διαβεβλήσεται δὲ πρὸς ἀμφο- 15
4 τέρους· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αἰρήσομαι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς, ἂν ἄρα
τοῦτο πάθω, δοκεῖν φλυαρεῖν, ἢ παρ' ἃ βέλτιστα νομίζω
τῇ πόλει προέσθαι τισὶν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν
ἄλλα ὕστερον, ἂν ὑμῖν βουλομένοις ᾦ, λέξω ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν
ὁμολογουμένων ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἄρξομαι ἃ κράτιστα νομίζω 20
διδάσκειν.

5 Οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀντίποι ὡς οὐ συμφέρεи τῇ πόλει
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καὶ Θηβαίους τουτουσί. 203
ἔστι τοίνυν ἓν τι τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ τὰ πράγματα νῦν, εἴ τι
δεῖ τοῖς εἰρημένοις πολλάκις παρ' ὑμῖν λόγοις τεκμήρα-
σθαι, ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ Θεσπιῶν καὶ

εἴ τις αὐτῶν] 'could one set aside the knowledge of their persons.'

συνεξηπατημένων] 'for when you share in the delusions of the speakers.'

τὰ μεταξύ λέγειν] 'to propose the middle course.'

διαβεβλήσεται] 'but will be disgraced with both.'

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'] 'not but that I will, if indeed this is to be my case, prefer rather to be thought a trifler myself.'

ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν] 'and beginning with principles admitted by all, I will explain what I think best.'

ὡς οὐ συμφέρεи] Comp. c. Aristocr. § 120: ἴσθ' ὅτι συμφέρεи τῇ πόλει μήτε Θηβαίους μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχύειν.

Ὀρχομενοῦ] The cities of Boeotia anciently formed a confederation, at the head of which was Thebes, the other cities however maintaining their independence, and having each its own district dependent upon itself. Of these minor states there appear to have been originally at least twelve (Thucyd. iv. 76. 91), Plataeae, Thespieae, and Orchomenus being amongst the number. (Clinton Fas. Hell. i. 397.) Of these Plataeae withdrew from the confederacy, and placed herself under the

protection of Athens (Herod. vi. 108) in B.C. 519. It was consequently destroyed by the Thebans in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, but rebuilt and restored at the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387. But the restoration was not permanent. Shortly before (B.C. 373) the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans again felt themselves strong enough to crush Plataeae, and its citizens were again obliged to take refuge in Athens. (Paus. ix. 1. Xen. Hell. vi. 1. 3. Isocr. Plataic. §§ 21—38.)

With regard to Thespieae, it appears to have been always an object of suspicion to the Thebans, for during the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 423) they dismantled its walls (Thucyd. iv. 133) on a charge of attachment to Athens (ἐπικαλέσαντες Ἀττικισμὸν); and it would seem that they did so again when they destroyed Plataeae in B.C. 373. (Diod. xv. 46.) But the Thespians were not then ejected from Boeotia, for we read that a detachment of them being under the command of Epaminondas at Leuctra, availed themselves of his permission to withdraw before the engagement. (Paus. ix. 13. 8.) Such a step aggravated the ill-feeling of the Thebans, and fearing their resentment, the Thes-

Πλαταιῶν οἰκισθειςῶν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίους 5
 δ', εἰ ποιήσονται τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Μεγάλην
 6 πόλιν αἰρήσουσι, πάλιν ἰσχυροὺς γενήσεσθαι. σκεπτέον
 τοῖνυν μὴ πρότερον τούσδε γενέσθαι φοβεροὺς καὶ μεγά-
 λους ἑάσωμεν ἢ ἐκεῖνοι μικροὶ γενήσονται, καὶ λάθωσιν
 ἡμᾶς πλείονι μείζους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενόμενοι ἢ ὅσῳ 10
 τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλάττους συμφέρεει γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ
 ἐκεῖνό γ' ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὥς ἀνταλλάξασθαι βουλοίμεθ' ἀντι-
 πάλους Λακεδαιμόνιους ἀντὶ Θηβαίων, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ὃ
 σπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδέτεροι δυνήσονται μηδὲν ἡμᾶς
 ἀδικεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς μετὰ πλείστης ἀδείας εἴημεν.. 15
 7 Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δέω ἔχειν φήσομεν,
 δεινὸν δ' εἰ, πρὸς οὓς παρεταπτόμεθα ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, τού-

pians withdrew to a stronghold called Cernessus, whence they were dislodged by Epaminondas, and driven out of the country, their territory being annexed to Thebes. (Paus. ix. 14. Xen. Hell. vi. 3. Isoc. Plat. § 10.)

Orchomenus, the second city in Boeotia, and recently in friendly relations with Lacedaemon, would have shared the same fate, but for Epaminondas, by whose advice the Orchomenians were spared, and re-admitted into the Boeotian confederacy. (Diod. xv. 57.) But a few years afterwards (B.C. 364—363) a conspiracy was formed against the Theban government by the Orchomenian knights, 300 in number, in conjunction with some Theban exiles. The plot being betrayed, the knights were immediately seized and put to death. Nor did this vengeance satisfy the Thebans. In the absence of Epaminondas, they marched against the city, took it, put the male adults to death, sold the women and children into slavery, razed the town to the ground, and divided the territory amongst their own citizens. (Adv. Lept. § 121. Diod. xv. 79. Paus. ix. 15. 2.) It would appear however that it was subsequently rebuilt to some extent, for we read that during the Phocian war (B.C. 354) Orchomenus was captured by the Phocian leader Onomarchus. (Diod. xvi. 33.) At the close of the war (B.C. 346), Philip of Macedon restored it to the Thebans, but (Grote xi. 583. 698. Paus. iv. 27. 10) after the battle of Chaeroneia, he re-established both the Plataean and Orchomenian exiles (κατήχησαν) in

their own country. It would seem however that this restoration was not effectual, for (Arrian i. 9) it is also said that on the destruction of Thebes (B.C. 335), it was resolved (οἱ ἐχέμαχοι ἐγνώσαν) to restore and fortify both Plataeae and Orchomenus. Plutarch also relates that after the battle of Arbela (B.C. 331), Alexander (vit. c. 31) ἔγραψεν ἰδίᾳ Πλαταιεῦσιν τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν.

γενήσεσθαι.] It has been proposed to read γενέσθαι here, as in the former clause, for, as Schäfer observes, "ambo membra Θηβαίους μὲν —, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ, eadem ratione sunt hypothetica." But there is no sufficient MSS. authority for the alteration, and a writer might have varied the tense in the latter clause, to make the meaning of both clearer.

καὶ λάθωσιν.] 'and the Lacedaemonians may not unperceived by us become aggrandized in a greater degree than it is expedient for the Thebans to be reduced.' Mr. Long thus: 'and the Lacedaemonians may not before we are aware of it increase in power more than,' &c.

ὥς ἀνταλλάξασθαι.] 'that we would wish to have the Lacedaemonians as opponents instead of the Thebans.'

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία.] 'But forsooth we shall say that this indeed ought to be so (viz. that neither the Lacedaemonians nor the Thebans should be predominant), and yet it would be a scandal to take those men as allies against whom we were arrayed at Mantinea.'

πρὸς οὓς.] The Athenians occupied the left wing of their own line at the battle of

τους συμμάχους αἰρησόμεθα· εἴτα βοηθήσομεν τούτοις
 ἐναντία ἐκείνων, μεθ' ὧν τότ' ἐκινδυνεύομεν. κάμοι ταῦτα
 δοκεῖ, προσδεῖσθαι δ' ἔτι τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων 20
 8 τῶν ἐτέρων. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐθελήσουσιν εἰρήνην ἅπαντες
 ἄγειν, οὐ βοηθήσομεν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις· οὐδὲν γὰρ
 δεήσει ὥστ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῶν ἔσται πρὸς τοὺς
 συμπαραταξαμένους, σύμμαχοι δ' ἡμῶν οἱ μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν,
 9 ὥς φασιν, οἱ δὲ προσγενήσονται νυνί. καὶ τί ἂν ἄλλο 25
 βουλοίμεθα; ἔαν δ' ἀδικῶσι καὶ πολεμεῖν οἴωνται δεῖν, εἰ
 μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτου μόνου βουλευτέον, εἰ χρὴ Μεγάλῃν πόλιν
 ἡμᾶς προέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ μὴ, δίκαιον μὲν οὐ, σὺν- 204
 χωρῶ δ' ἔγωγ' ἔᾶσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντιωθῆναι τοῖς γε τῶν
 αὐτῶν μετασχοῦσι κινδύνων· εἰ δ' ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε ὅτι,
 ταύτην ἂν ἔλωσιν, ἴασιν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίην, φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ
 τῶν νῦν χαλεπῶν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, τί τόθ' ἡμῶν συμ- 5
 10 βουλεύσει ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ. καὶ μὴν πάντες ἐπί-
 στασθε ὥς καὶ παραινούντων τούτων καὶ μὴ βοηθητέον,
 καὶ διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς ὁμωμόκαμεν Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ διὰ

Mantinea (B.C. 362), the Lacedaemonians, Eleians, and Achaeans being in the right and centre. (Diod. xv. 85.) Immediately opposed to them were the Argives, the rest of the Theban line being formed of Euboeans, Malians, Thessalians, Arcadians, and other allies of Thebes, with the Thebans themselves. According to Diodorus, the Athenian cavalry were engaged in actual conflict with the Theban horse, and overpowered by their numbers and strategical combination (τῇ στρατηγικῇ συντάξει). Comp. Xen. Hell. vii. 5. 24.

κάμοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ] 'I think so too, but I also think we must add the further proviso that the others be willing to do justice.'

Demosthenes argues that the Athenians would not be inconsistent in following his policy, except on the supposition that other parties were willing to do justice. This supposition he introduces and defines by the article τοῦ, which applies to the whole clause as expressive of one idea, and is not to be taken with ποιεῖν, an infinitive dependent upon ἐθελόντων. I note this because it has been proposed to read τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τοὺς ἐτέρους.

σύμμαχοι δ' ἡμῶν] 'and one people are

as they profess our allies already, and the other will join us now and become so.' Demosthenes wishes to prove that his policy would have the advantage of maintaining the Lacedaemonian alliance, and gaining that of the Arcadians, provided only the Lacedaemonians acted fairly.

ἔαν δ' ἀδικῶσι] 'but should they mean injustice, and be resolved on going to war, then if this alone had to be determined upon, whether we ought to abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedaemonians or not, though it would not be just indeed, yet still I should consent to your allowing it, and offering no opposition to those who assuredly then shared in the same dangers.'

τῶν νῦν χαλεπῶν] 'of those now hard upon the Megalopolitans.'

καὶ παραινούντων τούτων] Namely, the Athenian opponents of Demosthenes.

διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους] Immediately after the battle of Mantinea a peace was concluded, and an alliance entered into by the different powers who had been engaged in the conflict, excepting only the Lacedaemonians, who objected to the Messenians being admitted into the alliance, and thus recognized as an inde-

- τὸ συμφέρον εἶναι κατοικεῖσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν. σκο-
 πείσθε δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ποτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλλίονα 10
 καὶ φιλανθρωποτέραν ποιήσεσθε τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀδικεῖν
 Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ὑπὲρ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 11 Μεσσήνης; νῦν μὲν γε βοηθεῖν δόξετε Ἀρκάσι, καὶ τὴν
 εἰρήνην σπουδάζειν εἶναι βεβαίαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐκινδυνεύσατε
 καὶ παρετάξασθε· τότε δ' εὐδαίμονι πάσῃ ἔσεσθε οὐ τοῦ 15
 δικαίου μᾶλλον ἔνεκα Μεσσήνην εἶναι βουλόμενοι ἢ τοῦ
 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβου. δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν μὲν καὶ
 πράττειν αἰεὶ τὰ δίκαια, συμπαρατηρεῖν δ' ὅπως ἅμα καὶ
 συμφέροντα ἔσται ταῦτα.
- 12 Ἔστι τοίνυν τοιοῦτός τις λόγος παρὰ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, 20
 ὥς κομίσασθαι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρεῖν δεῖ, εἰ δὲ τοὺς
 βοηθήσαντας ἂν ἡμῖν νῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροὺς κτησόμεθα,

pendent state of Greece. It is probable that on this occasion the Athenians as well as their allies bound themselves by oath to maintain the independence of Messenia, and that Demosthenes here alludes to the fact. Pausanias (iv. 28. 2) also mentions that the Messenians shortly afterwards prayed the Athenians for aid against the Lacedaemonians, and that it was promised, but only in the event of an actual invasion by the Spartans. Diod. xv. 89. Polyb. iv. 33.

ποτέραν] 'whether in resisting the injustice of the Lacedaemonians you will take your first step with more grace and generosity on behalf of (τὴν ὑπὲρ) Megalopolis or of Messene.'

νῦν μὲν γε] That is, by helping Megalopolis. τότε δ'· 'in the other case.'

οὐ τοῦ δικαίου] Justice required the preservation of Megalopolis as well as Messene; but the reconquest of Messenia was far more important to Lacedaemon than the destruction of Megalopolis.

δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν] 'whereas our aims and actions should indeed always be just, while at the same time we take care that they be for our advantage also.' Rather a shameless avowal.

Ὀρωπὸν] Oropus, on the N.E. frontier of Attica, and opposite Eretria in Euboea, was frequently the cause of dispute between Thebes and Athens. Originally, as it would seem, Boeotian, it afterwards became a dependency of Athens, and many of its inhabitants were

incorporated in the Attic township, or Δῆμος, of Γραῖς. (Grote x. 393.) In B.C. 411, however (Thucyd. viii. 60), it was betrayed to the Thebans, and soon afterwards (B.C. 402) it appears to have become independent. For we are told (Diod. xiv. 17), that in consequence of some internal disturbances, a number of citizens were banished, in concert with whom the Thebans again made themselves masters of the city. Then again, a little before the battle of Leuctra (Isocr. Plat. § 22—40) we read of differences on the subject between Thebes and Athens, the end of which appears to have been that the Thebans were obliged to yield, and their friends were expelled from the city. But subsequently these fugitives were enabled to effect their return and seize upon Oropus, by the aid of Themison, the despot of Eretria. The Athenians marched with a large force to recover it; but the Thebans having meanwhile occupied the city, a compromise was effected (Diod. xv. 76. Xen. Hell. vii. 4), on the understanding that the Thebans should retain it till the claims of both were decided by a legal tribunal (μέχρι δίκης). The result was that the Thebans kept it in their own hands, and Archidamus was enabled to tempt the Athenians to acquiesce in his views, by stipulating for the cession of Oropus, as one of his proposed arrangements. It was eventually restored to Athens by Philip, after the battle of Chaeroneia. Paus. i. 34. 1. See note, p. 4.

- οὐχ ἔξομεν συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν κομίσασθαι Ὀρω-
πὸν πειρᾶσθαι δεῖν φημι καὶ αὐτός· τὸ δ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔσεσθαι, νῦν ἂν ποιῶμεθα συμμάχους 25
Ἀρκάδων τοὺς βουλομένους ἡμῶν εἶναι φίλους, μόνοις οὐδ'
εἰπεῖν ἐξεῖναι νομίζω τοῖς πείσασιν ὑμᾶς, ὅτ' ἐκινδύνεον
13 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες 205
ἔπεισαν ὑμᾶς πάντων Πελοποννησιῶν ἐλθόντων ὡς ὑμᾶς
καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀξιούντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἵεναι,
τοὺς μὲν μὴ προσδέξασθαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἦν ὑπό-
λοιπον αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἦλθον), ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Λακε- 5
δαιμονίων σωτηρίας καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοῖς σώ-
14 μασι κινδυνεύειν. καίτοι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡθελήσατε δήπου
σώζειν αὐτοὺς, εἰ τοῦτο προὔλεγον ὑμῖν, ὅτι σωθέντες,
ἂν μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλονται πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἑάτε καὶ ἀδι-
15 κεῖν, οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἔξουσιν τῆς σωτηρίας. καὶ μὴν 10
εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιχειρή-
μασι τὸ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἡμᾶς συμμάχους ποιήσασθαι,
προσθήκει δήπου πλείω χάριν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν
ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐλθόντες κινδύνους, ἣ ὧν
ἀδικεῖν κωλύονται νῦν ὀργίζεσθαι. ὥστε πῶς οὐ βοηθή- 15
σουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπ' Ὀρωπὸν, ἣ κάκιστοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων
δόξουσιν εἶναι; μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγε οὐχ ὀρώ.
- 16 Θαυμάζω τοίνυν καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν] 'now as for recovering Oropus, I too say myself that we ought to make the attempt; but as for the Lacedaemonians becoming our enemies, I think that they, of all men (μόνοις), are not at liberty even to mention it, who, when the Lacedaemonians were in peril, persuaded you to assist them.'

ἐλθόντων] The preceding πάντων is of course a rhetorical exaggeration: and Xenophon does not allude to the circumstance at all. Perhaps his Spartan sympathies prevented him from mentioning it. But we learn from Diodorus (xv. 62), that two years after the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 369) the Lacedaemonians invaded Arcadia, and took possession of Orchomenus, a city well disposed to them. A battle followed, in which the Arcadians were victorious. But still fearing the power of Sparta, they associated with themselves

the Argives and Eleians, and sent an embassy to Athens for aid. No heed was paid to them (οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς προσεῖχε), and so they applied to the Thebans, who readily complied with their request, and despatched a force into the Peloponnesus. The Spartans in their turn were alarmed, and solicited the Athenians to assist them, which they generously did, with a body of 12,000 men under Iphicrates. Xen. Hell. vi. 5. 35. Grote x. 290—323.

πλείω χάριν] 'surely they should feel gratitude for having been saved by us when they were in a crisis of extreme danger, more than anger for being hindered in their present wrong-doing.' The construction of ὧν ἀδικεῖν κωλύονται ὀργίζεσθαι is analogous to χάριν ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν, as if it had been ὀργὴν ἔχειν.

- εἰ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθα Ἀρκάδας καὶ ταῦτα πράξομεν, μεταβάλλεσθαι δόξει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχειν πιστὸν ἢ πόλις. 20
 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τοῦναντίον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῶν πάντων οὐδένα ἂν ἀντειπεῖν οἶμαι ὡς οὐ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρότερον Θηβαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Εὐβοέας ἔσωσεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμάχους
 17 ἐποιήσατο, ἔν τι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ βουλομένη αἰεὶ πράττειν. ἔστι 25
 δὲ τοῦτο τί; τοὺς ἀδικουμένους σώζειν. εἰ τοίνυν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ' ἔν ἡμεῖς εἵημεν οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ θέλοντες τοῖς δικαίοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ φανήσεται τὰ 206
 πράγματα αἰεὶ διὰ τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους μεταβαλλόμενα, οὐχ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν.
 18 Δοκοῦσι δέ μοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα δεινῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον ποιεῖν. νῦν γάρ φασιν ἐκείνοι δεῖν Ἡλείους μὲν 5
 τῆς Τριφυλίας τινὰ κομίσασθαι, Φλιασίους δὲ τὸ Τρικιά-

μεταβάλλεσθαι] 'to be inconstant and have no fidelity.'

ὅτι τῶν πάντων] 'because, as I imagine, no one in the world would maintain that our city did not save both the Lacedaemonians, and before them the Thebans, and most recently the Euboeans, and subsequently make them her allies, from the wish always to pursue one and the same kind of policy.'

πρότερον Θηβαίους] The infamous seizure of the Cadmeia, or citadel of Thebes, by a Spartan commander on his way to Olynthus (B.C. 382), caused a number of Theban exiles, and Pelopidas amongst them, to fly to Athens. Here they concerted measures for their own restoration and the liberation of their country, in which, with the aid of volunteers from Athens, they were successful, and compelled the Spartan garrison to capitulate. The Boeotian war, as it was called, followed (ὁ κληθεὶς Βοιωτικὸς πόλεμος), in which the Athenians were allied with the Thebans against Sparta, and rendered them considerable service. The Athenian troops were commanded by Chabrias. Diod. xv. 25, 26. Xen. Hell. v. 2.

Εὐβοέας] In B.C. 358, when the Thebans despatched a force to control Euboea, and maintain her supremacy in the cities disposed to throw it off. Comp. De Cherson. § 80, p. 199: τοὺς Εὐβοέας σώζειν, ὅτε Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντο αὐ-

τοῖς. Timotheus was sent by the Athenians in command of a force, and compelled the Thebans to evacuate the island. Diod. xvi. 17. Dem. c. Androt. § 17.

τοὺς ἀδικουμένους σώζειν] Demosthenes frequently dwells upon this as a characteristic of Athenian policy; but in the F. L. § 84, he declares that expediency alone dictated the Athenian interference in behalf of the states here mentioned: οὐδὲ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ποτ' ἐσώσατε οὐδὲ τοὺς καταράτους Εὐβοέας τουτουσί, οὐδ' ἄλλους πολλοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅτι συμφέρον ἦν σῶς εἶναι τῇ πόλει.

τῆς Τριφυλίας] Triphylia was a small district on the bay of Cyparissia (G. of Arkhadia) on the coast of Peloponnesus, lying between Elis and Messenia, s. of the Alpheius and n. of the Neda. (Polyb. iv. 77.) In ancient times it appears to have been a dependency of the Eleians; but in B.C. 398 it was wrested from them by the Lacedaemonians, who, as they owed the men of Elis a grudge, found it convenient to vindicate the independence of her subject cities in Triphylia. (Xen. Hell. iii. 2. 31.) After the battle of Leuctra, when the power of Sparta was broken, the Eleians re-asserted their supremacy, and refused their assent to the compact entered into at Athens (Hell. vi. 5. 2) by several other states, on the ground that it recognized the independence of Triphylia. But as Diodorus (xv.

ρανον, ἄλλους δέ τινας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν
 Ὀρωπὸν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ἕν' ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ἰδῶσιν ἔχοντας τὰ
 ἑαυτῶν, οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖν ὁψὲ γὰρ ἂν φιλάνθρωποι γεγο-
 19 νότες εἶεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσι δοκῶσι συμπράττειν ὅπως ἂν 10
 ἕκαστοι κομίσωνται ταῦθ' ἃ φασιν αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἕν' ἐπειδὴν
 ἰῶσιν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίην αὐτοὶ, συστρατεύονται πάντες αὐτοῖς
 οὗτοι καὶ βοηθῶσι προθύμως, ἣ δοκῶσιν ἀδικεῖν, περὶ ὧν
 ἔφασαν ἕκαστοι σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι συμψήφους λαβόντες
 20 ἐκείνους, μὴ τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς χάριν ἀποδιδόντες. ἐγὼ δὲ 15
 νομίζω τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ καθυφεῖναι
 τινας Λακεδαιμονίους Ἀρκάδων Ὀρωπὸν ἂν κομίσασθαι
 καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων, ἂν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐκ οἰομένων δεῖν Θηβαίους ἔαν ἔχειν τὰ
 21 ἀλλότρια. εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτ' εὐδηλον ἡμῖν γένοιτο, ὅτι μὴ 20
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἔδωκας τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταστρέψα-
 σθαι οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα Ὀρωπὸν λαβεῖν, αἰρετώτερον,
 εἰ οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἔαν ἡ Λακεδαιμο-
 νίῳ Μεσσηνίην προσέσθαι καὶ Πελοπόννησον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν

77) informs us, the sovereignty of this country had, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων, been disputed by Elis and Arcadia; and in B.C. 366, it appears that the Arcadians were in possession of it. Probably the Triphylia had appealed to them for protection, now that Sparta was no longer able to assist her neighbours. The result was a war between Elis and Arcadia, in consequence of some exiles of the latter country having assisted the Eleians to take Lasion, a town on the N. of the Alpheiis, which anciently belonged to them, but which was then incorporated with the Arcadians (συντελοῦντα ἐς τὸ Ἀρκადικόν). In this the Arcadians were for the most part successful, though the Eleians were now assisted by the Spartans, whom an identity of interests had attached to them. In fact, Sparta claimed the same rights over Messenia that Elis did over Triphylia; and, as Demosthenes says, it was for her interests, and to establish a principle and a precedent advantageous to his own country, that Archidamus proposed his plan of the restoration of the ancient rights of other communities. Xen. Hell. vii. 4. 12 and 20. Comp. Paus. v. 5. 3. Thucyd. v. 31. Grote x. 429—431.

Τρικράνον] This was a hill near Phlius, occupied (B.C. 370—369) and fortified by the Argives as a basis of operations against that town, which continued a faithful ally of Sparta even after the misfortune at Leuctra. (Xen. Hell. vii. 2.) Indeed, her fidelity to Sparta was the cause of the hostility of the Argives and other allies of Thebes, and hence it was very natural for Archidamus to propose the restoration to her of a place which she had lost through devotion to his own country. Phlius lay nearly S. of Sicyon and S.W. of Corinth. Xenophon (l. c.) describes Τρικράνον as ἐν τῇ Φλιουντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου.

οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖν] ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ, Wolf. 'Very far from it.'

περὶ ὧν] 'if they do not make a return of the like kindness to them, after having had their concurrence in respect of what they severally asserted to belong to themselves.'

ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω] 'but my opinion is, first, that the city may, even without sacrificing any of the Arcadians, regain Oropus.' εἰ δ' ἄρα, 'and if, in the second place.'

ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τούτου μόνον ἡμῶν εἶναι τὸν λόγον πρὸς 25
ἐκείνους. ἀλλ' ἐάσω τό γ' ἐπελθὼν εἰπεῖν μοι· περὶ πολ-
λῶν δ' ἂν οἶμαι κίνδυνον ἡμῶν γενέσθαι.

- 22 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἃ γέ φασι πεπραῆσθαι διὰ Θηβαίους τοῖς 207
Μεγαλοπολίταις ὑπεναντία πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄτοπον νῦν μὲν ἐν
κατηγορίας μέρει ποιεῖσθαι, βουλομένων δὲ γενέσθαι φί-
23 λων αὐτῶν, ἵνα τοῦναντίον εὖ παῶσιν ἡμᾶς, βασκαίνειν
καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται, καὶ μὴ γιγνώ- 5
σκεν ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν σπουδαιοτέρους τούτους περὶ Θηβαίους
γεγενημένους ἀποδείξωσι, τοσούτῳ πλείονος ὀργῆς αὐτοῖς
δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ τοιούτων συμμάχων τὴν πόλιν,
ὅτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς προτέρους ἦλθον ἢ Θηβαίους, ἀπεστέρησαν.
ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ δεύτερον ἀνθρώπων βουλο- 10
24 μένων ἐτέρων ποιῆσαι τούτους συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα,
ὅσα ἂν ἐκ λογισμοῦ σκοπῶν τις εἰκάσαι, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς
οἶμαι ὑμῶν ταῦτα φήσκειν, ὅτι, εἰ λήψονται Μεγάλῃν πόλιν
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κινδυνεύσει Μεσσήνη· εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην
25 λήψονται, φημὶ ἡμᾶς ἔσσεσθαι συμμάχους Θηβαίων. πολὺ 15
δὴ κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τὴν μὲν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν
αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν, τῇ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία μὴ
ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ νῦν ὀκνοῦντας μὴ τοὺς Θηβαίων σώσωμεν
συμμάχους, τούτους μὲν προέσθαι, πάλιν δὲ σώζειν αὐτοὺς

περὶ τούτου] “Malim de Oropo intelligere. Sensus: non hoc solum oppido sed multis aliis periclitabimur.” Schäfer.

ἀλλ' ἐάσω] ‘I will however omit what it had indeed occurred to me to say: but I think we shall be endangered in many respects.’

ὑπεναντία πρὸς ἡμᾶς] Megalopolis was founded under the protection of Thebes, and therefore its inhabitants naturally joined the army of Epaminondas, when he invaded Peloponnesus (B.C. 362), and defeated the Spartans at Mantinea. In this campaign the Athenians, as allies of Sparta, may have suffered from the Megalopolitans as allies of Thebes. Xen. Hell. vii. 5. 5.

Βασκαίνειν] ‘to be censorious, and look for a plea by which they may be rejected.’

τοσούτῳ πλείονος] ‘the more justly would they themselves incur your anger, for depriving the city of such allies when they applied to you before the Thebans.’ By αὐτοὶ are meant those partizans of

Sparta, who had on a previous occasion persuaded the Athenians to reject the solicitations and offers of Megalopolis, and who were again advocating the same policy. The construction τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ . . . ἀπεστέρησαν, is like that of θαυμάζω εἰ, where we might expect ὅτι.

ἐτέρων ποιῆσαι] If the emphasis be laid on ἐτέρων the sense will be plain: ‘but as it appears to me, these are the proceedings of men who wish again to make these persons the allies of others.’

ὅσα ἂν] ‘so far as a man may conjecture by inference and observation.’ Jacobs: ‘so weit man etwas aus Gründen mit Wahrscheinlichkeit muthmassen kann.’

αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν] ‘to adopt of our own accord the alliance of the Thebans.’

ὀκνοῦντας μὴ . . . σώσωμεν] ‘from reluctance to save.’

πάλιν δὲ σώζειν] ‘and have afterwards to save the Thebans themselves.’

τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ προσέτι ἐν φόβῳ καθεστάναι περὶ 20
 26 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἀδεὲς τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνω τῇ
 πόλει, τὸ λαβεῖν Μεγάλῃν πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πάλιν
 γενέσθαι μεγάλους. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τι κακὸν πόλεμον ἀραμένους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 κομίσασθαι τὴν πρότερον οὔσαν ἑαυτοῖς δύναμιν ὧν δ', 25
 ὅτ' ἐκείνην εἶχον, ὠρέγοντο, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἴσως
 εἰδότες ἢ ἐγὼ φοβοῖσθ' ἂν εἰκότως.

27 Ἠδέως δ' ἂν πυθοίμην τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους
 μισεῖν φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πότερα ἐκά- 208
 τεροι μισοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ μισοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ συμ-
 φέροντος ὑμῖν, ἢ ὑπὲρ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ
 δὲ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκάτεροι εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ
 ἐκείνων, οὐδετέροις ὡς μαινομένοις πείθεσθαι προσήκει· εἰ 5
 δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φήσουσι, τί πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ τοὺς ἑτέρους
 28 ἐπαίρουσιν; ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστι Θηβαίους ταπεινούς ποιεῖν
 ἄνευ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάναι, καὶ πολὺ
 γε ῥᾶον· ὡς δ', ἐγὼ πειράσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. ἴσμεν
 ἅπαντες τοῦθ', ὅτι τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες, ἔαν καὶ μὴ βού- 10
 λωνται, μέχρι τοῦ γε αἰσχύνονται μὴ πράττειν, τοῖς δ'
 ἀδικοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦνται φανερώς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τινες
 βλάπτωνται· καὶ τοῦτο λυμαινόμενον πάνθ' εὐρήσομεν,
 καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν οὔσαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν, τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν
 29 τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἀπλῶς. ἵνα τοίνυν μὴ τοῦτο ἐμποδῶν 15

ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς] 'this perhaps you may know better than I do, and therefore have good reason to be alarmed.' By ὑμεῖς, Demosthenes, himself a young man, means his seniors.

φασκόντων] This is of course a stronger word than λεγόντων. Translate: 'those who say and give it out that they hate.' And as he means not that the same people hate both the Lacedaemonians and the Thebans, but some one people and some the other, therefore he afterwards uses ἐκάτεροι and οὐδετέροις.

τί . . . ἐπαίρουσιν;] 'why would they aggrandize either people unduly?'

τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσιν] The reading of the majority of MSS. Dindorf reads τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῖς, from S, as an antithesis to τὰ μὲν δίκαια.

καὶ τοῦτο] 'and this is what we shall

find to mar every thing, and to be the origin of all evils,—namely, the unwillingness to do justice in sincerity.' A maxim which diplomatists and statesmen would find it more advantageous to act upon than any considerations of policy without honesty.

τοῦτο ἐμποδῶν] Justice plainly demanded the restoration of all suppressed nationalities and annihilated cities in Greece; nor could the Thebans, with any consistency, uphold the restoration of the Messenians as an independent power, while they opposed the re-establishment of Thespiae, Orchomenus, and Plataeae, because it would diminish their own power and humble themselves. Demosthenes therefore says, in order that this principle of consistent justice may not prevent the humiliation of Thebes, 'let

- γένηται τῷ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι μικροῦς, τὰς μὲν Θεσπιάς καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατοικίξασθαι φῶμεν δεῖν καὶ συμπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιῶμεν (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια μὴ περιορᾶν πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἐξανεστώσας), τὴν δὲ Μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ τὴν 20 Μεσσήνην μὴ προώμεθα τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ Πλαταιῶν καὶ Θεσπιῶν τὰς οὔσας καὶ κατοικουμένας πόλεις ἀναιρεθείσας περιιδῶμεν. κἂν ᾗ πρόδηλα 30 ταῦτα, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ βουλήσεται παύσασθαι Θηβαίους ἔχοντας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίους 25 ἔξομεν πρὸς ἐκείνα τούτους εἰκότως, ὅταν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἐκείνων κατοίκισιν αὐτοῖς ὀλεθρον φέρειν, εἴτ' ἀνήνυτα 209 πράγματα ἔξομεν αὐτοί· τί γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔσται πέρασ, ὅταν αἰ τὰς μὲν οὔσας πόλεις ἐῶμεν ἀναιρεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀνηρημένας ἀξιῶμεν οἰκίζειν ;
- 31 Λέγουσι τοίνυν οἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες δίκαια λέγειν ὡς 5 δεῖ τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς πρὸς Θηβαίους, εἶπερ ἡμέτεροι βεβαίως ἔσονται σύμμαχοι. οἱ δὲ φασὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἶναι στήλας, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον εἶναι τὸ

us assert the obligation (φῶμεν δεῖν) of restoring the Boeotian towns of Thespieae, Orchomenus, and Plataeae, at the same time that we uphold the independence of Megalopolis and Messene.' On the other hand, the inconsistency of the Thebans is thus complained of in Isocrates (Orat. vi. § 29) by Archidamus: Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῶην ἀναστάτους πεποιήκασι, Μεσσήνην δὲ διὰ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν μέλλουσι κατοικίξειν. By αὐτοῖς are meant the old inhabitants.

τὸν Ὀρχομενόν] The Scholiast on Thucyd. (i. 113) quotes this clause, to show that in Demosthenes Ὀρχομενός is used ἄρσενικῶς, instead of θηλυκῶς, as in Thucydides.

ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει] The Lacedaemonians had announced the principle of the restoration of ancient rights, which involved the re-establishment of Plataeae and Thespieae, a scheme sure to be popular at Athens. But it also was meant to include the resumption of the rights of Sparta over Messenia, and the destruction of Megalopolis,—results manifestly injurious to Athens. Demosthenes therefore warned his countrymen not to let the

pretext of Plataeae and Thespieae blind them to the real objects of her ancient rival.

κἂν ᾗ πρόδηλα ταῦτα] 'and if this be declared as your policy.'

πρὸς ἐκείνα] 'hostile to those other objects,' i. e. the restoration of the towns of Boeotia. By τούτους the Arcadians are meant.

ἀνήνυτα πράγματα] 'interminable troubles.'

τὰς στήλας] It was customary amongst the ancient Greeks to inscribe their treaties on plates and slabs of brass or stone, which so long as the treaties remained in force were carefully preserved in the national temples or other public places. (Thucyd. v. 47. 56) A treaty between the Thebans and the Megalopolitans appears to have been thus recorded, and the opponents of Demosthenes argued that the monuments on which it was inscribed ought to be taken down before Athens entered into alliance with Megalopolis.

αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἶναι] To the demand for removing the monuments, the Megalopolitans replied 'that with them it is not monuments, but it is interest that makes

- ποιούν τὴν φιλίαν, τοὺς δὲ βοηθοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς, τούτους
 32 νομίζειν εἶναι συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' εἰσὶ 10
 τοιοῦτοι, ὡδὶ πως ἔχω. φημὶ δεῖν ἅμα τούτους ἀξιῶν
 καθαιρεῖν τὰς στήλας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄγειν εἰρήνην,
 33 ^{μεῖν} εἰδὼν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλωσι ποιεῖν ὁπότεροι ταῦτα, τότ' ἤδη μετὰ
 τῶν ἐθελόντων ἡμᾶς γίγνεσθαι. εἴτε γὰρ εἰρήνης γιγνο-
 μένης αὐτοῖς οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται ἐτι τῆς Θηβαίων συμμαχίας 15
 ἔξονται, φανεροὶ δῆπου πᾶσιν ἔσονται τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὴν
 Θηβαίων, οὐ τὸ δίκαιον αἰρούμενοι· εἴτε συμμάχους ἡμᾶς
 ἀδόλως τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ποιουμένων μὴ ἐθελήσουσιν
 ἄγειν εἰρήνην οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δῆλοι δῆπου πᾶσιν ἔσον-
 ται οὐχ ἵνα Θεσπιαὶ κατοικισθῶσι μόνον ποιούμενοι τὴν 20
 σπουδὴν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ πολέμου περιεστηκότος Θηβαίοις
 31 τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσωνται. θαυμάζω δ'
 ἐνίων, εἰ τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων συμμάχους εἶναι τοὺς Λακεδαι-
 μονίων ἐχθροὺς φοβοῦνται, εἰ δὲ καταστρέφονται Λακεδαι-
 μονιοὶ τούτους, μηδὲν ἡγούνται φοβερόν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔργῳ 25
 πείραν ἡμῶν δεδωκότος τοῦ χρόνου ὅτι Θηβαῖοι μὲν τού-
 τοις συμμάχοις ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αἰεὶ χρώνται, Λακεδαι- 210
 μονιοὶ δ' ὅτ' εἶχον αὐτοὺς, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο.
- 35 Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἔγωγε κάκεῖνο ἐνθυμείσθαι δεῖν, ὅτι μὴ
 προσδεξαμένων μὲν ὑμῶν τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας, εἰ μὲν
 ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν, ἰσχυροῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις 5
 ἔστω εὐθύς εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δὲ σωθῶσιν ἄρα, ὥς ἤδη τι καὶ
 παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐξέβη, βέβαιοι σύμμαχοι Θηβαίων δικαίως·

friendship." "In this clause," says Mr. Kennedy, "lay the emphasis on οὐκ and on στήλας, and then the reading will express the true sense." This will also at once show the laborious trifling of the commentators upon it. Dobree observes, "olim correxi φασὶν οὐ στήλας ἀλλὰ — delete scholio, quod agnoscit scholiastes, ut ex verbis ejus apparet φησὶ γὰρ μὴ ὑπάρχειν στήλας." On which Dindorf remarks, "aptissimum est quod Dobraeus conjecit." To me it seems altogether uncalled for.

ἐγὼ δ'] 'but granting they are in every respect such as they say (or that such are their views) I am yet of this opinion.'

τότ' ἤδη] 'that then we should forthwith side with those who will.' On ὁπό-
 τεροι Schäfer says "vertendum utri-

cunque: ut sit ὁποτεριοῦν."

εἴτε γάρ] 'for on the one hand, if though peace be secured to them the Megalopolitans shall still cling to the alliance of the Thebans.' A proof of this would be their refusal to pull down the monument recording the treaty.

θαυμάζω δ' ἐνίων] 'but I wonder at this in certain men, that they fear the enemies of the Lacedaemonians being allies of the Thebans, while they think there is nothing to fear should the Lacedaemonians subdue them.'

εἰ μὲν] 'in the event of their being overthrown and broken up into villages.'

ὥς ἤδη τι] 'as indeed before this un-
 hoped for events have happened.'

βέβαιοι σύμμαχοι] The result proved

- ἔσονται ἂν δὲ προσδέξῃσθε, τούτοις μὲν ὑπάρξει ἤδη σωθῆναι δι' ὑμᾶς, τὸ δὲ συμβησόμενον καὶ τὸν τοῦ κινδύνου λογισμὸν μετενεγκόντες σκοπῶμεν ἐπὶ Θηβαίων καὶ 10
- 36 Λακεδαιμονίων. ἔαν μὲν τοίνυν καταπολεμηθῶσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς δεῖ, οὐκ ἔσονται μείζους τοῦ δέοντος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους ἔχοντες ἀντιπάλους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντας· ἔαν δ' ἀνενέγκωσιν ἄρα οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ σωθῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσθενέστεροί γε ἔσονται ἡμῖν 15
- συμμάχων γεγενημένων τῶνδε καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσσωσμένων ὥστε πανταχῇ συμφέρει μῆτε προέσθαι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας μῆτε δι' αὐτοὺς, ἂν ἄρα σωθῶσι, περιγεγονέναι δοκεῖν, μῆτε δι' ἄλλους τινὰς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμᾶς.
- 37 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε 20
- φιλῶν οὐδετέρους οὔτε μισῶν ἰδίᾳ εἶρηκα, ἀλλ' ἂ νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν καὶ παραινῶ μὴ προέσθαι Μεγαλοπολίτας, μηδ' ἄλλον ἀπλῶς μηδένα τῶν ἐλαττόνων τῷ μείζονι.

the wisdom of this remark. From subsequent events it would seem that the Athenians declined to protect the Megalopolitans against Sparta. For we find that Archidamus actually invaded the Megalopolitan territory in B.C. 352—351, with the troops and allies of Sparta, whereupon the Thebans sent a large body of troops to oppose them. Several engagements followed with various and balanced successes, till at last the Lacedaemonians concluded a peace, in which the independence of Megalopolis was either formally recognized or tacitly acknowledged. (Diod. xvi. 37, 38, 39.) But the Arcadian confederacy was alienated from Athens, and when the Megalopolitans were again alarmed at the designs of Sparta, they applied not to Athens, but to Philip, and so afforded him a pretext

for extending the influence of Macedon into and throughout the Peloponnesus. (Grote xi. 281. 421.)

τούτοις μὲν] 'the immediate consequence to them indeed will be their preservation through you, but passing over from them (μετενεγκόντες) let us consider what will happen, and the calculations of danger in the case of the Thebans and Lacedaemonians.' τὸ συμβησόμενον is the object of the participle as well as of the verb σκοπῶμεν.

ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς δεῖ] 'as they ought to be.'

ἔαν δ' ἀνενέγκωσιν] 'but if the Thebans should after all recover and come off safe,' i. e. from the defeats in the Phocian war referred to in § 20 by τοῦ πολέμου τοῦτου.

ON THE TREATY WITH ALEXANDER.

THIS oration, though published in most of the editions of Demosthenes, is almost universally admitted to be spurious, on the ground both of ancient testimony and internal evidence. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Adm.* vi. *Demosth.* p. 1127) includes it among the *ψευδεπίγραφοι*, and Libanius in his *Argument* observes that the style is more like that of Hyperides than Demosthenes. In support of this opinion he quotes the words *νεόπλουτοι* and *βδελυρεύσεται*, which are not found in any other oration. On the other hand the Scholiast known as Ulpian asserts that it was attributed to Hegesippus. The French translator, Auger, thus expresses himself on the subject: "Quoique ce discours se trouve dans les oeuvres de Démosthène, tous les critiques s'accordent à dire qu'il n'est pas de Démosthène. Je suis très fort de leur avis. Je n'y trouve point cette véhémence et cette rapidité de style, cette netteté, cette clarté lumineuse, cette profondeur dans les idées, qui caractérisent Démosthène." The subject-matter of it is very simple. It purports to be an address to the Athenian people, exhorting them to renounce the supremacy of Alexander king of Macedon, and the treaty which they and the other states of Greece had recently entered into with him. The writer alleges that Alexander had in several instances which he specifies violated this treaty, and that consequently the Athenians were no longer bound by it, but rather were called upon to declare war against him. To us, knowing as we do from history the power and the genius of Alexander, such advice, if honestly given, seems little short of madness, and is utterly inconsistent with the prudence and foresight of Demosthenes as exhibited in more than one of his speeches. He did indeed persuade the Athenians (*Diod.* xvii. 8) to vote an alliance with Thebes when that city revolted from Macedonia not long after Alexander's accession to the throne, and when he was

reported to, have been defeated and slain by the Triballi (Servia); but this futile attempt was immediately crushed, and Thebes itself razed to the ground by the conqueror (B.C. 335). It may also be observed that, if Demosthenes had really given such advice, we might have expected some allusion to it in the subsequent Speech on the Crown (B.C. 330), where, notwithstanding, there is not even a remark upon it. Mr. Grote (xii. 22) however thinks there is no reason for doubting that it is "a genuine oration of one of the contemporary orators," and he accordingly assumes that its statements are historically true, as indeed they seem to be. But whoever was the author, it cannot be supposed that any Athenian of note would have dared to make such a speech, either while Alexander was in Greece immediately after his destruction of Thebes, or after his successes in Asia. We must therefore infer that, if delivered at all, its date was early in B.C. 355, before the taking of Thebes, and not many months after the convention with Alexander. That he was not in Asia at the time, is implied by the words *ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἔχων περιέρχεται*, in § 20. (Böhnecke, *Forschungen*, p. 629.)

XVII.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ 211 ΣΥΝΘΗΚΩΝ.

B.C. 335.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνης καταγαγόντος εἰς Μεσσήνην τοὺς Φιλιάδου τοῦ τυράννου παῖδας, αἰτιάται παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας εἶναι τοῦτο τὰς παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἑλλησι γενομένας παραβεβηκέναι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τὰς συνθήκας φησὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ταῦτα παραινεί. ὁ δὲ λόγος ψευδεπίγραφος εἶναι δοκεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ὑπερίδου χαρακτήρι μᾶλλον προσχωρεῖ, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ λέξεις τινὰς ἔχει κατ' ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον εἰρημένας ἢ τὸν Δημοσθένην, οἷον νεόπλουτοι καὶ βδελυρεύσεται.

* Ἀξίον ἀποδέχεσθαι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρα τῶν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις διακελευομένων ἐμμένειν, εἴπερ αὐτὸ πεπεισμένοι ποιούσιν· οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτω τοῖς δημοκρατουμένοις πρέπειν ὥς περὶ τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδάζειν. δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς λίαν ἐπ' αὐτὸ παρα- 5 καλοῦντας μὴ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ καταχρωμένους ἐνοχλεῖν, 212

ἀποδέχεσθαι . . . σφόδρα] 'to give a cordial assent to.' This usage of ἀποδέχομαι with a genitive is not uncommon in Plato.

ταῖς συνθήκαις] Agreed to at Corinth by Alexander and the deputies of the Grecian states, Sparta excepted, B.C. 335. The terms of the convention are described in this oration, and they were probably not very unlike those accepted from Philip after the battle of Chaeroneia, B.C.

358. Diod. xvi. 89; xvii. 4. Grote xii. 17.

πεπεισμένοι] 'from conviction.'

μὴ τῷ : . . ἐνοχλεῖν] 'not to weary you by harping upon the theory, while their practice is in all respects the contrary, but submitting now to the discussion, either to have you for the future under their direction in such matters, or to retire and leave you to advisers who enunciate truer principles about justice.'

- 2 πάντα δὲ μᾶλλον πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντας νυνὶ τὸν
ἐξετασμὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πειθομένους ὑμᾶς ἔχειν περὶ
αὐτῶν, ἢ παραχωρήσαντας ἔαν συμβουλευέιν τοὺς ἀληθέ-
στερα περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀποφαινομένους, ἢ ἡ ἐκόντες 5
ἀδικοῦμενοι ἀνέχησθε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίζεσθε τῷ ἀδι-
κούντι, ἢ προελόμενοι περὶ πλείστου ποιήσασθαι τὸ δί-
καιον ἀνεγκλήτως πρὸς ἅπαντας χρήσθε τῷ συμφέροντι,
3 μηκέτι μέλλοντες. ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν καὶ τῶν
ὅρκων σκεψαμένους τῶν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἔξεστιν 10
ἰδεῖν ἤδη τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ παραβεβηκότες. ὥς δὲ περὶ μεγά-
λων συντόμως διδάξω.
- 4 Εἰ δὴ τις ἐρωτήσκειν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπὶ τίνι
ἂν μάλιστ' ἀγανακτήσαιτε, εἴποιτ' ἂν οἶμαι πάντες,
εἴ τις ἀναγκάζοι, εἰ ἦσαν κατὰ τὸν νυνὶ χρόνον οἱ 15
Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ τις ἐβιάζετο κατάγειν αὐτοὺς δευρὶ,
ἀρπάσαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς τὰ ὄπλα πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομείναι
ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδέξασθαι ἢ πεισθέντας γε δουλεύειν ἀντὶ
τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ τὸν μὲν
οἰκέτην οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς δὲ τυραννοῦ- 20
μένους ἀκρίτους ἔστιν ὁρᾶν ἀπολλυμένους ἅμα καὶ ὑβρι-
5 ζομένους εἰς παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας. παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους
τοῖνυν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ εἰρήνῃ γεγραμ-

αὐτὸ τοῦτο] 'and allow the wrong-doer this very gratification,' i. e. of seeing you patiently submit to injustice.

ἢ . . . ἀνεγκλήτως] 'or consult your own interest without reproach in the sight of all men.' The author means that duty as well as interest dictated a rupture with Alexander. But the vagueness and tameness of the whole sentence from *δεῖ τοῖνυν* το μηκέτι μέλλοντες are quite unlike Demosthenes.

τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης] Of B.C. 356. So that the speech is of later date.

ὥς δὲ περὶ μεγάλων] 'and in what important matters I will concisely inform you.' Reiske, on the other hand: 'Dobeco vos breviter, ut de rebus magnis, h. e. ea brevitate, quae locum habet in tanta argumenti amplitudine.' The Greek admits of both interpretations, though perhaps Reiske's version would be better adapted for *βραχέως* than *συντόμως*.

εἴ τις ἀναγκάζοι] The natural sequence of construction would be τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας παραδέξασθαι, but this is interrupted by the clause εἰ ἦσαν κ.τ.λ., and then the remainder of the sentence is modified so as to correspond with it. Dindorf, partly following the Codex S, removes the irregularity of construction by reading, Εἰ δὴ τις ἐρωτήσκειν . . . εἴποιτ' ἂν πάντες, εἴ τις ἀναγκάζοι. οἶμαι δ', εἰ ἦσαν κ.τ.λ. But the text as it stands is really what might have been expected from an orator in a speech. The correction is that of a critic revising it. Before εἰ ἦσαν we may with Mr. Kennedy insert 'I mean.'

ἀρπάσαντας ἂν . . . ἢ πεισθέντας] 'you would snatch up your arms and brave every danger rather than receive them, or submitting you would be slaves like those bought for money, nay, so much worse, inasmuch as, &c.'

μένας Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Μεσσήνην καταγαγὼν τοὺς Φιλιάδου
 παῖδας, ὄντας τυράννους, ἂρ' ἐφρόντισε τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλ' 25
 οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ αὐτοῦ ἔθει τῷ τυραννικῷ, βραχὺ φροντί-
 6 σας ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ὁμολογίας; οὐ δὴ δεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις 213
 ὑμᾶς ταῦτα βιάζοιτο, μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἐτέρωθί
 που γέγανε παρὰ τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὄρκους, μὴ φυλάξασθαι,
 καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν διακελεύεσθαι τινὰς ἐνταυθὶ ἐμμένειν τοῖς
 ὄρκοις, τοῖς δ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω περιβοήτῳ ἀννηρηκόσι κατα- 5
 7 λείπειν ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷόν τε ταυθ' οὕτως
 ἔχειν, ἐὰν βούλησθε τῷ δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι
 προσγέγραπται ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις πολέμιον εἶναι τὸν
 ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ποιοῦντα ἅπασιν τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης
 κοινωνοῦσι, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπ' 10
 αὐτὸν ἅπαντας. οὐκοῦν ἐὰν ποιῶμεν τὰ συγκείμενα, πο-
 8 λεμίῳ χρησόμεθα τῷ καταγαγόντι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἶποιεν ἂν
 οἱ τυραννίζοντες οὗτοι ὅτι πρὶν τὰς συνθήκας γενέσθαι
 ἐτυράννουσαν Μεσσηνίων οἱ Φιλιάδου παῖδες· διὸ καὶ κατά-
 γειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ καταγέλαστος ὁ λόγος, 15
 τοὺς μὲν ἐκ Λέσβου τυράννους, οἷον ἐξ Ἀντίσσης καὶ
 Ἑρέσου, ἐκβαλεῖν ὡς ἀδικήματος ὄντος τοῦ πολιτεύματος,
 τοὺς πρὸ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τυραννήσαντας, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνῃ
 μηδὲν οἶεσθαι διαφέρειν, τῆς αὐτῆς δυσχερείας ὑπαρ-
 9 χούσης. ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπιτάττει ἡ συνθήκη εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ 20
 ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἕλληνας διὸ καὶ
 πῶς οὐχ ὑπεράτοπον ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τῶν συνθηκῶν τὸ αὐτο-
 νόμους εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθέρους, τὸν δ' εἰς δουλείαν ἀγαγόντα
 μὴ οἶεσθαι τὰναντία ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις διαπεπρᾶχθαι;
 οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴπερ 25
 τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐμμενοῦμεν καὶ τὰ δίκαια 214

τοὺς Φιλιάδου παῖδας] Neon and Thra-
 sylochus, mentioned as Messenian traitors
 in the De Cor. § 365. Philicides had been
 tyrant of Messene in the time of Philip,
 and is called by Demosthenes (l. c.) ὁ
 θεοὺς ἐχθρός.

περιβοήτως] 'flagrantly.'
 τυραννίζοντες] "Rarior vox, sed quam
 frustra firmes auctoritate Demosthenis."
 Schäfer. Translate: 'these supporters
 of tyranny.'

μηδὲν . . . ὑπαρχούσης] 'to think it a
 matter of indifference though the same
 grievance exists there.'

ὑπεράτοπον] A rare word, if indeed it
 occurs elsewhere. I can find no in-
 stance of it in Demosthenes, nor is it com-
 mon to have a preposition before a pri-
 vative.

ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν] 'for it to be the leading
 point in the agreement.'

- ποιήσομεν, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦσι, καθάπερ ἄρτι εἶπον, λαβοῦσι τὰ ὅπλα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς παραβεβηκότας
 10 μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων. ἣ νομίζετε τὸν μὲν καιρὸν ποτ' ἰσχύειν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ δικαίου τὸ συμφέρον πράττειν· νυνὶ δ' 5
 ὅτ' εἰς ταῦτ' ὁ δίκαιον ἅμα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνδεδράμηνεν, ἄλλον ἄρα τινὰ χρόνον ἀναμενεῖτε τῆς ἰδίας ἐλευθερίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀντιλαβέσθαι ;
 11 Ἐπ' ἄλλο δὲ δίκαιον ἔρχομαι τῶν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας. 10
 ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἕάν τινες τὰς πολιτείας τὰς παρ' ἐκάστοις οὔσας, ὅτε τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὤμνυσαν, καταλύσωσι, πολεμίους εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς
 12 εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν. σκέψασθε δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι Ἀχαιοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐδημοκρατοῦντο, τού- 15
 των δ' ἐν Πελλάγη νῦν καταλέλυκε τὸν δῆμον ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκβαλὼν τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς πλείστους, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων τοῖς οἰκέταις δέδωκε, Χαίρωνά δὲ τὸν παλαιστὴν τύραννον
 13 ἐγκατέστησεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχομεν τῆς προσ-
 τατούσης πολεμίους ἡγείσθαι τοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντας. 20
 ἐκ δὴ τούτων πότερον πειθώμεθα τοῖς κοινοῖς προστάγμασι, πολεμίους αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ἣ βδελυρεύσεται τις οὐ φάσκων, τούτων τῶν μισθοφορούντων παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, τῶν καθ' ὑμῶν πεπλουτηκότων ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ λήληθέ
 14 γε αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν τούτων· ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἤκουσιν 25
 ὥστε δορυφορούμενοι τοῖς τοῦ τυράννου στρατοπέδοις ἐν μὲν τοῖς παραβεβῆσμένοις ὅρκοις ἐμμένειν ὑμῖν διακελεύ- 215
 ονται, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτορκίας αὐτοκράτορος ὄντος ἐκείνου,

ἣ νομίζετε] 'or think you that opportunity has sometimes such power as to carry out expediency even without right?' i. e. opportunity prompts and dictates it. The opportunity was afforded by the absence of the Macedonian troops in Asia.

Ἐπ' ἄλλο δέ] 'But I will proceed to another of the obligations under the articles.'

οἱ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ] There were other Achaeans in Phthiotis the south-eastern district of Thessaly, called Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται. Müller, Dorians, Appen. vii. § 4.

τούτων δ'] 'and among them.'

τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχομεν] 'are parties to the peace.'

ἐκ δὴ τούτων] 'this then being the case.'

βδελυρεύσεται τις] 'will any one brazen it out and say no?' In the Knights of Aristophanes the epithet βδελυρός is often applied to Cleon, as in v. 303: ὦ μαρὰ καὶ βδελυρὲ καὶ κατακεκράκτα, τοῦ σου θράσους πᾶσα μὲν γῆ πλέα, *guard* *by* *the* *armies* *of* *the* *tyrant*.' A phrase, as it seems to me, by no means Demosthenic.

ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτορκίας] 'as if he were an absolute lord of perjury also,' or with

- τοὺς δ' ἰδίους ὑμᾶς νόμους ἀναγκάζουσι λύειν, τοὺς μὲν
 κεκριμένους ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀφιέντες, ἕτερα δὲ παμ-
 15 πληθῇ τοιαῦτα βιαζόμενοι παρανομεῖν. εἰκότως τοῖς γὰρ 5
 πεπρακόσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τἀναντία τοῖς τῇ πατρίδι συμ-
 φέρουσιν οὐκ ἐνὶ μέλει νόμων οὐδ' ὀρκων τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασιν
 αὐτῶν μόνοις ἀποχρώμενοι παρακρούονται τοὺς παρέργως
 ἐνταυθί, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξεταστικῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντας, καὶ νομί-
 ζοντας τὴν παραυτίκα ἡσυχίαν οὐκ ἔσεσθαί ποτ' αἰτίαν 10
 16 παραχῆς ἀτόπου. κελεύω δ' ἔγωγε, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ προ-
 εῖπον, πείθεσθαι τούτοις τοῖς φάσκουσι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς
 ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένειν, εἰ μὴ ἐκείνο νομίζουσιν, ὅταν μὲν
 λέγωσιν ὡς ἐμμενετέον τοῖς ὀρκοῖς, οὐ λέγειν αὐτοὺς τὸ
 μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, οὐδένα δ' οἶονται αἰσθῆσθαι τυραννί- 15
 δων ἀντὶ δημοκρατιῶν καθισταμένων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν
 καταλυομένων.
- 17 Τὸ δ' ἔτι καταγελαστότερον ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇς συνθή-
 καῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ
 κοινῇ φυλακῇ τεταγμένους, ὅπως ἐν ταῖς κοινωνούσαις 20
 πόλεσι τῆς εἰρήνης μὴ γίνωνται θάνατοι καὶ φυγαὶ παρὰ
 τοὺς κειμένους ταῖς πόλεσι νόμους, μηδὲ χρημάτων δημεύ-
 σεις, μηδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμοὶ, μηδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί, μηδὲ
 18 δούλων ἀπελευθερώσεις ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ. οἱ δὲ τοσούτου
 δέουσι τούτων τι κωλύειν ὥστε καὶ συγκατασκευάζουσιν, 25
 οὓς πῶς οὐ προσήκει ἀπολωλέναι; οἱ τηλικαύτας συμφο-

Leland, 'as if he had the prerogative of perjury also.'

ἀφιέντες] In p. 20, *καθίει* is marked with the penult long. But Homer makes the *i* short, as in Il. ii. 774: Δίσκεισι τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέρισιν ἰέντες.

τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασι] 'making use of their names alone they impose upon those who assemble here as an amusement, but not for investigation.'

εἰ μὴ ἐκείνο] 'unless when they say that we ought to abide by the oaths, they hold the opinion that these oaths do not forbid every act of injustice, and imagine that no one will feel the establishment of tyrannies instead of democracies, and the overthrow of constitutions.'

Τὸ δ' ἔτι] 'And now for what is still more absurd.'

τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας] 'the members of the Congress, and those appointed to watch over the general safety' (v.c. 355).

χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί] 'abolitions of debts,' the *novae tabulae* of the Romans, though strictly speaking ἀποκοπή means a reduction of debts such as Solon effected by his *σεισάχθεια*, or 'disburdening ordinance' at Athens. Plutarch (in vit. c. 15) tells us that the Athenian habit of ὑποκορισμός or euphemism by which they called τὰς μὲν πόρνας, ἐταῖρας, τοὺς δὲ φόρους συντάξεις, φυλακὰς δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν πόλεων, οἶκημα δὲ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, was πρώτον Σόλωνος, ὡς εἰκε, σόφισμα τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν *σεισάχθειαν* ὀνομάσαντος. So Pistol, in Shakspeare's 'Merry Wives,' objects to the plain word stealing: 'convey the wise it call.'

ρὰς παρασκευάζουσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἅς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος 216 αὐτοῖς τοσούτοις οὖσι μὴ περιορᾶν ἐπέταξαν.

- 19 Ἔτι δ' ἕτερον δείξω τὸ λευκὸς τὰς συνθήκας. ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινωνουσῶν τῆς εἰρήνης μὴ ἐξεῖναι φυγάδας ὁρμήσαντας ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν 5 ἐπὶ πολέμῳ μηδεμιᾷ πόλει τῶν μετεχουσῶν τῆς εἰρήνης· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔκσπονδον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἂν ὁρμήσωσιν.
- 20 οὕτω τοίνυν ῥαδίως τὰ ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκεν ὁ Μακεδὼν ὥστ' οὐδὲ κατέθετο πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχων περιέρχεται καθ' ὅσον δύναται, τοσούτῳ δὲ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, 10 ὅσῳ ἐκ προστάγματος ἄλλους τε ἐτέρωθι καὶ τὸν παιδο-τρίβην εἰς Σικυῶνα κατήγαγεν. οὐκοῦν εἰ δεῖ πείθεσθαι ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις, καθάπερ οὗτοί φασιν, ἔκσπονδοι
- 21 ἡμῖν εἰσὶν αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις αἱ ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένα. εἰ μὲν οὖν δεῖ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τάληθῇ, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι 15 εἰσὶν αἱ Μακεδονικαί· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀνιάσιν οἱ καθ' ὑμῶν τῷ Μακεδόνι ὑπηρεταὶ προστάττοντες· πράττειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις,* πεισθῶμεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δίκαια λέγουσι, καὶ καθάπερ κελεύει ὁ ὅρκος, ἔκσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες βουλευσώμεθα πῶς δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς δεσπο- 20 τικῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς διακειμένοις, καὶ διὰ τέλους τὰ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσι, τὰ δὲ πράττουσι, καὶ καταγελῶσι τῆς
- 22 κοινῆς εἰρήνης. διὰ τί γὰρ οὐ φήσουσιν οὗτοι δεῖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν; ἢ τὴν μὲν ὁμολογίαν τὴν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οὕσαν βεβαίαν ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σώζουσιν οὐ συγ- 25 χωροῦσιν; ἄρά γε δοκεῖ δίκαια γίνεσθαι; καὶ μὲν τι ἢ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις, τοῦτο 217

ἐπέταξαν] The subject is αἱ συνθήκαι, or αἱ πόλεις suggested by ἐν τοῖς πόλεσι. By αὐτοῖς τοσούτοις οὖσι are meant all the members of the Congress, &c. τοὺς συνεδρεῖοντας καὶ . . . τεταγμένους. ἅς ἐπέταξαν . . . Mr. Kennedy translates, 'which (because they are so grievous) the whole body were commissioned to prevent.'

ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν] 'to advance in arms with a hostile purpose against any of the cities who are parties to the peace.'

οὕτω τοίνυν ῥαδίως] 'with so much levity then,' or 'with so little scruple.'

Comp. τὰχ' οὖν παρ' ὑμῶν ῥάδιον ξενοκτονεῖν, Eurip. Hec. 1247. Bekker reads κείνηκεν for ἐπήνεγκεν.

τὸν παιδοτρίβην] 'The training-master.' Comp. § 12: τὸν παλαιστὴν τύραννον ἐγκατέστησεν.

οἱ καθ' ὑμῶν . . . ὑπηρεταί] For οἱ ὑπηρετοῦντες, otherwise the natural construction would be τοῦ Μακεδόνα.

ἐκσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες] 'declaring them to be excluded from the treaty, let us then consult how we ought to treat those who behave in a despotic and offensive way.'

μὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀεὶ ποιήσουσιν· ἐὰν δέ τι ὑμέτερον ἢ κατ' ἐκείνων ἅμα δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον, πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ διαμαχομένους οὐδέποτε παύσασθαι οἰήσονται δεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ;

- 23 Ἴνα δ' εἰδῆτε ἔτι σαφέστερον ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν ἐγκαλέσει ποτὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὥς ἄρα παρέβητέ τι τῶν κοινῇ ὁμολογηθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν ἔξουσιν ὅτι μόνοι ἐξηλέγξατε τοὺς ταῦτα ποιούντας, μικρὰ ἐπιδραμοῦμαι περὶ αὐτῶν
24 πολλῶν ὄντων. ἔστι γὰρ δήπου ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν αὐτοὺς μηδὲ κατάγειν πλοῖον μηδένα τούτων· ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῇ, πολέμιον εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς
25 εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν. οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐναργέστατα ἴστε τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων γεγενημένον· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ παρανομίας ἦλθον ὥστε εἰς Τένεδον
ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοῖα κατήγαγον, καὶ σκευωρούμενοι περὶ αὐτὰ οὐ πρότερον ἀφείσαν, πρὶν ὑμεῖς ἐψηφίσασθε τριήρεις ἑκατὸν πληροῦν καὶ καθέλκειν εὐθύς
26 τότε, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐτάξατε Μενεσθέα. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον τοσαῦτα μὲν εἶναι καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὰ ἡμερ-
τημένα ἐτέροις, τοὺς δ' ἐνταῦθα φίλους αὐτῶν μὴ ἐκείνους ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν ἐμμένειν τοῖς οὕτως ὠλιγωρημένοις ; ὥσπερ καὶ τούτου
προσγεγραμμένου, τοῖς μὲν ἐξεῖναι πλημμελεῖν, τοῖς δὲ
27 μὴδ' ἀμύνεσθαι. πῶς δ' οὐχ ἅμα τε παρενόμουν ἐκεῖνοι
καὶ ἀναίσθητοι ἦσαν, οἳ γε τηλικούτον παρέβησαν τῶν

πρὸς τοῦτο δέ] This particle (δέ) is here, as often, used in the apodosis of a sentence.

ἐξηλέγξατε] 'you alone have exposed those who act in this way.'

κατάγειν πλοῖον] To force a vessel into harbour, or any place. See note on this phrase, p. 127, de Pace, § 25.

ἐναργέστατα ἴστε] Dindorf has ἐωράκατε, a preferable reading if there were MSS. authority for it.

σκευωρούμενοι] 'making pretences.'

πρὶν . . . ἐψηφίσασθε] Bekker, with several MSS. reads πρὶν οὐ, which is certainly not Greek, and seems to have been suggested by οὐ πρότερον.

Μενεσθέα] A son of Iphicrates ; he

seems to be mentioned as of the township of Rhamnus, and a Trierarch, in Böckh's *Urkunden* x. 101, b.

οἳ γε τηλικούτον] 'who have transgressed the oaths, in a matter of such importance, that it was within a little of causing them to be deprived, as they deserved, of their supremacy by sea.' When Alexander was by the act of Congress appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, the supremacy of the sea, as well as land, was formally conferred upon him. But this maritime supremacy, the writer asserts, he was near losing, from the folly of the Macedonians in provoking reprisals by the superior naval forces of Athens.

ὄρκων, ὃ παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι
 δικαίως τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίαν ; καὶ νῦν ἔτι παρα-
 δεδώκασι τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἀνεγκλήτως ἡμῖν, ὅταν βου- 218
 ληθῶμεν πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἐπαύσατο ἀμαρτάνοντες,
 28 ἥττόν τι δήπου παραβεβήκασι τὰς κοινὰς ὁμολογίας. ἀλλ'
 εὐτυχούσιν, ὅτι ἐναποχρῶνται τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ῥαθυμίᾳ τῇ
 οὐδὲ τῶν δικαίων ἀπολαύειν προαιρουμένην. ὃ δὲ ὑβριστι- 5
 κώτατον συμβέβηκεν, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρ-
 βαροι ἅπαντες τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν φοβοῦνται, οὗτοι δ'
 οἱ νεόπλουτοι μόνον καταφρονεῖν ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγ-
 κάζουσι, τὰ μὲν πείθοντες, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐν
 Ἀβδηρίταις ἢ Μαρωνείταις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πολί- 10
 29 τευόμενοι. καὶ ἅμα μὲν μικρὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα
 ποιοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρὰ, ἅμα δὲ λανθάνουσιν
 ἑαυτοὺς ἀνυπόστατον τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, δια-
 κελευόμενοι τὸ δίκαιον οὐ δικαίως διαφυλάττειν, ὥς τῷ
 συμφέροντί γε προεδομένην χρῆσθαι κρατεῖν ἂν τῶν πολε- 15
 30 μίων ῥαδίως δυνηθεῖσαν. εἰκότως δ' αὐτὸ πεπόνθασιν
 ἕως γὰρ ἂν ἐξῇ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ μόνων ἀναμφισ-
 βητήτως εἶναι κυρίους, τοῖς γε κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τῇ ὑπαρ-

καὶ νῦν ἔτι] 'and even now as it is
 they have furnished us with this justifi-
 cation beyond question, whenever we may
 desire to act.'

ἀλλ' εὐτυχοῦσιν] 'but they are fortu-
 nate in profiting by your indolence, which
 has not the resolution to take advantage
 even of its rights.'

ὃ δὲ ὑβριστικώτατον] The old reading
 was ὃ καί, for which Schäfer has with
 good reason substituted ὃ δέ. Translate:
 'But the most outrageous thing of all is,
 that while all other men, Greeks and
 foreigners, all fear your enmity, these up-
 starts alone compel you to despise your-
 selves.' Mr. Kennedy observes that
 'νεόπλουτοι (*les nouveaux-riches*, as the
 French say) seems a very good word.'

Ἀβδηρίταις] Abdera and Maroneia
 were cities in Thrace, the former noted
 for the stupidity of its inhabitants, al-
 though the birth-place of Democritus the
 celebrated philosopher.

ἅμα δέ] 'and at the same time with-
 out perceiving it they acknowledge that

the city is irresistible, by urging you to
 observe justice in an unjust way, as though
 it would easily be able to master its ene-
 mies if only it determined to consult its
 own interests.'

τὸ δίκαιον οὐ δικαίως] Mr. Kennedy
 observes, "because they recommend that
 the Athenians should observe the treaty,
 and the Macedonians be allowed to break
 it."

ἕως γὰρ ἂν] 'for as long as we can
 remain indisputably masters of the sea,
 though of nothing else, we may, in addi-
 tion to our existing force, find other de-
 fences still stronger for the land, espe-
 cially if by some good fortune these men
 were put down who are now guarded by
 the armies of the tyrant.' For μόνων
 Dindorf reads μόνους; and προβολὰς is a
 correction from Harpocration s. v. for
 προσβολὰς. He explains it thus: προ-
 βολὰς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλείας ἐκ πόλεων, ἢ
 τειχῶν, ἢ τινων ἄλλων δυναμέων ἐπὶ σω-
 τηρίᾳ καὶ κράτει γιγνομένων.

χοῦσῃ δυνάμει ἔστι προβολὰς ἐτέρας ἰσχυροτέρας εὐρέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ πεπαυμένων ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τῶν δορυφορουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν τυραννικῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ ἐξεληλεγμένων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ὄντων.

- 31 Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προ-
 ειρημένοις ὁ Μακεδὼν τηλικούτον παρέβη· τὸ δὲ ὑβρι- 25
 στικώτατον καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτατον τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸ πρῶην
 γεγενημένον ἐστὶ, τὸ τολμῆσαι εἰσπλεύσαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ 219
 παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκας. καὶ τοῦτο,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐχ ὅτι μία τριήρης ἦν, μικρὸν ὑπο-
 ληπτέον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπόπειρα ἐγένετο, εἰ περιοψόμεθα, ἵνα
 μετὰ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται τοῦτο πράττειν, καὶ ὅτι 5
 οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν τῶν κοινῶν δογμάτων, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τῶν
 32 προειρημένων. ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε τοῦτο παράδυσις ἦν κατὰ μικρὸν
 καὶ ἐθισμὸς τοῦ ἀνέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τοὺς τοιούτους εἰσπλους,
 κακείθεν δῆλον· τὸ γὰρ τὸν τότε ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς εἰσπλεύ-
 σαντα, ὃν ἔδει εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς τριήρους ὑφ' ὧν ἀπο- 10
 λωλέναι, αἰτεῖσθαι ναυπηγήσασθαι μικρὰ πλοῖα ἐν τοῖς
 ἡμετέροις λιμέσι, πῶς οὐ καταφανὲς ποιεῖ ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ
 εἰσπλεῖν τὸ εὐθὺς ἔνδον εἶναι ἐμχανῶντο; καὶ εἰ λεπτὰ
 πλοῖα ὑπομενούμεν, ὀλίγον ὕστερον καὶ τριήρεις· καὶ εἰ τὸ
 33 πρῶτον ὀλίγας, μικρῶ ὕστερον πολλάς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔστι γε 15

Τὸ μὲν οὖν] 'So great an offence then in the matter of the ships has the Macedonian committed.'

ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπόπειρα] 'but you must consider that it was an experiment to try whether we would permit it, and that they disregarded (this article of) the convention just as they did those already mentioned.' Or, literally with Mr. Kennedy, "They (in so doing) disregarded the common articles, just as they disregarded the articles before mentioned." Schäfer observes, "Tenor orationis docet τὰ κοινὰ δόγματα sensu speciali ea intelligenda esse, quibus triremes Macedoniae (fortasse etiam ceterorum Graecorum) vetarentur Piraeum ingredi." Böhnecke, Forschungen, &c. p. 623, is of the same opinion; but it is more likely that the particular case was included under a general prohibition, by which the armed

vessels of each power were forbidden to enter the harbours of all the rest. See Grote xii. 19, note 4.

ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε] 'for that this indeed was a creeping in by degrees, and meant to accustom you to submit to such entries into your harbour, is evident from this also.'

πῶς οὐ καταφανές] 'how does it not show, that their contrivance was, instead of sailing in, to be inside at once,' i. e. their design was not to sail in for the purpose of ship-building, but to get and occupy the post at once for ulterior objects. If ship-building had been their real object, they might have waited to ask permission.

οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔστι] 'for surely it is not possible to say (that they did this) because timber for ship-building is abundant at Athens, where it is imported from a

- εἰπεῖν ὡς Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἀφθόνων ὄντων τῶν ναυπηγησίμων
 ξύλων, τῶν πόρρωθεν καὶ μόλις εἰσκομιζομένων, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 Μακεδονίᾳ ἐπιλελοιπότην, τῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς βουλο-
 μένοις εὐτελέστατα καθισταμένη, ἀλλ' ὥροντο ἅμα τε ναυ- 20
 πηγῆσεσθαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ πληρώσεσθαι ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῷ
 προειρημένῳ, ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις διειρημένου μηδὲν
 34 τοιοῦτον εἰσδέχεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξέσται ἐπὶ πλέον αἰ
 ποιεῖν· οὕτω πάντοθεν καταπεφρονηκότως ἐκεῖνοι τῇ πόλει
 χρῶνται διὰ τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν διδασκάλους τοὺς ὑπαγορεύοντας 25
 αὐτοῖς ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν. οὕτω δὲ κατεγνώκασιν μετὰ τούτων
 ἀδιήγητόν τινα τῆς πόλεως ἑκλύσιν καὶ μαλακίαν, καὶ οὔτε 220
 πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων εἶναι, οὔτε λογισμὸν οὐδένα
 παραγίνεσθαι τίνα τρόπον χρήται ὁ τύραννος ταῖς κοιναῖς
 ὁμολογίαις.
- 35 Αἷς ἐγὼ διακελεύομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πείθεσθαι, 5
 καθάπερ ἐδίδαξα, καὶ διεβεβαιωσάμην ἂν, ὡς τοῦθ' ἡλι-
 κίας ἔχων, ἅμα καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἡμᾶς ἀνεγκλήτως καὶ τοῖς
 καιροῖς ἀσφαλέστατα χρῆσθαι, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον κατ-
 επείγουσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσγέγραπται ταῖς συνθήκαις,
 36 ἐὰν βουλώμεθα τῆς κοῦνης εἰρήνης μετέχειν· τὸ δ' ἐὰν 10

distance and with trouble, but scarce in Macedonia, which supplies it at the cheapest rate even to others who wish to buy it.' *Καθιστάει τὴν τιμὴν* 'to fix the market price.' So Dionys. § 9: *συνιστὰς τὰς τιμὰς*, 'running up the prices,' and § 10: *πρὸς τὰς καθεστηκυίας τιμὰς*, 'according to the market prices.'

διειρημένον] 'though there is an express stipulation not to allow any thing of the sort.'

καὶ ταῦτα] 'and the liberty to do these things will go on continually increasing.' For *ἐξέσται* Dindorf reads *ἐξέσεσθαι* as if dependent on *ῥοντο*, but without MSS. authority.

οὕτω δέ] 'and thus have they in common with these men contemptuously supposed the city to be labouring under some inexpressible feebleness and imbecility, and that neither has she any forethought for the future, not does it ever occur to her to reflect how the tyrant observes the common agreements.'

καθάπερ ἐδίδαξα] 'as I have shown and might have insisted at such an age as

mine, that you should at the same time exercise your rights without question, and use without any danger the opportunities which urge you to your advantage." Mr. Kennedy thus: "That treaty I exhort you to obey in such a manner as I explained, insisting under the privilege of my age that you might," &c. He connects *ἂν* with *χρῆσθαι*, an objection to which is the interposition of *ὡς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας ἔχων*. Dindorf without authority reads *διεβεβαιωσάμην ἂν*.

τὸ δ' ἐὰν βουλώμεθα] 'and this "if we will" means also the opposite, namely, if we ever *shall* cease from shamefully following others, and forgetting altogether every one of those honours, which we have had from the most ancient time in greater numbers, and a higher degree than any other men.' Such, or something similar, appears to be the only possible translation of the text; but it is very unsatisfactory. If correct, Schäfer's note may help to explain it. He writes: "Quid est contrarium liberae voluntatis? Nimirum necessitas. Hoc vero contra-

βουλόμεθα ἐστὶν ἅμα καὶ ποῦναίτιον, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δεῖ παύσασθαι αἰσχυρῶς ἑτέροις ἀκολοθοῦντας, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἀναμνησθῆναι μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχαιοτάτου καὶ πλείστων καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν. ἔαν οὖν κελεύητε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γράψω, 15 καθάπερ αἱ συνθήκαι κελεύουσι, πολεμεῖν τοῖς παραβεβηκόσιν.

rium sequitur continuo: εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δεῖ. Scilicet clausula illa formulae foederis, 'si volumus pacem communem participare,' orator sic utitur, ut dicat simul significari hoc: si tandem aliquando nos oportet (δεῖ) desinere &c. Hoc oportet (τὸ δεῖ) cum illo voluntario (ἔαν βουλόμεθα) pacis servandae studio ita conjunctum esse ait, ut neget alterum ab altero posse sejungi." That is, the wish to enjoy the general peace involves the necessity for an entire change of policy. Mr. K. agrees with Schäfer, but thinks the sentence too ill-written to be worth a note. It will be seen that παύσασθαι takes a participle in one clause, and an infinitive in the other. To avoid this Dindorf reads μὴ παύσασθαι, but I cannot see with what sense. The τὸ before the clause ἔαν βουλόμεθα may be compared with τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων τῶν ἑτέρων, p. 370.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SPEECH ON THE CROWN.

AFTER Philip of Macedon had defeated the Athenians and Thebans at Chaeroneia (B.C. 338), he occupied and subjugated Thebes. The Athenians, fearing a similar fate, and following the advice of Demosthenes, immediately resolved to repair their city walls, and to make new trenches around it, for which purposes they appropriated a certain sum of money (τὰ εἰς τὰ τεύχη χρήματα, § 309). Either at the same time, or in the year following, ten commissioners (τευχοποιοί) were appointed to superintend the repairs upon which the people had decided, and amongst these persons was Demosthenes himself, selected by his own tribe the *Pandionid*. His duty then was simply to superintend the execution of the work allotted to his tribe, but he did considerably more; for, the money allowed by the state not being sufficient, he supplied the deficiency from his own private resources. About the same time he held another office also, viz. the treasurer-ship of the funds (τὰ θεωρικά) assigned for theatrical representations and other public spectacles. In this capacity again he supplied the deficiency (ἐπέδωκεν) of the state allowance, by a contribution from his own means¹.

Thereupon Ctesiphon, one of his political admirers, proposed by way of bill before the Athenian senate, that in grateful recognition of his general services to the state, and especially of his recent liberality, Demosthenes should be presented with a golden crown, and proclamation be made thereof in the city theatre, at the great

¹ Thirlwall (Greece vii. 135) thinks that Droysen (Zeitschrift für die Alterthums-wissenschaft, 1839) has proved in his examination of the records of this oration that the reparation of the walls *immediately* after the battle of Chaeroneia is not the same as that to which Demosthenes contributed three talents, and which occasioned Ctesiphon's Proposal. He (Bp. Thirlwall) supposes an interval of a year between the two, and that Demosthenes was not treasurer of the Theoric Fund till B.C. 37.

Dionysiac festival, when the new tragedies were represented, and the city was crowded with visitors to see them. The senate passed this bill (*προβούλευμα*), and either by their order, or in the regular course of proceeding, it appears to have been deposited in the record-house of the state (*Τὸ Μητροῶν*).

But Philip's victory at Chaeroneia had made the Macedonian influence so irresistible, that its partizans imagined they would have no difficulty in crushing its great opponent and their own persevering adversary, Demosthenes. Accordingly, as he himself tells us (§ 310), they put forth all their strength, and used all their instruments against him, persecuting him every day (*κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην*) with indictments, impeachments, and all kinds of charges, upon every one of which he was honourably and triumphantly acquitted. Foiled in their attempts, the most distinguished of them, Aeschines, turned from these direct attacks upon Demosthenes to his friend and supporter Ctesiphon, and resolved to prosecute him on the pretence that his recent proposal was illegal, but really in the hope of blasting the character and annihilating the influence of his leader. Proceedings were accordingly instituted before the Archon of the year in which the bill was passed by the senate, but the actual trial upon which Demosthenes made this oration did not take place till six or seven years afterwards. As ancient authorities inform us, this battle of the Orators was fought in B.C. 330, during the archonship of Aristophon (*τὴν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ποτε γενομένην τῶν ῥητόρων μάχην*, Theophr. Charact. c. 7), when, as Cicero (*de opt. gen. Orat. c. 7*) says, Alexander was in possession of Asia (*Alexandro jam Asiam tenente*), and *about* the time (October B.C. 331) when he defeated Darius at Arbela (*καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνίκα μάχην*. Dion. ad Amm. vi. 746). This conjuncture indeed was peculiarly favourable for the designs of Aeschines, inasmuch as the Peloponnesian league formed against the Macedonian supremacy by Agis, king of Lacedaemon (Grote xii. 382), had just been crushed by Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant in Greece, and its troops defeated in a regular battle near Megalopolis, Agis himself also being slain. (*Εὐλόγηθη τότε καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφή κατὰ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος*. Plutarch, Vit. c. 24. See also Aesch. c. Ctes. § 133.) In this crisis then, and after so many years of delay, expectancy, and preparation, at last came off the great trial—the most remarkable and celebrated of all the celebrated causes of antiquity. As Cicero (l. c.) observes, the cause itself was of most momentous interest—*gravissima*; the speakers of the highest order—*oratores summi*; their contention elaborated by careful preparation, and inflamed by personal and political hostility—*accurata et inimicitiiis incensa contentio*;

their audience an assembly from the whole of Greece—*ad quod judicium concursus dicitur è tota Graecia factus esse*. At the same time the formal issues in the case were of a very simple and apparently technical character.

Aeschines accused Ctesiphon of proposing an illegal and unconstitutional resolution on three distinct grounds. (1) Because Demosthenes had not passed his accounts of the expenditure of the public monies entrusted to him, and there was a law prohibiting the public coronation of any one who had state accounts to pass, before he did so: “*Ne quis populi scitum faceret, ut quisquam corona donaretur in magistrātu prius quam rationes retulisset.*” (2) Because there was a law which ordered the proclamation of an act of crowning to be made in the senate-house, if decreed by the senate, and in the assembly if decreed by the people, but not elsewhere: “*Eos qui a populo donarentur, in contione donari debere: qui a senatu, in senatu.*” (3) Because it was not true that Demosthenes was a benefactor of the state as the resolution recited, and there was a law which forbid any untrue documents to be deposited in the public records. On the first two points, which do not affect the real issue, it will be seen that the defence was weak and unsatisfactory, and therefore Demosthenes skilfully placed it in the middle of his reply. His opening and conclusion he reserved for the third charge, which, involving as it did the whole question of his character and conduct as a citizen and statesman, enabled him to choose his topics at will, and to make those eloquent appeals which irresistibly carried his audience along with him, and so completely vanquished his opponent, that he could not bear to remain near the scene of his defeat, and soon afterwards left Athens for Rhodes. As regards the speech itself, “the unapproachable master-piece of Grecian oratory,” we need not suppose that it has come down to us in precisely the same words and arrangement as Demosthenes actually used in his original reply, even though he was in the habit of carefully preparing (like other great orators), if not entirely composing, all his set speeches before he delivered them. But this oration *ὁ περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου*, or *ὁ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος* as it was frequently intitled, is a *Reply*, and many parts of it are by far too elaborate and studied in the refutation of the arguments of his adversary, to allow us to believe that they were struck off in their present completeness on the spur of the moment. It is much more probable that in the published edition of his great oration (*ὁ κράτιστος πάντων λόγων*, Dionys. Halic.), Demosthenes supplied any deficiency of matter or manner in what he had actually said. And if it be thought that this supposition in any way derogates from his oratorical fame, we need only call to mind the

anecdote of Aeschines reading to the Rhodians his own speech against Ctesiphon as well as the reply of Demosthenes. This he is reported to have done "*suavissima et maxima voce*," so as to have elicited their admiration, whereupon he turned to them and said, "How much greater would your admiration have been had you heard the speaker himself" ("*Quanto magis admiraremini, si audissetis ipsum*." Cicero de Orat. iii. 56).

Historically considered, the speech was, as Mr. Grote (xii. 393) well calls it, "the funeral oration of extinct Athenian and Grecian freedom." As regards principles and morals it was cited with other orations of Demosthenes (Plut. in vit. c. 13) by the Stoic Panaetius in proof of his assertion, that the great orator always appealed to and based his arguments upon the laws of truth, and justice, and honour, rather than expediency or selfishness (*οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἥδιστον ἢ ῥᾶστον ἢ λυσιτελέστατον ἄγει τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχού τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν οἶεται δεῖν ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιέσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος*). Perhaps it might with equal or more truth be affirmed that he endeavoured to convince his hearers that the principles of truth and justice dictated the same policy, and would produce the same results, as the suggestions of true prudence, and the calculations of real expediency.

It should be added that Aeschines was so completely unsuccessful in his accusation that he did not obtain even the fifth part of the votes of the judges. A translation of the rival speeches, "*duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter se contrarias*," was made by Cicero, but it has not been preserved (*de opt. gen. Orat. c. 7*). It was however a very free one, as he informs us: "*Nec converti ut interpretes sed ut orator sententiis iisdem et earum formis tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis: in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servavi*."

XVIII.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ
ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

B.C. 330.

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Τείχος μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προῦβάλετο τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρραγέστερόν τε καὶ βέλτιον, τὴν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαν καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν “οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠχύρωσα, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινὶ συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τῇ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης” οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποιήτον· περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. πεπονηκότος γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ 221 μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτὸ, ἤρθέθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἐκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν παρέχεσθαι ψιλῇ· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. εἰς τοῖνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἰκοθεν τῇ πόλει. ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐνοίαν ταύτην ἢ βουλήν, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἡμεύσατο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῷ τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὓς ἡ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε· καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ὅτι στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανία ἢ πόλις ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ] “Rhetores Grammaticique articulum saepissime negligunt, citantes τὸν περὶ (ὑπὲρ) στεφάνου.” Schäfer.

οὐ λίθοις] Comp. § 370: οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ. οὓς ἔδει . . . παρέχεσθαι] ‘who had to

provide the superintendence only.’ For ψιλῇ, is written μονῇ, afterwards.

οἰκοθεν] ‘from his own estate.’ Οἶκος is the regular word for ‘estate’ in the private orations against Aphobus and Onetor.

τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν. ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἡ τιμὴ θαυμαστή διὰ καὶ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἡψατο, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνέχθη παρανόμων γραφή. Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἔχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγελε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων ἄρχοντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγον ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύει τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρέχόμενος τὸν κελεύοντα, ἐὰν μὲν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ βουλὴ, ἐν τῷ βουλευ- 222
τηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει. καὶ τάξει γε ταύτῃ τῆς κατηγορίας Αἰσχίνης κέχρηται, πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιτίθῃσι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἦτοι νόμου μέρος, ὥς φησιν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο ψηφίσεται.

ΕΠΕΡΑ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πόλει τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἡττήθησαν. ἐπικρατήσας οὖν ὁ Μακεδὼν φρουρὰν μὲν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δουλεύουσας. ἐλπίσαντες οὖν τὸ αὐτὸ παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω κατ' αὐτῶν ἦξεν προσδοκῶντες τὸν τύραννον, ἐσκέψαντο τὰ πεπονηκότα μέρη τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπανορ- 223
θῶσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς τειχοποιοὶ προέβλήθησαν. τοιόνδε καὶ ἡ Πανδιονίς ἐξ αὐτῆς εἴλετο πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τὸν ῥήτορα. τῆς τοίνυν ἐργασίας ἐν χερσὶν οὕσης, προσδεηθεὶς ἔτι χρημάτων μετὰ τὰ δεδομένα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαπάνησε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαρίσατο. ταύτην ἀφορμὴν ὁ Κτησιφῶν, εἰς τῶν πολιτευομένων, δεξάμενος εἰσήνεγκε γνώμην ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην,

παρέχόμενος] 'quoting' or 'adducing'.
An ambassador might be said *παρέχεσθαι*
'to represent his State.'

τάξει γε ταύτῃ] 'this was the order
which Aeschines adopted in his accusa-
tion.'

τῆς πολιτείας] 'his conduct as a states-
man.'

τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων] 'A scripto re-
cedens voluntate legislatoris nititur.' 'To
the letter of the law about the persons
who have not passed their accounts he
opposes the intentions of the legislature.'

ὅσον οὐδέπω] 'almost immediately.'
τοιόνδε] 'in this capacity.'

“ἐπειδὴ διατελεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημοσθένους παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον εὖνοιαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδικνύμενος, καὶ νῦν δὲ τειχοποιὸς ὢν καὶ προσδεθεὶς χρημάτων οἴκοθεν παρέσχε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο, διὰ τοῦτο δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανοῦσθαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγυδιῶν ἀγομένων καινῶν,” ἵσως ὅτε πλήθῃ συντρέχει ἐπιθυμοῦντα καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν. εἰσαγομένου τοίνυν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ προβουλευματος, ἐφίσταται τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος κατήγορος Αἰσχίνης ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπάρχων ἐχθρὸς, παράνομον εἶναι φάσκων πρὸς τρεῖς νόμους τὸ ψήφισμα, ἓνα μὲν τὸν κελεύοντα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι, πρὶν ἂν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνas· οὐπω δὲ ταύτας, φησὶν, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐδεδώκει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ διοικῶν καὶ τειχοποιῶν, καὶ ἔδει ἀναμείναι καὶ ἐπισχεῖν τὸ γέρας, ἕως ἂν ὀφθῇ καθαρὸς ἐξετασθεὶς. δεύτερον δὲ ἀναγινώσκει νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα ἐν Πινυκί στεφανοῦσθαι, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς δεξαμένους ἐν τῷ 224 θεάτρῳ ἀναγορευθῆναι τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸν στέφανον. ὁ δὲ τρίτος νόμος εἰς τὴν ὅλην ὁρᾷ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέτασιν· κελεύει γὰρ μηδέποτε ψευδῇ γράμματα εἰς τὸ Μητρώον εἰσάγειν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ὅλα τὰ δημόσια γράμματα. ἐψεύσατο δὲ, φησὶν, εὖνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν μαρτυρήσας τῷ Δημοσθένει· κακόνους γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ πολέμιος εὐρίσκεται τῇ πατρίδι. τούτου τοῦ νόμου χρησίμου τυγχάνοντος, τοῦ τρίτου, ἀντιλαβόμενος ὥσπερ τινὸς ἀγκύρας ὁ ῥήτωρ κατεπάλαψε τὸν ἀντίδικον, μεθόδῳ δεινότητι καὶ σοφωτάτῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου χρησάμενος· ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἔσχε λαβὴν ἔλεῖν καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι τὸν πολέμιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τὸν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέρριψε, στρατηγικῶς κακοὺς δ’ εἰς μέσον ἐλάσας, τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ

καὶ νῦν δέ] ‘and now also.’ Observe that δέ is the copula, while καί is epitatic, giving additional force to νῦν.

δεδόχθαι] I adopt this reading suggested by Wolf in preference to δεδόχθω, as in the MSS. Comp. § 36: δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ.

τραγυδιῶν] In the Document, § 36, we find τραγυδοῖς καινοῖς.

ἵσως . . . βλέπειν] This clause, as Wunderlich thinks, is probably spurious. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ] The MSS. have οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκ., but as the Πνύξ was the place for the assemblies, the negative is clearly wrong, unless indeed the clause was meant to follow ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ in the next line. In the Document, § 68, we find ἐν Πινυκί ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

ἔσχε λαβὴν] ‘he got a hold,’ a metaphor from wrestling. Comp. Aristoph. Equit. 847, λαβὴν γὰρ ἐνδέδωκας.

εἰς τὸ μέσον] Taylor compares Quintilian vii. 1: “Demosthenes atque Aeschines—in judicio Ctesiphontis diversum secuti ordinem cum accusator a jure, quo videbatur potentior, coeperit, patronus omnia vel paene omnia ante jus posuerit, quibus iudicem quaestioni legum praepareret.”

κακοὺς δ’ εἰς μέσον] Dindorf omits the δὲ after κακοὺς. But it may be retained on the natural supposition that the writer adopted the actual and well-known words of Homer, iv. 299:

Κακοὺς δ’ ἐς μέσον ἔλασεν
“Ὅφρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλων τις ἀναγκαίῃ πολε-
μίῳ.

So in Quintilian v. c. 12: “Quaesitum, inquit, potentissima argumenta primone ponenda sint loco, an summo—an partita primo summoque, ut Homerica dispositione in medio sunt infirma.” Cicero de

ἄκρα προσκέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου ῥωννύς. ζοικε δὲ καὶ διοικεῖν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἀναιδῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος. δοκῶν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις ὑπερβαίνειν τὸ νόμιμον, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τῷ νομίμῳ προσκέχρηται· καὶ γὰρ νόμον ἀνέγνω Αἰσχίνης τὸν περὶ τῶν στεφάνων ψευδῇ, πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀποκρινόμενος εὔρε καιρὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πολιτεύματα, ὡς νομίμῳ μαχόμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν διοίκησις τοῦ λόγου τοιαύτη, κεφάλαιον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τῷ μὲν Αἰσχύνῃ τὸ νόμιμον, τῷ δὲ ῥήτορι τὸ δίκαιον, κοινὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ συμφέρον, οὐκ ἔχον φανεράν τὴν ἐξέτασιν. ἡ στάσις ἑγγραφος πραγματική· περὶ ῥητοῦ γὰρ τὸ ψήφισμα.

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Orat. ii. 77, thus expresses himself: "Ut in oratore optimus quisque, sic et in oratione firmissimum quodque sit primum: dum illud tamen in utroque teneatur, ut ea quae excellent, servantur etiam ad perorandum: si quae erunt mediocria in mediam turbam, atque in gregem conijciantur." Comp. Xen. Memor. iii. 1. 8. Cyrop. vii. 5.

οὐ σφόδρα ἀναιδῶς] "Artificium adhibet Demosthenes non tamen sine pudore et moderatione (ἀναιδῶς). Aliquando enim orationem non arte sed utilitate (πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον) metitur. Nempe cum τῷ νομίμῳ Aeschines τὸ νόμιμον, non τὸ τεχνικὸν opponere debuit, esset ut ratio ejus administrandae reipublicae in locum τοῦ νομίμου succederet. Ad eum locum confugit non arte aut calliditate, sed ratione et necessitate." Taylor.

τὸν περὶ τῶν στεφάνων ψευδῇ] I do not think this can be a correct reading, though no objection has been made against it. It seems to me neither good Greek nor sound sense, which requires περὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ψευδέων, or περὶ ψευδέων γραμμάτων, or something of the kind. Comp. τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι . . . ψευδεῖς, p. 222, and κελύει μηδέποτε ψευδῇ γράμματα . . . εἰσάγειν, p. 224, l. 5.

κεφάλαιον δέ] 'and a strong point of Aeschines is legality, and of the orator equity, and of both equally, expediency, not having its development clear,' i. e. not admitting of it.

ἡ στάσις] 'the question is documentary, i. e. on something written (in scripto) confined to facts. For the resolution (a scriptum) is about something specified in writing.' I am not sure that this translation is correct, though I have given more thought to it than it probably deserves. To form a correct judgment on it, requires a careful study of Quintilian Instit. Orat. iii.

6. From him we learn that the στάσις (Latine, 'status,' so called, 'quod in hac causâ consistat') is the main point or 'generalis quaestio' in a 'case,' 'in ea quod sit potentissimum, et in quo maxime res vertatur.' He describes the various heads under which the different στάσεις were classified by different rhetoricians, and assigns his reasons for adopting the threefold division of Cicero de Oratore (ii. 24), according to whom the main point in every contention with regard to its subject-matter, is either 'an sit,' or 'quid sit,' or 'quale sit.' Under this general classification he also shows that various species of status are comprehended, as the legales and πραγματικά. Of the former again some are 'ex' or 'in scripto' (ἑγγραφοί), e. g. (1) The 'status legum contrariarum,' where there is a conflict of legislative enactments, 'quae ἀντινομία dicitur.' (2) The 'status scripti et voluntatis,' where there is an opposition between the words and the supposed intentions of a legislature, technically called κατὰ ῥητὸν καὶ διάνοιαν. The στάσεις πραγματικά again are explained by some to be those which depend upon objective facts as opposed to subjective ideas ('Apollodorus quaestionem aut in rebus extra positam, aut in nostris opinionibus existimat positam περὶ ἐννοίας'). Others explain a στάσις πραγματική to be 'negotialis, in qua de rebus ipsis quaeritur, remoto personarum complexu,' i. e. where the question is general, and not in any way personal, e. g. 'an divitiae superbia pariant.' Quintilian further informs us that many writers had written volumes ('tota volumina impendisse') on the subject; and he himself quotes several authorities upon it, as Aristotle, Naukrates a pupil of Isocrates, Zopyrus of Clazomenae, and Hermagoras. See the

Τῆς δὲ γράφῃς ἔτι Φιλίππου ζώντος ἀποτεθείσης, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κρίσις. ὥς γὰρ ἀπέθανε Φίλιππος καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τεθαρσηκότες ἐξέβαλον, ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καταφρονηθεὶς τὰς Θήβας κατέσκαψεν, εἴτα μεταγνοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ἐξεχώρησε τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἰσχυνόμενος καὶ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καιρὸν ἔχον ἐνόμισαν κρίσει παραδοῦναι τοὺς προδότας τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀδικήσαντας, καὶ οὕτω συνεκροτήθη τὸ δικαστήριον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν 226 εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὁ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον 5

Arguments de Fal. Leg., where the question is said to be *περὶ οὐσίας, στοχαστική*, in technical Latin, 'de essentia, conjecturalis,' i. e. 'utrum sit, necne.' Cic. Topic. 22.

ἀποτεθείσης] 'having been laid or lodged.'

συνεκροτήθη] 'was formed,' or 'composed.' See note, p. 23, and *καὶ ἐσυγκροτοῦσιν ἄνδρες αὐτ' ἐκέθην αὐ*, Aristoph. Equit. 471.

Πρῶτον] It is scarcely possible to conceive a more impressive and solemn opening than this, and accordingly it has been often praised and imitated. So Cic. Orat. i. 8: "In illa pro Ctesiphonte oratione longe optima, summissius a primo: deinde dum de legibus disputat, pressius: post sensim incedens, iudices ut videt ardent, in reliquis exultavit audacius." And Quintilian (xi. 3. 97): "Hoc modo coepisse Demosthenem credo, in illo pro Ctesiphonte timido suppressoque principio." A similar invocation is found in a fragment of Cicero pro Cornelio (Priscian vii. 3. 11): "Ut ab Jove optimo maximo, ceterisque Diis Deabusque omnibus opem et auxilium petamus." But such openings appear to have been less common with the Greeks than with the Roman orators, as might have been expected from the greater prevalence of religious feelings among a Roman audience,

and their more general recognition of the principle "Dis te minorem quod geris imperas, hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum." Thus Servius the Scholiast, on Virgil (Aeneid xi. 30), says on the words *Praefatus Divos*: "More antiquo. Nam majores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant, sicut sunt omnes orationes Catonis et Gracchi. Nam generale caput in omnibus legitimus. Unde Cicero (Divin. in Caecil. 13) per irrisionem ait, *si quid ex vetere aliqua oratione, Jovem ego optimum maximum.*" Comp. Livy xxii. 9: "ab diis orsus."

ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν] 'first of all I pray that the same degree of good will which I have always felt towards the state, may be shown to me by you in this contest, and then that, as it in the highest degree concerns your interest, and your religious duty and reputation, the gods may put this into your hearts,' &c. Dobree quotes a similar passage from a Homily of Chrysostom: Διὸ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοῦς ὑμῶν ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων ὅσῃν ἡμῖν ἀγωνίαν ἐνεβάλετε τῇ συνοδῇ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τοσούτον ἐμπνεῦσαι θάρσος ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς σπουδῆς, τῆς κατὰ τὰς εὐχάς.

πῶς ἀκούειν] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 203) had warned the court to watch with suspicion the fraudulent arguments of his adversary, and called upon it to prescribe the order he should follow in his reply.

- γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν
 ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται,
 2 τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον
 τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην
 ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπο- 10
 λογίᾳ, ὥς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων
 ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἔασαι χρήσασθαι.
- 3 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν
 ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα.
 ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν 15
 ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ
 μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν—οὐ βούλομαι δὲ
 δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου—οὗτος δ' ἐκ
 4 περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγο- 20

τὸν ὄρκον] 'the oath wherein, besides all its other obligations of justice, this also is written, that you hear both sides impartially.' This oath of the Heliasts (c. Timoc. § 171) ran thus: καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν.

ἀκροάσασθαι] An Athenian who heard the opening prayer concluded by this word, could hardly fail to be moved by it. "Mire enim," says Quintilian of such openings, "auditurum dicturi cura delectat et iudex se ipse componit," a lesson, he adds, which Homer teaches by the example of Ulysses, who, when he rose to speak, στάσκεν, ἵπαι δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας, just as if he were no scholar, αἶδρεῖ φῶτι ἐοικώς.

τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν] 'and this consists not only in the absence of all adverse prejudice, nor in showing as is due your good will to both alike.' With οὐδέ, we must again understand μόνον, and παρέχασθαι might have been used, but it would not express an obligation as ἀποδοῦναι does. The Codex S omits ἀμφοτέροις, and Dobree thinks it interpolated from p. 227. 24.

δύο δ'] 'and in two points really great; one—that I am not contending for an equal stake.'

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν] I have not adopted the common punctuation for this sentence, in which the speaker's original idea was

somewhat as follows; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν, 'but for me indeed to lose your good will would be to lose every thing, whereas it is from a superabundant stock (ἐκ περιουσίας) that he accuses me, so that he will have a reserve left if he lose any thing by failure in this attack.' But instead of expressing all this, Demosthenes affects an unwillingness to say any thing of bad omen (δυσχερές), and recoils from even hinting at the contingency of his own failure. This artifice is technically called aposiopesis.

ἐκ περιουσίας] 'he accuses me with plenty to spare,' i. e. if Aeschines fails in his accusation, his loss will be comparatively small, and nothing but what he can well spare. He has not much to lose. The phrase is not easy to render concisely, and it has been variously translated. Auger: "il m'accuse sans avoir rien à perdre." Norris: "he risks only what he can afford to lose." Brougham: "he brings his charge an unprovoked volunteer, ex abundanti." Seager: "he accuses me at a great advantage." Comp. c. Steph. 1, § 82: οἱ ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί, 'men wantonly wicked.' Also Thucyd. v. 55: πολλὰ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε, i. e. 'he conquered without his safety being in the least degree imperilled.'

ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει] 'and a second disadvantage is the disposition which is naturally inherent in all men to hear invectives and accusations with pleasure.'

- ριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι
 τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ
 πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. καὶ μὲν εὐλα-
 βούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν
 ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ 25
 5 τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπο-
 λίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ
 ἐμαυτοῦ. πείρασομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν 227
 ὃ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν
 οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος:
- 6 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας ἂν ὁμολο- 5
 γῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοί τε καὶ Κτησι-
 φῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς. ἐμοί· πάντων
 μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χालεπὸν, ἄλλως
 τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τούτῳ συμβαίνει, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ'
 7 ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν 10
 τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί

τούτων τοίνυν] 'of these then, that which ministers to pleasure is granted to him, while that which, so to say, offends all, is left for me.' Plutarch wrote a work intitled *Περὶ τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνως*, in which (iii. 137, Wyttensbach) he maintains that Demosthenes was justified in proclaiming his own merits by the necessity of self-defence. *Τοῦτο γοῦν λαμπρὰν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρρησίαν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν κόρον ἀφίρει τῶν ἐπαίνων, οἷς παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ τι τὸν ὑπὲρ στεφάνου κέχρηται σεμνυνόμενος οἷς ἐν-εκαλεῖτο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου προσβεύμασι καὶ ψηφίσμασι*. So also Quintilian xi. 1. 22: "Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit, ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regeretur, qui hoc se coegisset."

καὶ μὲν] 'and if indeed while guarding against this, I abstain from telling what has been done by myself.'

ὡς μετριώτατα] 'with all possible moderation.'

τούτου] 'for this he ought to bear the blame.'

ἐμοί τε] The Codex S omits τε after ἐμοί. The other MSS. retain it, and Disson quotes two passages from Plato in support of it: *Ταῦτόν ἔρα ἐν γε τοῖς δσα ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ ἐστὶ, τό τε πᾶν προσαγορεύομεν καὶ τὰ πάντα*, Theaet. § 144: *Δοκεῖ μοι νῦν οὐδὲν διαφέρειν πᾶν τε καὶ ὅλον*, Id. § 146. Translate: 'I think you will all admit that this trial concerns me as well as Ctesiphon, and calls for no less exertion from me than him.' With *ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί*, comp. Eurip. *Hec.* 309: *ἡμῖν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄξιος τιμῆς* (Achilles is worthy of honour at our hands), and Arist. *Achar.* 633: *φθῖν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιος ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής*. Also F. L. § 354: *οὗς ἐλεεῖν πολλῶ μάλλον ὑμῖν ἄξιον*, 'who have a much stronger claim for compassion at your hands.'

πάντων . . . ἀποστερεῖσθαι] 'to be deprived of any thing.' Here πάντων is used for *ὅστινοςοῦν*, just as τις is sometimes used for πᾶς τις.

ὅσῳ περ] 'inasmuch as to win these indeed is the greatest of gains.'

πάντων ὁμοίως] 'all of you alike.' See the quotation from Chrysostom, § 1.

- μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικὸς, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίου 15 ὧτεο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμωμο-
 8 κέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐν τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς 20 εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιή-
 9 σεται περὶ πάντων, Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον 25 διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὖνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει 228 καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συννοίσειν καὶ πρὸς

ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως] 'to hear my defence with fairness.'

οὓς ὁ τιθεῖς] 'the original proposer of which, Solon, being well disposed to you, and a friend to the people;' or with Mr. K., 'a man friendly to you and to popular rights.' So Aristoph. Nub. 1190: 'Ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν. See also Plut. Solon, c. 16. Dobree preferred ὁ θεῖς to ὁ τιθεῖς, quoting in support of it, Demos. c. Aristoc. p. 628. 14., 632. 5., 649. 10. As Jacobs suggests, this allusion to Solon may have been intended to meet the remark of Aeschines, c. Ctes. § 258: Σόλων μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδεὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὀρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων.

τῷ γράψαι] 'by the recording of them.' αἷς ἐκ τοῦ] 'wherein the prosecutor is strong on speaking first.' ὁ διώκων, ὁ φεύγων, ὁ ἐλῶν, ὁ ἀλούς, are terms all borrowed from the chase. So also παρελθεῖν, 'to escape or evade,' which Harpocration s. v. explains by νικήσαι. In Scotch law the 'pursuer' is the English 'prosecutor,' though the accused is called 'the panel.'

διαφυλάττων] The Codex S has φυλάττων. But διαφυλάττων, 'keeping up to the last through all the cause,' is a more forcible expression, and the reading of the majority of the MSS.

τὰ . . . δίκαια] 'the pleas of the last speaker.' Several MSS. have ὕστερον, which Dindorf adopts. With Bekker I prefer ὕστερον.

καὶ παρασχὼν] 'and after showing himself a fair and impartial hearer to both, shall then give his decision about every thing.' Mr. Kennedy: 'lend an equal and impartial ear to both before he determines upon the whole case.'

βούλομαι πάλιν] Bekker reads βούλομαι, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ πάλιν, though the MSS. S, k, s, have βούλομαι πάλιν only. There is some force in Disson's remark, that the order would have been βούλομαι πάλιν καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, had all these words been used. Τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, 'to call the gods to my side to aid me.'

ὅ τι μέλλει συννοίσειν] 'whatever will conduce both to the good name of the state, and the good conscience of each individual.' Or, 'whatever may be consistent with the credit of the state, and the conscience of each individual.' Lord

εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο παρα-
στήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς 5
γνῶναι.

- 10 Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν Αἰσχίνης,
καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλευματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελο-
γούμεν· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνή-
λωκε καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι 10
νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ
τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις
ἡγμένος ἄλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων
ἀκούῃ μου.

- 11 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λουδορούμενος βεβλασφή- 15

Brougham remarks: "The impressive earnestness which this prayer derives from its repetition so soon after it had been first offered up, need hardly be pointed out. In particular passages of deep pathos the same effect is sometimes produced with success by repeating the same words without any variation, unless in the tone of the delivery."

Εἰ μὲν οὖν] 'Now if indeed Aeschines had confined his accusations to the points in which he is a prosecutor, I too would at once have made my defence on the preliminary resolution itself.' Κατηγορεῖν is here put absolutely without a genitive, as it is often used for the speech of a prosecutor. Comp. F. L. § 9: πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορεῖν ἔχων.

προβουλευματος] The Ἐκκλησία and βουλή may be described generally as the legislative assembly and the administrative council of Athens. Before an individual could submit a bill to the people in assembly, he obtained by petition the privilege of access to the βουλή or senate (πρόσδοον ἐγράψατο), and leave to propose his motion. If approved by that body, it became and was styled a προβούλευμα, in which shape he could submit it to the people, and when ratified by them it became a ψήφισμα or extraordinary resolution binding upon all the community. Till then it was simply a preliminary vote of the senate, which, if rejected by the people, was *ipso facto* void: if neither adopted nor rejected, it was ἐπέτειον, or in force for a year only, i. e. supposing its provisions admitted of such a temporary validity. See c. Aristocr. § 110, and βουλή, Dict. of Ant. 156.

ἐπειδὴ δ'] 'but as he has spent not

less than half his speech in going through the other matters, and in most of them has lied against me.' Ἀνήλωκε is in most MSS. Others have ἀνάλωκεν. According to Philemon, Lexicon, p. 150, the common language of Greece rejected the augment, while the Athenians adopted it. Πλὴν τὸ μὲν ἀνήλωκα, καὶ ἠνάλωκα γράφεται Ἀττικῶς, ἀνάλωκα δ' ἀναύητον κοινῶς. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παθητικῶν (in passivis) ἀνήλωται καὶ ἀνάλωται, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἐνεργητικοῖς (activis) γράφεται. Of this opinion is Hermann (Soph. Ajax 1028), who writes ἀνηλώσας. The truth seems to be that the more ancient writers omitted the augment, while the more recent added it.

πρῶτον εἰπεῖν] εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, S. "Lineolis ab eadem quae codicem scripsit manu impositis corrigitur error librarii qui vocabula transposuit." Dindorf.

τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις] 'that no one led away by his irrelevant topics, may listen with aversion to my justifications on the indictment.' The term γραφή is here used in its peculiar sense of a public accusation or indictment; δίκη on the contrary being applied to a private suit.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων] From here to p. 243. 2, Demosthenes replies to the accusations which Aeschines had made against his private character with the view of removing any prejudices which his hearers might have conceived against him personally, and securing a favourable reception for his defence on the indictment itself. Translate: 'Now as for the calumnies on private matters which he has abusively uttered about me.'

μηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἶον οὗτος ἤτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρευν πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες
 12 καταψηφίσασθε ἥδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ 20 βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδεὶν τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὐνοίαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων 25
 13 τῶν πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾤήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. οὐ δὲ ποιήσω 229
 τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεφεύδον καὶ διέβαλλες αὐτίκα ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην οὕτωςι γεγενημένης

μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε] Scil. ἐμοῦ γρύξαντος, says Reiske. 'Do not even let me open my mouth—not even if I have discharged all my public duties pre-eminently well.'

εἰ δὲ πολλῶ] 'But if you have conceived and know both me (or, if in your opinion and judgment I am) and mine to be much better than this fellow, and of a better stock, and to say nothing offensive, inferior to none of the respectable citizens, why then do not believe him even about the rest, for it is plain that every thing was forged in the same way.' The imperfect ἐπλάττετο means that Aeschines kept inventing as he went on. The phrase βελτίων καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων is not uncommon. Comp. c. Androt. § 75: δούλων καὶ ἐκ δούλων, and § 83: βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων. Plato, Gorgias, § 145: φαίης ἂν βελτίων εἶναι καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων. So Terence, Phorm. i. 6. 65, "bonam bonis prognatam." By μετρίων Demosthenes means persons of moderate pretensions.

κακοήθης δ' ὢν] 'and maliciously crafty as you are, Aeschines, you have been thoroughly simple in fancying this, that I should forego the arguments on my actions and public conduct, and turn to your vituperations.' There is a sarcastic contrast between κακοήθης and εὔηθες ᾤήθης.

ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν] 'your falsehoods and calumnies against me in respect of my public conduct, I will discuss at once, and then afterwards touch upon the ribaldry that you have so licentiously used, if this court wish to hear me.' Comparing περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων above, it seems that Demosthenes uses ὑπὲρ and περὶ almost indifferently. See also F. L. § 107: οὐ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ποιητέον εἰρήνην ἢ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά. This use of the article illustrates the note on Pro Megalop. § 7, p. 370.

πομπείας ταύτης] This term πομπεία was originally applied to the raillery and jesting of those who joined the public processions (ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς) of the gods, and availed themselves of the licence of the occasion to ridicule and abuse one another as well as other persons. Harpocration s. v. says, 'Ἡ μεταφορά ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς πομπαῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν λοιδορουμένων ἀλλήλοις, and he quotes from a play of Menander thus:—

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν εἰσι πομπεῖαι τινες, σφόδρα λοιδοροί.

Bentley (Phal. p. 247) shows that the custom was naturally enough not confined to the festivals of Dionysus, but prevailed also in the Eleusinian and other pro-

ὑστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἤ τουτοις, μνησθήσομαι.

- 14 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδύασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπη-

cessions, as stated by Harpocration, and the Scholiast on Aristoph. Plutus v. 1013 :

Μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην
Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάρτης.

ἀνέδην] 'without restraint or scruple,' 'immissis habenis,' and connected with ἀνίημι. So Mad. de Sévigné, 'trottait sa plume la bride sur le cou.' Demogeot, Hist. de la Litt. Fran. p. 403.

ἂν βουλομένοις] Comp. Livy xxi. 50: "Quibusdam volentibus novas res fore." The paragraph from Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα τοῦ ὑπερβολῆ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτο γε, seems to contain needless repetitions, and to want logical sequence. Accordingly it has been supposed that the text is a combination of two editions, and some violent transpositions have been suggested as corrections. As however the speech, though written in the first instance, was delivered to a sympathizing and intelligent audience, tone and manner would clear up to them, what to a reader might be obscure; so that on this account alone, there is a strong *à priori* reason against the alterations, for which commentators have taken credit. At any rate, it seems that good sense may be made of the text as follows:—

"I admit," says Demosthenes, "that the matters charged against me are serious, and some of them amenable by law to the severest punishments. But the very principle and object of this trial, combine the malignity, and insolence, and abuse of a personal enemy, and every thing of the kind. But notwithstanding, for all the accusations and the charges that have been alleged (by this enemy), if indeed they were true, the state cannot get due satisfaction, no, nor any thing like it. Their truth then ought to be tried: the public interests demand it, and so far I should find no fault with Aeschines for making these charges: he has a right to do so. For we ought not to deprive any one of the right of addressing the people, nor yet should a man exercise this right with systematic spitefulness and malice. This

is neither constitutional nor just (and Aeschines should not have done so), but when he saw me inflicting on the state such gross wrongs, as he pompously enumerated, he ought then and there to have proceeded against me as the law directs (and surely this might have been expected from him). For of course it cannot be supposed that he is capable of (δύναιται) attacking Ctesiphon through or on account of me, and that he would not have impeached me, if he had expected to convict me. Nay further (καὶ μήν), had he seen me doing you any one of those other wrongs (not so great, τηλικούτων) which he just now falsely charged and specified, or even any other whatever, there are laws and penalties in every case, any one of which he might have put in force against me, and if (ὅπνικα, supposing that) he had publicly done this, his speech for the prosecution would have tallied with his actions. But now, departing from this straightforward course, and avoiding contemporaneous investigations, at such intervals of time afterwards he plays his part, heaping up accusations and defamations. Then he directs his speech against me while he is prosecuting another, and puts his enmity against me in the front of all the contest, and yet without ever having met me upon this ground, he openly seeks to take away the civil rights of another. And again, besides all the other pleas which a man might use for Ctesiphon, it seems to me that he might with good reason urge this also, that we ought to have carried on the struggle of our personal enmity by ourselves, and not while we give up the contest against one another, seek for a third party to injure. For a monstrous injustice this is assuredly."

περὶ ὧν ἐνίων] The word ἐνίων appears to limit the relative thus: 'for which, at any rate some of them.'

μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας] 'great, nay the most severe punishments, καὶ being epitatic, as some call it.

ἐπήρειαν] Pure spitefulness, as ex-

λακισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν
καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἐνι
15 τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπη-
ρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς 15
ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ᾧ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί-
γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκᾳ νῦν ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ
τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ
16 μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἀξία πράττοντα ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ 20
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ
γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ

plained by Aristot. Rhet. ii. 2, who defines ἐπηρεασμός as one of the three species of ὀλιγωρία, and says: ἔστι γὰρ δ' ἐπηρεασμὸς ἐμποδισμὸς ταῖς βουλήσεσιν, οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ. 'Dog-in-the-mangerism.'

τῶν μέντοι] Apparently in contrast with ἐχθροῦ μέν, as τοῦ δὲ παρόντος is with τὰ μὲν οὖν in the first clause. With regard to the κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν, though clearly suggested by the personalities of the attack, and to some extent at least comprehended in them, it does not follow that they were *altogether* distinct from the more general τὰ κατηγορημένα. Nor is there any contradiction or needless repetition in the two clauses. For though very severe penalties (τιμωρίαι) were provided for some of the acts alleged against Demosthenes, still if he really had committed a great number of atrocities (πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ), he could not have paid the penalties and suffered the punishments due to every one, and therefore the state could not have obtained adequate reparation. (δίκην ἀξίαν) for all the wrongs which he had done it. At the same time, though all this is indisputable, it is not satisfactory, and one can only wish that Demosthenes had been as clear in this passage as he is generally.

οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι] The notion is simply this: a prosecutor has his duties as well as his rights, and though we must not deprive any one of his right to come forward as an accuser, and to obtain a hearing, he must not exercise it maliciously.

ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει] As we might say, 'in the line of malice and envy.'

πολιτικόν] 'constitutional,' 'verfas-

sungsmässig,' Jacobs. 'Statesmanlike' is preferred by Mr. Shilleto (F. L. p. 62), or in his own words, "what a statesman has no right to do, what is not to be expected of him." Perhaps the simplest meaning is the best, 'it is not like a citizen.'

ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήει] 'as he tragically (or, dramatically) detailed.' With a tacit reference, as in ὑποκρίνεται afterwards, to the former profession of his opponent, who had been an actor. Τραγώδειν expresses the pompous and unnatural declamation, the 'ampullae et sesquipedalia verba' of the tragedian on the stage. Jacobs translates 'als er in tragischen Phrasen schildert.'

παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα] 'At the very same time as the offences themselves.' As we might say, 'alongside of them.' Comp. adv. Pantaen. § 3: παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα μᾶλλον ἢ χρόνων ἐπιγεγενημένων ἀγανακτεῖν.

εἰσαγγελίας] Ἄν Εἰσαγγελία is a 'delatio,' or 'impeachment.' In the event of the commission of any extraordinary offence for which the laws provided no Punishment or Process, it was competent for any individual to lay an information (εἰσαγγέλλειν) before the Ἐκκλησία or βουλή, which authorities determined upon the criminality of the act, and the tribunal by which the offence was to be formally tried. Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Schömann de Comitibus, ii. 3. Lycr. c. Leoc. § 9.

εἰ δὲ γράφοντα] 'and if he had seen me proposing unconstitutional or illegal measures, indicting me for it.' The γραφή παρανόμων was an indictment against a person for proposing measures in contra-

- 17 δῆπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμὲ, ἐμὲ δὲ, εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὦν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήκει ἢ καὶ 25 ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη ἀχουσάι τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασιν χρῆσθαι κατ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποικῶς καὶ 230 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὡμολογεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ 5 σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἴτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐχθραν προῖσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφε- 19 λέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 10 τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν,

vention of a previous and unrepealed enactment.

οὐ γὰρ δῆπου] Though I have no doubt here, I gladly quote Mr. Kennedy's translation in support of my own: 'Surely if he can prosecute Ctesiphon on my account, he would not have forbore to indict me myself, had he thought he could convict me.'

ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις] At Athens all causes, civil and criminal, were divided into two classes; one the ἀγῶνες ἀτιμητοί, trials in which there was no assessment or determination of the penalty or damages by the court, and ἀγῶνες τιμητοί, trials of assessment, or in which they were to be fixed by the court. It may be then that κρίσεις is used for the determination of the court in contradistinction to the τιμωρίαι fixed by law.

τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ] 'those laws or provisions which applied to my case,' 'die auf mich anwendbaren Rechtsmittel.' Westermann.

τοὺς . . . ἐλέγχους] 'inquiries at the time of the offences themselves.'

προῖσταται] Προῖστασθαι is sometimes to place an object before oneself so as to mask an attack. Here 'he places his

personal hatred against me in the front of this proceeding,' thus showing its real cause and object.

ἐπὶ ταύτην] 'on this ground,' or 'to fight this out,' 'sie auszufechten,' Westermann. Comp. Meid. § 192: ὡς μὲν οὐ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεποίηκεν οὗτοσί, οὐκ ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἀπῆντων ὡς ἤλωκεν ἥδη καὶ κατεψήφισται.

ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι] I. q. ἀτιμῶσαι, to make ἀτιμος, to deprive him of the rights of citizenship. This would not have been the direct result of condemnation, but Aeschines demanded so heavy a penalty (fifty talents) that Ctesiphon could not have paid it, and would therefore have become a debtor to the state, and ipso facto ἀτιμος, as a public defaulter.

καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε] 'it seems to me at least that he might say this also, and with very good reason too, that we ought to have put our quarrel to the issue by ourselves:' 'unsere Feindschaft unter uns auszumachen.' Jacobs. It is remarked in Bekker's Anecdota, i. 293, that ἐξέτασμός in this sense is not so correct as ἐξέτασις: οὐ φασι δόκιμον εἶναι οὕτω τιθέμενον. But, according to Dissen, "ἐξέτασμον ποιεῖσθαι, disceptare, de litiganti-

ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν 15 ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

- 20 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας 20 κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὥς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνησάμενοι ἡμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

25

- 21 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ (οὐ

bus, at ποιεῖν ἐξέτασιν *judicium est*," and in support of this idea he quotes § 285: τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσιν ἡμᾶς.

ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ] The more logical construction would be ἔτερον dependent on ζητεῖν, but such instances of attraction are very common. Thus § 255: περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον θνῖτα οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, like 'urbem quam statuo vestra est.' Moreover, as Dissen observes, the more usual collocation would be ὅτῳ δ' ἐτέρῳ, but the position of ἐτέρῳ is emphatic, and similar examples of the post-position of the relative are found in Soph. Elect. 653: τέκνων ὅσων ἐμοὶ δύσνοια μὴ πρόσσεστιν ἢ λύπη πικρά, and Virgil, Georg. 1. 167, "Omnia quae multo ante memor provisae repones."

οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ'] ἐπί with a gen. expresses rest or support upon an object, as: ἐπ' ἀγκύρας, ἐπ' ἐλπίδων, ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦς βώμης ὀχεῖσθαι, Eurip. Orest. v. 69, where Porson quotes the well-known sentence of Demosthenes: οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, scil. ἀγκύρας.

καὶ καθ' ἑν] 'to examine every one of them separately also,' on which Dobree remarks "at minime hoc facit." καὶ goes with καθ' ἑν.

ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης] See the De Pace, pp. 107, 108.

πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν] 'with a view to the circumstances of the time.'

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ] Demosthenes here enters upon a review of his public life (a

διήγησις ἀποδεικτική, as it has been called) by way of answer to the charges which Aeschines had made against his public character. c. Ctes. p. 62 κ.τ.λ. With regard to the Phocian or second Sacred War, as it was called, it commenced in B.C. 356, and continued ten years. It originated in the old hostility of the Thebans against the Phocians, whom the former charged with a sacrilegious violation of the Cirrhaean plain, which had been consecrated to the Delphian Apollo for more than 230 years. This however was a mere pretext, of which the Thebans availed themselves to take vengeance on their enemies, with the sanction and through the instrumentality of the Amphictyonic Council. But in this they did not succeed till (B.C. 347) they and the Thessalians invoked the intervention of Philip of Macedon to execute the decrees of the council against the Phocians, and to rescue the temple of Delphi from their hands. For the sequel see pp. 105—115.

οὐ δι' ἐμέ] These words cannot well refer to the foregoing clause, as if Demosthenes disclaimed responsibility for the Phocian war, but rather to what follows, as if he was anxious to deny that he had prejudiced the feelings or warped the judgment of his fellow-citizens against the Thebans. Manifestly he might as a public man have influenced his own countrymen, though he denies it; but it was scarcely necessary to assure them

γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμεν πω τότε) πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω
 διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ
 οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὀρώντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφη- 231
 σθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργι-
 ζόμενοι οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχῆκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως
 22 ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστῆκει, καὶ
 οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνε- 5
 λεῖν αὐτοὺς, οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι
 τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις
 23 καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα δ'

that he was not the cause of a war between two foreign powers. The order of the words suggests the same conclusion.

οὐ γὰρ . . . τότε] His earliest known speech on public affairs before the assembly of the people, was that περὶ τῶν Συμμοριῶν B.C. 354, when he was about twenty-seven years old. The Phocian war began two years before his speeches against Leptines and Androton were made in B.C. 355.

οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας] Especially in seizing the sacred treasures at Delphi, and appropriating them to the purposes of the war.

Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν] 'and you would have been delighted at the Thebans suffering any thing.' "Odium magnum Atheniensium clare videas in oratione adv. Leptinem non diu post initium belli Phocensis scripta." Dissen.

ἐν Λεύκτροις] B.C. 371. One of the immediate results of the victory of the Thebans over Sparta was the consolidation of several Arcadian communities into the great fortified city of Megalopolis. See Pro Megalop. p. 360.

οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο] Thus Diodorus (xvi. 58) speaks of the 'Leuctric insolence' of the Thebans which Philip wished to check: Βουλόμενος τὰ Λευκτρικὰ φρονήματα συστῆλαι. Among other acts of tyrannical oppression, they had overpowered and deprived of their ancient independence (αὐτονομία) the Boeotian towns Orchomenus, Thespieae, and Plataeae.

διειστῆκει, 'was rent with divisions.'

οἱ μισοῦντες] The Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives.

οἱ πρότερον . . . ἄρχοντες] The oligarchic councils of ten (Δεκαρχαὶ or Δεκαδρχαὶ) with Spartan Harmosts

established in different cities by Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami, in order to promote the interests of Lacedaemon. After the battle of Leuctra they were overthrown and abolished. As for the condition of those who were under the power of these officers, Xenophon (Hell. iii. c. v. 13) represents the Thebans as saying (B.C. 395) just before the battle of Haliartus: 'Πῶδ τῶν ἄρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν οὓς Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει. Isocrates (Panath. p. 239) wrote thus on the subject: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέκα μόνους ἀνδρας κυρίους ἐκάστης τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαν, ὧν ἐπιχειρήσας ἂν τις κατηγορεῖν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας συνεχῶς οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος εἰρηκέναι δόξειε τῶν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτημένων. Though there may be exaggeration in this, still it is doubtless true in the main. Comp. Plutarch, Lysan. 5. 13. Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alter. Vol. i. P. 2, p. 245.

τις ἦν ἄκριτος] 'there was a sort of complicated strife and confusion.' It is difficult to translate ἄκριτος here by one word, but it evidently describes a disorganized and disorderly state of things. Thus Xenophon (Hellen. sub finem) speaks of the ἀκρισία καὶ ταραχή, 'the disorganization and confusion' which followed the battle of Mantinea, B.C. 360. The Homeric usage of the word is worth noting by way of illustration. Thus (Iliad ii. 796), the talking of Priam is described as μῦθοι ἄκριτοι, 'endless words.' In Iliad ii. 868, ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον is a mountain with innumerable leaves, so thick as to be undistinguishable. Again (ii. 246), Thersites is ἀκριτόμυθος, 'a babbler without rhyme or reason;' and Helen (iii. 412) speaks of her ἄχεα ἄκριτα, or 'interminable sorrows.'

ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις
 προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς 10
 αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς
 ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο.
 ὥς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε
 μὲν βαρεῖς, νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν
 ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵνα 15
 μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν. αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν
 24 εἰρήνην, ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συν-
 ηγωνίσαστο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας
 ἐξάπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν
 εἶτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ πόλεμον 20
 συνεχῇ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ
 τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὥς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε
 χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων

πάντας συνέκρουε] 'kept bringing them all into collision and confusion one against another.' Mr. K., 'embroiled and stirred them all up one against the other.'

ἐν οἷς] scil. χρόνοις or πράγμασιν, 'while the rest were blundering and ill-affected.'

κατὰ πάντων] 'was growing up,' or 'increasing in strength against them all,' 'growing up to the ruin of all.' 'In perniciem omnium accrescebat.' Schäfer. Dindorf quotes Josephus A. J. 1. 18. 3: Ἀβιμέλεχος καθ' αὐτοῦ φύεσθαι νομίζων τὸν Ἰσακόν, and 4. 6. 1: ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλῖτας τοσοῦτον φυομένους ἔωρα. Possibly the notion is suggested by a parasitical plant growing up to the destruction of another.

τῷ μήκει] The Phocian war had continued nine years when the Thebans (B.C. 347), deprived of Orchomenus and Coroneia, and impoverished by their long continued efforts, invoked the aid of Philip. Diod. xvi. 56. 58. Grote xi. 520.

οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς] 'when the Thebans, then so overbearing, but now so unfortunate, were, as all plainly saw, on the point of being compelled to have recourse to us.' The calamity here spoken of was the destruction of Thebes by Alexander (B.C. 335) in consequence of its declaration of war against him. Alluding to this event, Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 133) says, Θῆβαι δὲ Θῆβαι πόλις

ἀστυγείτων ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνῆρ-
 πασται.

τί οὖν συνηγωνίσαστο] 'what then helped him to surprise you all but willingly 'deceived?' 'Euch zu täuschen und beinahe freiwillig zu fahen.' Jacobs. 'Almost to surprise you into a voluntary snare.' C. R. K. But there are no 'snares' in the text.

ἢ τῶν ἄλλων] 'it was, should I call it, the cowardice or the ignorance of the other Greeks.' 'Der andern Hellenen—soll ich sagen Feigheit oder Unwissenheit, oder Beides?' Jacobs. Comp. c. Aristoc. § 183: ἢ ὑμετέρα, εἴτε χρὴ φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν, εἴθ' ὅτι δῆποτε. So Cicero de Nat. Deor. 1. 34: "Ista sive beatitas sive beatitudo dicenda est."

πόλεμον συνεχῇ] About Amphipolis and other neighbouring towns.

οὔτε σώμασιν] 'with money or men.' Comp. Xen. Hell. ii. 1. 20: τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματι πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. Dean Trench remarks (Study of Words, 53) that the use of σώματα for 'slaves' (Rev. xviii. 13) in Greek rests on the same forgetfulness of the moral work of every man, as is implied by an employer of labour advertising for 'hands,' and contrasts with it the Scripture use of the word 'souls' in Acts ii. 41. But Scripture (Matt. xix. 5) describes man and wife as one *flesh*, and persons in English are 'nobodies' or 'somebodies.' Gibbon

συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως
 25 ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν 25
 τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος 232
 διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωρο-
 δοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἅν τις
 26 ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως, αἷτια εὐρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί 5
 τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδὲν ἔστι
 δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτὴς, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξ-
 άμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ
 ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς, 10
 οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνει-
 πόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι)
 27 Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ'

somewhere facetiously adds to a description of a town as containing so many thousand 'Christian souls,' and so many 'Jews,—query, 'Jews without souls?'

ὑπηκούσατε] Even before the fall of Olynthus (B.C. 347) Philip had made indirect overtures for peace with Athens (Aesch. F. L. § 13).

ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε . . . εἰρήνη] With Philip B.C. 346. See p. 109.

τὰ δὲ τούτων] Of Aeschines and his party.

ἀκριβολογοῦμαι] Demosthenes, it may be observed, very frequently adopts amplifications of this kind, e. g. ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξίημι, ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες, κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες. Many more instances might be quoted.

οὐδὲν ἔστι δήπου] 'there is nothing assuredly bearing upon me.'

Ἀριστόδημος] was one of the most distinguished tragedians of his time, and Aeschines (F. L. § 15) states that the Athenians sent him on the embassy for the restitution of their fellow-citizens captured by Philip at Olynthus, because Philip was acquainted with him, and a patron of his art (διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς τέχνης). See p. 105.

ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας] 'the person who seconded him and drew up the resolution.'

Ἀγνούσιος] Of the δῆμος or township of Ἀγνους. According to Demosthenes

himself in his earlier oration de F. L. (§ 12) the actor Neoptolemus, and Ctesiphon also, co-operated with Philocrates in persuading the Athenians to make overtures to Philip.

οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς] 'not even if you burst with lying.' "Magnopere laborat Aeschines in Orat. de F. L., et c. Ctes. ut familiaritatem demonstrat Demostheni cum Philocrate fuisse, sed frustra." Dis-

sen. ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα] 'from whatever cause it might be.' Eubulus was an orator of considerable power, who defended Meidias when prosecuted by Demosthenes. He was of the Macedonian party in politics, a friend and partizan of Aeschines, and according to Theopompus (Athenaeus iv. c. 61) an extravagant and unprincipled character. An account of his political administration and principles is given by A. Schäfer, Demos. und seine Zeit 1. 173—190. Cephisophon supported Aeschines in the accusation against Ctesiphon.

ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν] This is certainly untrue. Demosthenes, so far as we can collect from the contradictions of himself and rival, was in favour of the peace in question, and contributed to it directly as well as indirectly. For instance, on its being reported to the Athenians (B.C. 348) that Philip was anxious for friendship with them, Philocrates proposed and carried a decree, by which Philip was allowed if he

ὁμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδείας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα 15 λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. εἰτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρὼν τηλικαύτην πρᾶ-
 ξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρού- 20
 μενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἡγανάκτησας, ἣ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἂ
 28 νῦν κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ
 κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ
 Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ

chose to send envoys to treat for peace. For this, as if an illegal proposition, Philocrates was impeached and successfully defended by Demosthenes himself (Aeschin. F. L. § 14., c. Ctes. p. 64): a circumstance which certainly indicates that he was then a friend of peace, to say nothing of the additional fact that on the motion of Philocrates he was nominated and sent as an envoy to Philip for the purpose of ascertaining on what terms peace might be obtained. (Grote xi. 515.) This assertion then of Demosthenes that he had nothing to do with 'The Peace,' in any way, is at variance with the truth, and one which we cannot suppose he would have dared to make in public, but for the probability of his hearers having forgotten the real facts in the interval of sixteen years between their occurrence and the delivery of this speech. Perhaps indeed (though the supposition would not be creditable to Demosthenes) he was prepared to justify the assertion by the fact, that although he had advocated and negotiated for a peace, still he had not approved of nor been a party to 'The Peace' actually concluded, nor were its conditions and terms advocated or accepted by himself. But his hearers were not likely thus to interpret his unqualified statement, which indeed is only one instance of the 'spirit of perversion' so painfully manifested, as Grote observes, in the speeches of the two rival orators.

ἐπ' αὐτῆς] 'on the foundation of truth itself.' As in § 20.

μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου] 'with the general confederacy of the Greeks.' After B.C. 377, the independent states in alliance with Athens formed a confederate

synod there (συνέδριον) in which they had a seat and vote without any distinction, each state continuing independent, and Athens having the supremacy. Diodorus xv. 28 represents it thus: ὁ δὲ δῆμος (the Athenian) μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν συμμάχων εὐνοίᾳ κοινὸν συνέδριον ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων συνεστήσαντο καὶ συνέδρους ἀπέδειξαν ἐκάστης πόλεως. ἐτάχθη δ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς γνώμης τὸ μὲν συνέδριον ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις συνεδρεῖν, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης καὶ μεγάλην καὶ μικρὰν μιᾷ ψήφῳ κυρίαν εἶναι, πάσας δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτόνομους, ἡγεμόσι χρωμένας Ἀθηναίοις.

εἰτ' ὦ—τί ἔν] 'Then you—by what name could one rightly call you?' This sort of address in the vocative is called by critics τὸ κλητικὸν σχῆμα.

ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν] 'did you ever, being present, express your indignation when you saw me depriving the state of such a result and alliance as you just now stated?' It is hard to find an equivalent term for πρᾶξις, which seems to include not only the negotiation, but also its preliminaries. Mr. Drake says, "πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν by ἐνδιαδοῖν, 'negotiation for alliance.'" Comp. § 207: πρᾶξι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, 'to negotiate this alliance,' and § 243: τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις; Mr. Kennedy: 'an advantage and connexion so important.'

διεξήεις] Several MSS. have διετραφῆς καὶ διεξήεις.

τὸ κωλύσαι] 'the prevention of the coalition of the Greeks.'

τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι] Observe this aorist of one isolated action, and the present of a continuous, repeated, and protracted operation.

- διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας 25
οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδεὶς, 233
εἰκότως· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένας ἀπεσταλμένη
τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγ-
29 μένοι, οὐθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἶρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς
δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς 5
ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον
παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης πρέσ-
βεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ
30 χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα,
οὐκ ἔστι τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς 10
ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπα-
σιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβου-
λεύεσθε. οὐκοῦν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμῶν οὐδ'
αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὢν κατεψεύσατό
μου οὐδὲν ἄληθές ὃν δείκνυνται. 15
- 31 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, ἐν-
ταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προείλετο
πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ Φι-

ταύτην τὴν φωνήν] 'your voice to this effect.'

τότε] Demosthenes intimates that envoys had been sent *previously*, just after the fall of Olynthus, to invite the other Greeks to form a confederacy against Philip. He denies that any such embassy was sent out, *while* 'the peace' was negotiating, and in this he seems to speak the truth. Grote xi. 508.

ἐξεληλεγμένοι] 'All had long ago been tried and found out,' i. e. had given proof of their intentions when in the spring of B.C. 347, they declined (οὐδένας ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουροῦντος τῇ πόλει. Aesch. F. L. § 84) to comply with the solicitations of the Athenian envoys urging them to a combination against Macedonia and to send envoys to Athens for that purpose, τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμου. F. L. § 11, Grote xi. 510.

αὐτοὶ δέ] In the nominative αὐτός is invariably emphatic in all numbers and genders: in the oblique cases not necessarily so. Drake.

Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα] A proverbial phrase

for an act of dishonesty. Eurybatus of Ephesus was sent by Croesus to hire mercenaries against Cyrus, instead of doing which he deserted to and gave him the money. Hence 'a deed of Eurybatus' came to denote an act of treachery, and the name was applied to all cheats and tricksters. Harpocr. s. v. The allusion here seems to have been suggested by Aeschines himself (c. Ctes. § 137) asserting that οὔτε Φρυγῶδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο. Suidas also (i. 900) informs us that Aristophanes in his 'Daedalus' introduced Jupiter as a Ζεὺς Εὐρύβατος, and represented him as transforming himself into all sorts of shapes, and getting rich by all kinds of villainy.

χρηστῶν] 'respectable.'

τί γὰρ καὶ] 'for with what object after all?'

σκέψασθε] 'consider what course of action each of us chose.' Observe here, σκέψασθε as the aorist, εἴσεσθε as the future, and προορώμενος below as the present.

λίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ
 32 ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν 20
 ἔγραψα βουλευῶν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις
 ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ
 τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ
 ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς 25
 πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, ὑμῖν δ'
 33 ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε
 μόνον ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, 234
 πάσας ἐξελύσασθε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου,
 ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο,
 νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ
 τοῦ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν 5
 34 οὐδένα· γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα. ἂ ἐγὼ
 προορώμενος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ
 ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ
 Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν,
 ἢ ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα 10
 τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρρειον καὶ τὸ Μύρ-

βουλευῶν] 'As a senator.' This was on the 3rd of Μουνυχίων (April), nine days after the Athenians had taken the oaths before Antipater and Parmenio. Mr. Grote (xi. 538) observes that Aeschines (F. L. § 97) recognizes the fact that the resolution was passed by the senate, and that the envoys left Athens in consequence of it, but without adding that it was proposed by Demosthenes. See p. 109.

τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν] 'to receive the oaths in return,' for such is the notion implied by ἀπό.

τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο] 'and what did this amount to?' 'was hatte diess auf sich?' Jacobs. Comp. Xen. Anab. ii. 2. 13: Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι, ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν.

τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον] 'the interval between our taking the oaths of ratification and Philip's doing so.' Mr. Shilleto (F. L. § 181) compares (Aeschylus, Choeph. 63) ἐν μεταίχμιφ σκοτόυ, like our twilight betwixt (darkness and) light. Also Aristoph. Aves 187, ἐν μέσφ δήπουθεν

ἄῃρ ἐστὶ γῆς (i. e. καὶ οὐρανοῦ).

ἐξελύσασθε] 'broke up all your preparations.'

ὁ δὲ τοῦτο] 'whereas this (delay) was just what he had been contriving all the time.'

πρὸ τοῦ . . . ἀποδοῦναι] 'before he took the oaths in return.'

ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε] 'which he was just now disparaging,' literally 'pulling to pieces.' Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 82) speaks of them as places whose names were not even known before Demosthenes published them. χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾔδειμεν πρότερον. Some of them, however, are mentioned by Herodotus vii. 59. 108, and their position on the sea-coast of Thrace made the acquisition of them very important to Philip for the prosecution of his designs in that quarter.

τὸ Σέρρειον] Called an ἄκρη ὀνομαστή, or celebrated headland, by Herodotus. The article is prefixed because Aeschines had previously mentioned the places with contempt.

τιον καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνουνθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκείνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίη, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς 15
 35 ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευὼν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει· ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἢ ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν 20

πολλῶν ... χρημάτων] This may refer to the gold mines of that neighbourhood.

τοῖς λοιποῖς ... πράγμασιν] 'his other objects.'

τοῦτο ... οὐχὶ λέγει] Aeschines did allude to this decree, but not to Demosthenes as the mover of it. His words are (F. L. § 97) ἔστι γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα, ὃ κελεύει ἀπιέναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους. But this statement is not found in the speech against Ctesiphon.

τοὺς πρέσβεις] Foreign ambassadors were introduced to an audience with the people by a resolution of the senate. Demosthenes then as a senator moved that Philip's envoys should be introduced (προσάγειν) to the people for the purpose of discussing the conditions of the proposed peace. Comp. Aeschin. F. L. § 61: ταῖς ξενικαῖς πρεσβείαις ἢ βουλὴ τὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον προσόδους προβουλεύει.

μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι] 'should I have proposed not to introduce those who were come for the express purpose of negotiating with you? or have ordered the lessee not to assign them a seat?' Mr. Norris, differently, but I think incorrectly, thus: 'What ought I to have done? Refrain from proposing to summon before us the men who had come for the very purpose of communicating with you?'

ἢ ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν] The common rule for the use of the subjunctive and optative after ἵνα would require διαλεχθεῖεν, ἤκοντας having the signification of a past tense. But the actual διαλεχθῶσιν is really an instance of the general principle, that the subjunctive is used in dependent clauses to express a direct and immediate object or consequence, whereas the optative represents indirect results and contingent possibilities. See Mr. Blakesley's Note 40, on

Herod. i. 6. Dissen observes, "Noluit διαλεχθεῖεν, quod praetulisset si de consilio sine eventu ageretur."

ἢ θέαν] The theatre at Athens was the property of the state, and the lessee (Ἀρχιτέκτων, Θεατρώνης, Θεατροπώλης) had to keep it in repair and fit for use. He received the admission-money of two oboli (Διωβελία), which, however, the poorer classes received from the state, out of monies called τὰ θεωρικά, secured to them by the measures of Pericles (See note, p. 55) and Eubulus. "This," says Mr. Grote, xi. 493, "was essentially the Church-Fund at Athens, upon which were charged all the expenses incurred by the state in the festivals and the worship of the gods," and it arose from the surplus revenues which remained after providing for the expenses of the civil administration (τὰ περιόντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως). But these monies could not of course be applied for strangers (Harpoc. s. v.), and on foreign ambassadors visiting Athens, it was usual for a seat of honour, προεδρία, to be appropriated to them by a resolution of the senate, which in this case Demosthenes proposed as an act of ordinary courtesy towards the Macedonian envoys. Aeschines, however, founded a grave accusation upon it, to which Demosthenes replied, by urging that even if he had not paid them this compliment, they might have seen the plays ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, 'in the two-oboli seats,' or as others interpret the words for 'the two oboli.' Either meaning suits the argument, the object of which is to show, not that the envoys might have had another place if they had not had the προεδρία, but that the state (or rather the lessee) only lost an insignificant payment by it. Jacobs adopts the latter interpretation thus: 'Aber mittelst zweier Obolen hät-

ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεύσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακεῖναι; οὐ δῆπου. λέγε τοῖνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτ' λαβὼν, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη.

25

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, φυλῆς πρυτα-

ten sie zugesehn, wenn ein solcher Beschluss nicht gefasst wurde.' Mr. Drake supports the former by the well-known idioms, ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, 'in the fish market' (Aristoph. Vesp. 789), τὰν τῷ μύρῳ, 'the scent shop' (Æquit. 1375). Also (v. 857) τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῶν ἀλφίτων, 'the approach to the flour market.'

λέγει] Addressing the public scribe, who, as the archons presided at the γραφαὶ παρανόμων, is here their secretary. Dissen.

ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη] 'which he, though evidently acquainted with it, has passed over.' "Addebatur λέγε quod omittit S." Dindorf.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] In this oration there are no less than thirty-four documents appealed to as 'Pièces justificatives,' the first twenty-seven of which the text professes to give at length, while the last are uniformly wanting. Now on the supposition that the first twenty-seven were originally inserted by Demosthenes himself, we cannot understand why he omitted the seven last, and moreover it is observable that in his other orations, though similar documents are appealed to as given in evidence, still, as a rule, they are not embodied in the text. These circumstances alone would suggest doubts as to the genuineness of the documents in question, and this *à priori* doubt is so strongly confirmed by the evidence of their contents, as to justify, in my opinion, the conviction that they are all spurious. This opinion is entertained by many scholars, as Grote, F. W. Newman, C. R. Kennedy, Dindorf, Dobree, &c., and the evidence on which it rests will be further exhibited by a separate examination of the several documents as they occur. Believing them to be spurious I have enclosed them in brackets.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου] The reasons for believing this document to be spurious are as follows: (1) Irrelevancy

and deficiency. For whereas the purport of the resolution in question was simply to accelerate the departure of the ambassadors previously appointed ἐπὶ τοὺς δροκούς, the document of the text provides for their nomination, &c. And whereas (F. L. § 170) Demosthenes expressly provided that Proxenus the general should convey them to Philip (γράφω ψήφισμα βουλευόν, . . . ἀπιέναι τοὺς πρέσβεις τὴν ταχίστην, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Πρόξενον κομίζειν αὐτούς, &c. . . γράψας ὥσπερ νῦν λέγω, τοῖς ῥήμασιν οὕτως ἐντικρύς) still this document has no clause at all to that effect. Hence we may infer that the compiler consulted the 'de Corona' only, without referring to the 'de F. L.' (2) Mnesiphilus was not the Archon Eponymus of the year B.C. 346, but Themistocles. (3) The resolution was not passed on the last day of Hecatombæon, but the third of Munychion (Aesch. F. L. § 98). (4) The names of the ambassadors, except that of Aeschines, are all wrong, and only five are given instead of ten. (5) The resolution was passed by the senate only (F. L. § 170), so that δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ would have been sufficient without τῷ δήμῳ. (6) It is impossible to explain ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, for the peace was not formally voted in the first of the two assemblies holden on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion, but in the second. These and other points are discussed at length by Mr. F. W. Newman (Class. Mus. i. 147), and by Droysen in a previous dissertation 'Ueber die Aechtheit der Urkunden in Demosthenes Rede vom Kranz,' Berlin, 1839. A reply to the latter was published by Vömel at Frankfurt, 1841—42, intitled 'Die Echtheit der Urkunden in des Demosthenes Rede vom Kranze vertheidigt.'

ἔτη καὶ νέα] 'the old and new,' was a title given to the last day of the month, because as the lunar month consists of twenty-nine days and a fraction over, the

νευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις

37 ἐλίσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβανόντάς καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνοῦσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

38 Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἥλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος τὰκεῖ, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς 5 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρα εἶχε, καὶ 236 τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

39 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μὲν Φι-

last day of a calendar month of thirty days would belong partly to the old and partly to the new lunation.

φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης] The Athenian senate of 500 was divided into sections of fifty members each, called Prytanes, all of the same tribe, who acted as presidents of the assembly for thirty-five or thirty-six days, so as to complete the lunar year of 354 days ($12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$) each tribe taking its turn, and three regular assemblies being holden every month, one on the 11th, another about the 20th, and a third about the 30th. Ulpian ad Orat. c. Timocr. § 23. In this speech (c. Timocr.) the documents appealed to are quoted.

ἤδη] 'immediately.'

λαβεῖν τε . . . δοῦναι] This is inconsistent with the facts. The Athenians had already taken the oaths to Philip's ambassadors before they despatched an embassy to him.

οἱ χρηστοί] 'these worthy ambassadors

set themselves down.' Lord Brougham.

τρεῖς ὅλους] "This is an exaggeration. The resolution of the senate, which constrained the envoys to depart, was passed on the third of Munychion (April). Assuming that they set out on that very day (though it is more probable that they did not set out until the ensuing day) their absence would only have lasted seventy days." Grote xi. 567. See de F. L. § 65. ἡμερῶν δέκα] 'within ten days.' So Xen. Anab. i. 7. 18: οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν. And ἡμερῶν τεττάρων τὸ πλεῖστον. Aristoph. Vesp. 260.

παρόντων ἡμῶν] 'By our ambassadors. οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν' 'we should not have put the oath to him.'

Τὸ μὲν . . . πρῶτον] κλέμμα (i.e. κλέμμα) is connected with κλέπτω. Comp. Livy xxii. 10: "Si quis populo clepsit, ne populo scelus sit, neve cui cleptum erit." δωροδόκημα, 'bribe-taking.'

λίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ
 θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν 5
 καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον
 δ' εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μείζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε.
 40 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὤμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν
 τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι,
 πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακε- 10
 δονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῇ
 ποιήσαιο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει
 καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περι-
 πλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον
 κλείσαιτε τὸν πορθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελ- 15
 λόντων ἡμῶν ἀκείνους ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειθ'
 41 ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ
 ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ
 τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ
 πράγματ' αὐτὸν, ὥστε μισθοῦνται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, 20
 οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ'
 αὐτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν

ὑπὲρ οὗ . . . τούτοις] 'for which I avow that I was, and am, and ever will be, at war and variance with them.' C. R. K.

διὰ . . . οὐχὶ πεισθέντας] 'in consequence of their not having obeyed.'

ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν] With Dindorf I prefer this reading of the codex S. to ἀπίωσιν, for Demosthenes was one of the ambassadors as alleged by Aeschines.

ὥσπερ πρότερον] In B.C. 354—353 Philip attacked and took Methone on the Thermaic Gulf, the last remaining possession of Athens on the Macedonian coast. About this time also the Aleuadae of Larissa in Thessaly invited his aid against Lycophron, the τύραννος of Pherae, who in his turn solicited the help of the Phocians. This was readily given, and so effectually that Philip was at first obliged to withdraw. Soon afterwards, however, he re-entered Thessaly with a larger army, took Pherae, and the important maritime town of Pagasae, an Athenian expedition which had been despatched to relieve it, having arrived too late to do any service. He then (B.C. 353—352) after securing his dominion over Thessaly, marched towards Thermopylae with the view of in-

vading Phocis, proclaiming however, that his object was to liberate the temple at Delphi from its sacrilegious possessors the Phocians. Upon news of this reaching the Athenians, they became so much alarmed that they immediately fitted out and despatched a large force which reached Thermopylae in good time, and placed the pass in such a state of defence, that Philip made no attack at all upon it. The promptitude and energy displayed by the Athenians on this occasion are often eulogized by Demosthenes, and recommended as an example for imitation. The date seems to have been about May B.C. 352. Grote xi. 408—415. Diod. xvi. 38. Thirlwall, v. c. 43.

τὸν πορθμὸν] Probably the passsage between the N.W. point of Euboea (Cenaeum Pr.) and the south coast of Thessaly, where the channel is very narrow.

ἀλλ' ἅμ'] 'but at the very moment of your hearing of these things from our report, he might have passed on this side of The Gates.'

μὴ καὶ . . . ἐκφύγοι] 'lest he should miss his main objects, even though he had already gained these advantages.'

- 42 ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι
τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατ-
ηγορήσαντος Διοσχοῦ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ 237
λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, ἀπάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ
βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη καὶ μοι πρὸς
43 ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες
οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς 5
ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὥς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι
Φίλιππον εἰσὼ Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ'
ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν
ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς
δὲ φίλος, τοῦναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς 10
οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ
τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φω-
κεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναληγσίας καὶ τῆς
44 βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ'
ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀ- 15
έχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς,
οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι
καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγα-
γόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν
ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς 20
45 τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θεττα-

μη κατηγορήσαντος] 'if he had not in his speech accused me of any thing out of the indictment:' 'if he had not travelled out of the record,' in *nisi prius* language. 'If he had not spoken of matter out of the four corners of the charge.' Lord B.

ἕτερον] 'foreign to it,' or 'irrelevant.' ἀπάσαις δ' αἰτίαις] 'but as he has at the same time had recourse to all sorts of charges and slanders.'

ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ'] Demosthenes here introduces the actual words of the speaker, instead of correcting them.

οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα] 'for it was not words, said he, that consolidate friendships, using very fine phraseology, but identity of interests.' "Idem velle, atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est." Mr. Drake translates μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, 'phrasing it pompously enough.'

ἀναληγσίας] This word means a want of sympathy with, and a callous indifference to, the feelings of others. Here 'heartlessness,' or 'brutality.' ἀναίσθητος is 'deficient in sense,' or 'taste,' as Mr. Drake observes, referring to ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν . . . περίεστιν, § 163: 'By their stupidity they cause their hearers to feel hurt.' βαρύτης means 'overbearing insolence.'

διὰ τὴν τόθ'] 'on account of your then lurking animosity against the Thebans.' Another reading for ὑποῦσαν is ὑπάρχουσαν. σκευαγωγεῖν] 'carried your effects out of the country into the towns.'

οὐκ εἰς μακράν] Aeschines said this on the 16th of Scirophorion (June), and the Phocians surrendered on the 23rd. F. L. § 65.

τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν] 'that our hostility with the Thebans was gained by the city,

λοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταύτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τότε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταύτ' ἄπανθ' ὑμῶν ἔσται 25 φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

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- 46 [Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἀρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν γενομένης, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπρίοντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε μηδὲνα Ἀθηναίων μη-

and their gratitude for what was done by Philip.]

λέγε] This verb is not often synonymous with ἀναγιγνώσκω, except in the imperative.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] 'Psephisma et epistolam in ima pagina ponit Y.' This document also is considered spurious for the following reasons. (1) Mnesiphilus was not Archon at the time specified. (2) Though Demosthenes (F. L. p. 359) may have exaggerated the shortness of the interval between the report of the second embassy (13th of Scirophorion) and the Athenian panic which followed after the news of Philip's destruction of the Phocian cities, still it is incredible that the king should have waited nearly five months (Scirophorion to Maemacterion, June to November) from their surrender on the 23rd, before proceeding to the extremities which so alarmed Athens. (See p. 113.) Consequently the true date of the Resolution was not the 21st of Maemacterion, and *à fortiori* it could not be, if, as Demosthenes intimates (F. L. §§ 67, 97), the news which caused so much alarm arrived on the 27th of Scirophorion. (3) The purport of this document does not coincide with what we should expect from facts related elsewhere. Thus Demosthenes (F. L. § 137) shows that the ψήφισμα in question provided for the repair of the forts, and fortifying the Peiraeus, for the removal of all the women and children out of the country, and for the celebration of the feast of Hercules within the walls. But instead of this, the resolution of the text forbids any one whatever to be in the country during the night, except the guards on duty, an order which, as Mr. Newman observes, could not have been executed, and on which, if it had been made, Demos-

thenes would have commented, in aggravation of the case against Aeschines. Other objections will be noticed as we proceed.

συγκλήτου] As it has been said before there was a certain number (3) of regular assemblies every Prytany, but whenever the strategi wished to convene one on a special occasion, the people were summoned to it by officers sent round for that purpose, and hence such assemblies were called σύγκλητοι (ὅτι συνεκάλουν τινὲς περίοντες) in contradistinction to the others called κύρται. See Ἐκκλησία, in Dict. of Antiq.

δεκάτῃ ἀπρίοντος] The Athenian months of twenty-nine or thirty days each were divided into three decades, the days of the first decad being counted forwards from one to ten, and designated as ἀρχομένον, or ἱσταμένον μηνός. Those of the second also proceeded from the eleventh to the twentieth day (εἰκάς), and were designated as ἐπὶ δέκα or μεσοῦντος, τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, e. g., being the thirteenth. In the last decad the days were counted on forwards from the twentieth, as τρίτῃ ἐπὶ εἰκάδι, the twenty-third, or backwards from the last day, with the addition of φθίνοντος, παυομένον, or as here ἀπρίοντος. Thus the twenty-fourth of a hollow month of twenty-nine days was πεμπτῇ ἀπρίοντος, of a full month ἑκτῇ ἀπρίοντος. See Calendar (Greek) in Dict. of Antiq. According to Dissen the month Maemacterion had by the Metonic cycle only twenty-nine days in B.C. 346 (Olymp. 103. 3), so that there could be no such day as δεκάτῃ ἀπρίοντος. This then would be another indication of spuriousness.

μηδεμίᾳ παρευρεῖται] For προφάσει, but it is scarcely Attic Greek of the age of Demosthenes. Mr. Newman observes: "παυεῖσκειν is found in Herodotus and

δεμιᾶ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧσται καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους ἦν
 47 παρέλαβον τάξιν διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον. εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.]

48 Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἢ ταυτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;
 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

49 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα

Diodorus, the Ionism blending (as frequently) with the later common dialect. I cannot find *παρεύρεσις* again."

κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι] 'pernoctare,' 'übernachten' scarcely seems to me contemporaneous Greek. Polybius v. 17. 9, uses it thus: Δεήσει πάντας μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων κοιταίους ἐν τῇ τῶν Τεγεατῶν γίνεσθαι πόλει.

ὅσοι μὴ] 'except those detached on garrison duties.'

ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων] The strategai at Athens were ten in number, one for each of the tribes, and entrusted with a variety of functions. If we could rely upon this document, and also upon that in p. 265, we should conclude that in B.C. 346, some of these στρατηγοί were not commanders of all the troops at Athens, but only of the horse or foot of separate armies, while another, 'the general of the administration,' was employed in judicial labours and other civil services, as that of the paymastership (τοῦ μισθοδοτήσαι) of the troops. We do indeed here find the titles ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων or ὁ πλιτῶν στρατηγός, and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων with the descriptions ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως and ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένος (§ 147); but Mr. Newman observes, "he would be glad to know if there is any other proof that such a distribution of functions and

appellations existed at that time, for Boeckh (Publ. Econ. Athens, ii. c. 7) when quoting these appellations, refers to the documents of pp. 238 and 265 as his sole and sufficient proof." See Στρατηγός in Dict. of Antiq.

ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς] This officer was elected by lot by the senate for every Πρυτανεία, and it seems to have been his duty to preserve the records and votes of that body. His name also was prefixed to their resolutions as drawn up before the archonship of Eucleides, B.C. 403. Böckh, Econ. of Athens, i. p. 249.

κατακομίζειν] "Dicitur quia urbs propius ad mare sita est ut Fal. Leg. § 137." Dissen.

Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν] The names of various forts or φρούρια in Attica. The actual resolution provided for the fortification of the Peiraeus, and the repair of these forts. F. L. § 137.

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ] Observe the order. 'Wère these then the expectations with which you made the peace? Was this what was promised to you by this hireling?'

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ] There are not so many nor so clear marks of spuriousness in this document as in the others, though obviously it must be classed with and among them. Droysen maintains its spuriousness, Vömel its genuineness.

- ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγχοχότας, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος 239
- 50 λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκίων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἂν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἕξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικούντες.]
- 51 Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι “ταῦτα ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὥστ' εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς 5
- 52 ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ὥχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ' ὅτι οὐν

ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς] ‘under ourselves.’ This appears strange, and not ordinary Greek. προσετίθετο] A sort of euphemism for surrendering themselves. So παραστήσασθαι, ‘to bring over to one’s own side,’ is used for reducing a city by siege.

εἰσαγχοχότας] So § 90, in a professedly Athenian ψήφισμα, καταγχοχεν. With this form, or rather with ἀγχοχ-α, we may compare the analogous perfects, ἐδ-ήδοκ-α, ἐν-ήνοχ-α, ἀν-ήνοθ-α, ἐγρ-ήγορ-α. In ἐν-ήνοχ-α the root is ηνεκ, (as in δι-ηνεκ-ής and ἡνεγ-κα), ἐν the reduplication, and ηνοχ the usual change for the perfect. So ἀν-ήνοθ-α is the perfect of a root ενεθ (connected with ευνος), and ἀγ-ήγοχ-α, is formed from ηγεκ, a lengthened form of the root αγ, with a change of vowel for the perfect. This form (ἀγ-ήγοχ-α) occurs in some inscriptions quoted by Buttmann (Lex. 139) and from it come ἀγέλοχα and ἀγέλοχα.

κατὰ κράτος] ‘by force,’ opposed to ἐκουσίως. In the F. L. § 68, Demosthenes attempts to exaggerate his opponent’s guilt, by asserting the contrary,—another proof that the compiler consulted the De Corona only. His words are: τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἀλῶναι πολιορκίᾳ, μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σπείσασθαι πάντας ἔρδην ἀπολέσθαι, μέγιστον ἐστὶ σημεῖον τοῦ διὰ τούτους πεισθέντες αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φιλίππου

σωθήσονται ταῦτα παθεῖν.

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις] ‘for in short.’ καθόλου Wolf. This phrase is noticed by Mr. Newman, as ‘a striking peculiarity.’ καὶ ὁμοίως] ‘and not at all the less drawing out your forces against me.’ We have no mention of this fact elsewhere, nor after the destruction of the Phocian towns and the recently made peace, is it credible that the Athenians would have marched out single-handed against Philip.

συμπεριειλημμένων] See Introduction to the De Pace, p. 109.

οὐδὲν προτερήσετε] ‘you will gain no further advantage.’ οὐδὲν προτερήσετε and ἕξω for πλήν are remarkable and unusual phrases.

διορίζεται] ‘he affirms.’ Pollux (V. 152) mentions together, as synonymes, διαβεβαιόμαι, διςχυρίζομαι, διορίζομαι, διατείνομαι.

ταῦτα ἐγὼ] I prefer this order to ἐγὼ ταῦτα, adopted by Dindorf from the codex S. I see no reason for giving ἐγὼ an emphatic place.

ὥχετο . . . λαβὼν] ‘by these means he so far carried them away with him, that they did not foresee any thing, but suffered him to make himself master of the position.’ Or as the Oxford edition, ‘he carried them away with him into an utter blindness and insensibility to the future.’ Mr. Kennedy observes, “The metaphorical use of the word transported is not dissimilar to

προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔᾶσαι
 πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. ἐξ ὧν
 53 ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ 10
 δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστῆς
 καὶ ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγέλλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ δι-
 54 ἐξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρὰ, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι κακῶν
 καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὧν 15
 αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβη-
 κόσω, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ' ἔχων
 ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς
 εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος. 240

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον
 ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδεί-
 ξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμά-
 των γέγονεν αἷτια. 5

55 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου
 διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ
 ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῆρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί
 ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι 10

ῥχετο λαβών" here. Comp. F. L. § 21: ἀπαντας ὑμᾶς λαβών ῥχετο.

δι' ἐξιῶν]. 'dwelling upon them as piti-
 able,' as in c. Ctes. § 128, where Aeschines
 says: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέ-
 γησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μίᾳς πόλεως ἧς ἐγὼ
 οὐτ' ἂν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ
 παραπλήσιοι γένοιτο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων. So in § 150 he says: μηδ'
 ὑπομνήσκετε τῶν ἀναισθάνων καὶ ἀνηκέσ-
 των κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους,
 and paints a melancholy picture of the
 evils which befel them upon the capture
 of their city by Alexander, B.C. 335.

δῆλον γάρ] Iron. 'For you forsooth
 grieve over what has happened, though
 you have property in Euboea, and are
 farming what once was theirs.' Comp.
 F. L. 158: ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότην συμ-
 μάχων χώρα κτήματα καὶ γεωργίαι παμ-
 πληθεῖς.

ἐξητούμην] Immediately after the
 destruction of Thebes for revolting at the
 instigation of the Athenians, Alexander
 demanded that eight of the leading anti-

Macedonian orators should be given up
 to him, or, as some said, ten. Of this
 number Demosthenes was one. The king
 however was prevailed upon to relent by
 Demades, who for a sum of five talents
 undertook to use his influence, as a par-
 tizan of Macedon, for that purpose. Plut.
 in vita c. 23. Diod. xvii. 15. The un-
 willingness of the Athenians to surrender
 Demosthenes at such a crisis is a proof of
 the esteem which his countrymen felt for
 him.

Ἀλλὰ γάρ] 'But no more; for I have
 fallen upon topics which perhaps it will
 be more fitting to discuss by and by.'

τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις] 'those who
 during their embassies let themselves out
 for hire.'

κατάπτυστοι] 'despicable.' The The-
 salians were not considered as pure
 Hellenes by the rest of Hellas, and were
 described as μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ στάσεως
 μεστοί (Isocr. Epis. ad Phil. ii. § 21),
 and as διπλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι (Dion. Hal.
 Rhet. p. 402). Theopompus described

Θηβαῖοι φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγούντο·
 πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι
 βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ
 δυσχεραίνοντές, ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ τι ἂν
 56 ἐποιεῖτε μόνοι. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφε- 15
 νακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἥλπισαν, ἦγον τὴν εἰρή-
 νην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινα ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμού-
 μενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τρι-

them as ἀκόλαστοι καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσελγείς, and says that Philip captivated more of them by his entertainments than he did by his presents. Athen. vi. c. 76.

Θηβαῖοι] Demosthenes describes their obligations to Philip at some length in the F. L. §. 154.

εὐεργέτην] A title affected by many of the kings who reigned over the dismembered provinces of Alexander's kingdom.

πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν] 'Philip was every thing to them.' So c. Aristoc. § 143: πάντ' ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος. Thucyd. viii. 95: Εὐβοία γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν.

οὐδὲ φωνήν] 'they would not even listen to a man.'

ὑφορώμενοι] 'though viewing with suspicion what had been done, and feeling aggrieved at it.'

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δέ] 'and so also the rest of the Greeks.' The sentences are connected by δέ.

καὶ αὐτοί] 'though they themselves had been for a long time in a manner assailed by him.'

περιῶν] 'marching and countermarching.' The expedition against the Illyrians was in B. C. 344, two years after the peace and alliance with Athens. In the same year Philip invaded Thessaly (p. 207), and placed a garrison in Pherae, after which he attacked, but unsuccessfully, Ambracia and Leucas on the coast of Epirus (c. Phil. iii. § 44. p. 216). Subsequently (B. C. 342—341) he prosecuted his aggressive policy by overrunning the Chersonese, conquering portions of Thrace, and using all his means to induce the Byzantines to join him in hostilities against Athens. Owing, however, to the exertions and presence of Demosthenes, they and their allies the Perinthians joined Athens, for which Philip attempted to punish them by besieging Perinthus. In connexion with this measure he also violated the territory of the Athenians in the Chersonese (p. 216) and

captured their merchantmen, so that soon afterwards (B. C. 340) they openly declared war against him (Diod. xvi. 77), and then sent their fleets to co-operate with the Byzantines and others in assisting Perinthus. The result was that after a siege of three months with 30,000 men Philip was foiled, whereupon he suddenly attacked Byzantium. Thither also the Athenians despatched a large fleet under Phocion, which, in conjunction with the forces of several of the chief islands of the Aegean, compelled him to retire from that city also, and thus prevented him from making himself master (τῆς σιτονομίας κύριος γενέσθαι) of the waters by which the corn from the coasts of the Black Sea was conveyed to Greece (§ 109). Accordingly he determined to abandon his designs against Byzantium and Perinthus, and by proposing peace upon this basis, he broke up the confederacy of the Chians, Rhodians, and Coans, which had been formed against him for their defence, though, at the same time, hostilities still continued with Athens and her more intimate allies. In the following year (B. C. 339) he operated in another quarter, and successfully invaded the territory (Eastern Bulgaria) of the Scythian king, Atheas, lying between Mount Haemus (the Balkan) and the Danube. On his return, however, he was attacked by the Triballi (to the W. of Bulgaria) by whom he suffered a serious defeat, losing the captives whom he had taken in Scythia, and being himself severely wounded. Justin, ix. 2, 3. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 128. Plutarch, Demos. c. 17. Phocion, c. 14. Diod. xvi. 69. 74—77. We may add that some of the events which we have described are narrated in this Oration (pp. 305—307), while others are summed up in the De Halon. § 33. p. 159, thus: Φεραίῳ μὲν ἀφῆρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ὦσιν, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται, τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς

βαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ
 δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες 20
 τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες
 ἐκείσε διεφθειρόντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες ἐφ' οὓς
 ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾔσθ-
 57 νοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
 προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰὲ καὶ ὅποι 25
 πεμφθεῖην. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύ-
 εσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων 241
 ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προ-
 ορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ
 δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων,
 πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἦξιεν, 5
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχή-
 58 σειν, ὅταν βούλονται. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν
 πληθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεσθηκόσι καὶ τᾶλλα πλὴν

πόλεις Πανδοσίαν, καὶ Βούχετα, καὶ Ἑλάτειαν ἠλείων ἀποικίας, κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν. This Cassopia was in Epirus, near the Gulf of Ambracia. Grote xi. 612—639.

ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ἐξουσίᾳ] 'on the strength of the peace.' Mr. Kennedy: 'taking advantage of the peace.'

ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος] 'this is a different matter, not concerning me.' So Plut. Apol. Socr. c. 23: Εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος.

ὅποι πεμφθεῖην] In or before B.C. 344 Demosthenes persuaded his countrymen to send himself and other envoys into Peloponnesus, where he remonstrated with the Messenians and Argives on their devotion to Philip and unwise hostility against Sparta (c. Phil. ii. pp. 139, 140). From his own account (§ 304) it appears that he also went as an ambassador to Thessaly, Ambracia, and lastly to the Chersonese and Byzantium in B.C. 340. Grote xi. 628.

αἱ δὲ πόλεις] 'The states were demoralised, those engaged in public life and the administration of affairs, taking bribes, while private individuals and the multitude were on the one hand deprived of

foresight, and on the other beguiled by the indifference and indolence of their daily life, and all were labouring under somewhat of the same affection, imagining, each of them, that the peril would just stop short at themselves, and that by the danger of others their own safety would be secured whenever they wished.' Mr. Drake translates ἐνόσουν, 'were morally diseased.' Comp. νόσημα γὰρ αἰσχιστον εἶναι φημι συνθέτους λόγους. Prom. Vinc. v. 704.

πλὴν οὐκ] Dobree writes '[πλὴν] οὐκ. An πλὴν ex lin. 8?' alluding to τᾶλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοῦς, below. Here it seems either unnecessary or insufficient. The full phrase would be παντάχως πλὴν, as in c. Dionysod. § 26: πλέουσα παντάχως πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας. If the text is right it must mean 'all but to themselves.'

ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν] Here we should rather expect ἔξειν. In εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην ἐξουσίαν σχήσετε, this form of the future is very different in meaning. But comp. Prom. Vinc. v. 18: πάντως δ' ἀνάγκη τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ τόλμαν σχεθεῖν, and Thucyd. vi. 6: τὴν ἅπασαν δύναμιν τῆς Σικελίας σχήσουσιν.

εἴτ' οἶμαι] 'Then I imagine the consequence to the masses has been that they have lost their freedom by their gross and unseasonable indifference.'

ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν 10
 αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομάζοντο,
 ἡνίκα ἔδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τὰλλ'
 59 ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. εἰκότως· οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν
 χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὦν ἂν πρίηται κύριος 15
 γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται·
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι
 ταῦτα· οὐκ ἔστι· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ
 τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἔστί, τὴν δὲ ποιηρίαν 20
 εἰδὼς, τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλα-
 60 κίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρέλθλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰεὶ
 πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος
 ὠνομάζετο Φιλίππου, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι, τού- 25
 του Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδίκος
 καὶ Σῖμος οἱ Λαρισαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ

πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι] 'the discovery
 that they have sold themselves.' With
 the construction comp. Milton, Sams.
 Agonist.: 'knowing, as needs I must, by
 thee betrayed.'

φίλων καὶ ξένων] By φίλων are appa-
 rently meant friends of the same country,
 and by ξένων friends of different countries,
 connected by hospitality or the inter-
 change of good offices. That ξένος does
 not necessarily imply an absent friend,
 appears from Eurip. Hec. 1235: οὐ
 δίκαιον εὖ δράσεις ξένον, and v. 1244:
 ἔνδρ' ἀποκτεῖναι ξένον. Mr. Kennedy
 here makes no distinction between φίλων
 and ξένων, simply because the English
 language does not furnish the means. He
 translates both 'friends.'

ἀκούουσιν] 'they are called.' So in
 Horace, "Matutine Pater, seu Jane liben-
 tius audis," and in Milton, P. L. iii.:

"Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal
 stream,
 Whose fountain who shall tell?"

τοῦ προδιδόντος] 'of the man who is
 ready to betray.'

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν] 'otherwise nothing would
 have been more fortunate than a traitor.'
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ] 'nay, it is quite the

reverse.'

ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν] 'when the man who is
 ambitious to rule has become master of
 the position,' or 'gained his objects.'

τότε δὴ, τότε] 'then, indeed,—then, I
 say, knowing their baseness, he hates, he
 distrusts, he spurns them.' Mark the
 rise to a climax in sound and sense. The
 δέ in τὴν δὲ ποιηρίαν is used in the apo-
 dosis without a previous μέν.

σκοπεῖτε δέ] 'and mark the reason.
 Even if the time of the events has passed
 by, still the time for appreciating such
 things is always present with men of
 sense.' In other words, a traitor's trea-
 son is never forgotten.

Λασθένης] Lasthenes and Euthycrates
 betrayed Olynthus to Philip (F. L. § 394),
 and Demosthenes (de Chers. p. 187)
 speaks of them (B.C. 343) thus: οἱ ἐπειδὴ
 τὴν πόλιν προὔδωσαν πάντων κάκιστ' ἀπο-
 λώλασιν. Whatever may be the meaning
 of this ἀπολώλασιν, there is an anecdote in
 Plutarch (Apophth. p. 178) which indi-
 cates their subsequent residence at the
 court of Philip. Thirlwall's Greece v.
 315.

Σῖμος] According to Harpoc. (s. v.)
 Simus was one of the great Thessalian
 house of the Aleuadae, who invited Philip

- ἐποίησαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβρίζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν 242
οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονε προδο-
τῶν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυνῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν
61 Μεγάρους; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν
τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ 5
πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῶν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προ-
διδούσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε
περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνθιστα-
μένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῶοι καὶ
ἐμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλπειτε. 10
62 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότεπραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ
λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι.
αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγ-
καῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύ- 15

to aid them against the tyrants of Pherae. Eudicus also probably belonged to the Aleuadae as well as Simus, who is elsewhere described as an inhabitant of Larissa. (c. Neaer. § 141.)

εἴτ' . . .] 'then the whole land is become full of traitors driven from city to city, and insulted,—nay, what misery is there which they do not suffer?' By οἰκουμένη Greece is meant, as in the de Halon. p. 160.

οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι] 'are they not outcasts?' The word simply means 'scouted and abandoned,' as things which have been used up, and then are thrown away. Comp. "And unregarded age in corners thrown," Shakspeare. 'As You Like It,' Act. ii. Sc. 4. Or rather, "Mischief, while it prospers, brings Favour from the smile of kings, Useless, soon is thrown away." W. Habington, A.D. 1640.

οὗτος ὑμῶν] 'he it is who secures for you the possession of that for which you will receive your bribes, and through the majority here, and through those who oppose your designs is it that you are safe and in the receipt of pay, for had it depended on yourselves you would have been ruined long ago.'

ἑωλοκρασίαν] From ἑωλος, hesternus, and κράσις, and therefore a mixture of yesterday's victuals and drink. Its meaning here will be best illustrated by its use elsewhere. Thus in Bekker's Anec. p. 258, it is explained as the emptying the soup-basins, and the dregs of a previous

night's supper on the guests who had fallen asleep: ἡ κατὰ χυσις τῶν ζωμῶν τῶν ἐώλων δείπνων ἐπὶ τοὺς κοιωμένους τῶν συμπινόντων. So also Plutarch (Sept. Sap. Conv. c. 2): ἐνίοις ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἐμμένει τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσάρεστον ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασία τις ὕβρεως ἢ ὀργῆς ἐν οἴῳ γενομένης. And Lucian (Symp. c. 3): πολλὰν τὴν ἑωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας τῶν φιλοσόφων. The passage here is thus explained by Didymus in Harpoc. s. v.: οὗτος χθές καὶ πρόην ἂ ἐκέρασε πράγματα, τήμερόν μου καταχεῖ καὶ ἐμὲ πρᾶζαί φησι. It may be translated: 'who has emptied out on me, as it were, the stale mess of his own villainy and wrongs.' Mr. Drake thus: 'for this Aeschines himself is answerable, since he has bespattered me as it were with the remains of a yesterday's debauch from his own villainy and crimes.' Kennedy: 'has spirited over me the dregs.' Leland: 'disgorged all the foulness.' Lord B: 'poured out in our faces the crapulous remains.'

τοὺς νεωτέρους] Too young to remember the facts of the Phocian war, nearly twenty years previous.

ἀπολύσασθαι] 'to clear myself of.' The metaphor of ἑωλοκρασία, is not kept up here, and accordingly ἀπολύσασθαι, 'to wash off,' has been conjectured. But there is no MS. authority for it, nor in an impassioned harangue is a mixture of metaphor or inconsistency in the use of it to be wondered at.

σασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν
 63 ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καί-
 τοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που
 λέγων “ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.” ἐγώ
 σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι ; 20
 οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἵποίμ’ ἂν
 ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστάς καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ
 64 καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν ;
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρό- 25
 τερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ’
 ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτοὺς, μᾶλλον δ’ ἐγὼ τοῦθ’ ὑπὲρ σοῦ
 ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθω-
 τὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου ; ἀκούεις ἂ λέ- 243
 γουσιν.

65 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπο-
 λογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν’ ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα
 καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι’ ἧς φημι καὶ τούτων 5
 τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων
 δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. καὶ μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν
 αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

66 [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφροβολίωνος ἕκτη ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης

παρηνώχλησθε δέ] ‘and perhaps you too (as well as myself) were disgusted with it.’

καὶ . . . που λέγων] ‘and lately somewhere in his speech, he used the expression of “the man that reproaches me with the friendship of Alexander.”’

μισθωτός] Ulpian tells a silly story of Demosthenes having pronounced this word with a wrong accent (on the antepenult) in order that his acute audience might correct him with a loud acclamation of μισθωτός.

ἀκούεις ἂ λέγουσιν] The question was a bold one for the orator to put to his audience; but we may be sure that he knew his audience well, and had already perceived the success of his appeals to them. The answer shows that, however bold the experiment, it was a safe one. Leland sensibly remarks, “The assembly to which Demosthenes addressed himself

was of a different kind from one of our modern courts. The audience were not at all concerned to suppress the emotions raised in them by the speaker, and Demosthenes had a large party present who he was well assured would return the proper answer loudly.” Mr. Long, on the contrary, conceives that the question is a mere rhetorical artifice, written but not spoken. See his note on Cicero, Verr. ii. 4, c. 3, where referring to ‘Sed earum artificem, quem? quemnam? Recte admones,’ he observes that Cicero uses an artifice which he probably borrowed from the Athenian orators, and thereby gives an air of reality or of a spoken discourse to that which was only written.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν] ‘I wish then now to vindicate myself on the indictment itself also.’

ΓΡΑΦΗ] That this document is spurious is easily proved. We know from

Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων γραφὴν κατὰ Κτησιφώντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, 67 τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι 68 ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράφας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἑόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἴτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποῖος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεῦεν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἔαν μὲν ἡ 244 βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἔαν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλητῆρες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφώντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

69 Ἄ μὲν διώκειν τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

Aeschin. (c. Ctes. § 27) that Demosthenes was appointed *τειχοποῖος* for his tribe in a meeting of it holden on the 2nd and 3rd of Scirophorion (June), in the year when Chaerondas was archon, i.e. just before the summer solstice of B.C. 337, and about a month before the close of that archonship. It follows then that the offence of Ctesiphon could not have been committed before that date, and that the consequent impeachment must have been still later than it. Notwithstanding, this document states the impeachment to have been made on the 6th of Elaphebolion (March) in the same year of Chaerondas, — a manifest anachronism, on which Mr. Newman observes, “such is the ill-luck of the fabricator of these documents when he ventures to deal with a real instead of a fictitious archon.” As to the matter of the document, it might easily have been extracted from this speech.

ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς] ‘lodged with the archon,’ or as a Chancery lawyer would call it, ‘filed an information.’

τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς] ‘with the new tragedies,’ i. e. when the new tragedies with new characters are brought out. This was at the Great Dionysia (Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει, ἄστικά or μεγάλα) holden in the city in the spring, and attended not only by the country people of Attica, but

by strangers from all parts of Greece. The tragedies performed on these occasions were generally new pieces, though not always, the great actors naturally preferring to appear in the characters of the great old dramatists rather than as the representatives of the inferior poets of their own time. F. L. § 274. Aulus Gell. N. A. vii. 5.

μὴ ἀναγορεῦειν] The construction is here changed, as if *κελευόντων* had preceded.

τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ] Dissem supplies *εἰσόδῳ*, others *ἐπιδείξει*. The same idea is thus found in Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 34): *τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν*.

Πυκνὶ] If this word, as is probable, be connected with *πυκνός*, then the oblique cases are correctly written with *πυκν.*, although the nominative, on euphonic principles, is not *πύκνς*, but *πνύξ*.

τίμημα] The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* then was a *τιμῆρις ἀγών*, in which the prosecutor laid the damages or assessed the penalty, and the defendant made a counter-assessment (*ἀντιτιμῶν*), and the court settled it (*ἐπικρίνειν*).

κλητῆρες] They were the witnesses to the summons or notice (*πρόσκλησις*) served on a defendant, requiring him to appear before the proper magistrate, and put in the necessary answer to the accusa-

ταύτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον
 ὑμῖν ποιήσκειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι τὴν γὰρ
 αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ
 πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παρα- 5
 70 λείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ
 βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν
 ὃ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς
 πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων
 ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε 10
 71 Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ
 μὴ προσγράψαντα· “ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ” στεφανοῦν
 καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινω-
 νεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός
 εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε 15
 καὶ μὴ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,
 καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὕτωςι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες

tion against him. This notice was often served by the plaintiff in person, accompanied by two witnesses, whose names, as here, were subscribed to the indictment, or bill of plaint. Dict. of Antiq. in Δίκη. Comp. Mitchell, Aristoph. Vespae, v. 13. δικαίως] ‘honestly,’ without any tricks or sophistry.

τῶν γεγραμμένων] ‘taking the charges of the indictment in the same order as he has done.’ Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 206) had called upon Demosthenes to answer the speech of the prosecution in the order of its topics: οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεάς. To this Demosthenes replies that he follows the order of the counts of the indictment, and the spurious γραφή is framed so as to suit this arrangement rather than that of the prosecutor’s speech.

τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι] Dependent, as ἐπαινεῖν (with which we must supply τοῦ) is on κρίσιν. Trans.: ‘With regard then to the statement that “I have invariably by word and deed promoted the advantage of the public, and that I am anxious to do whatever good I can,” and the panegyric of me on such grounds, the decision must, I conceive, rest upon my public acts.’

εἴτε ἀληθῆ . . . εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ] Dissen here remarks, “In altero membro, nunc additur καὶ, nunc non additur. Atque abest καὶ, ubi paria membra ut Plato Theaet. § 38: ἐξαχθέντος δὲ, τότε” ἤδη σκέψομαι, εἴτ' ἀνεμιαῖον εἴτε γόνιμον ἀναφανήσεται. Ubi vero prius ex ambobus positus praefertur animo loquentis additur καὶ in secundo membro. Vide statim paullo post, aut Dem. de Rhod. Libi 193: εἴτ' ὁρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι εἴτε καὶ μὴ. Plat. Theaet. § 65: καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐπισκέψαι εἴτε ταῦτόν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀσθησις. Et sic innumeris in locis.”

τὸ δὲ μὴ] ‘and as for his proposing to crown me (στεφανοῦν) without the additional proviso, “when he has rendered his accounts,” and having ordered proclamation to be made of the crowning in the theatres.’ Dissen supplies γράψαι τούτῳ after προσγράψαντα, making στεφανοῦν depend upon γράψαι. But it clearly depends upon κελεῦσαι just as ἀνειπεῖν does. The reference is to what Aeschines had said c. Ctes. § 31: ὁ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν, μὴ προσθεῖς ἐπειδὴν δῶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνas, and § 204: οὐδὲ προσεγράψαντα ἐπειδὴν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνas.

ἐν τούτοις] ‘amongst the citizens.’ εἴτε καὶ μὴ] ‘or it may be not,’ implying that he was worthy of it. So

- Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖ-
 72 σθαι, βαδιόυμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με
 μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἔαν εἰς 20
 Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ
 ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με καὶ 245
 γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ
 ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ
 ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προ-
 αιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς 5
 πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων
 δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.
- 73 Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ
 προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἑάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι
 τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα 10
 ἐπέστην ἐγὼ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων
 74 ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν,
 οὐ τισὶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωρο-
 δόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι το- 15
 75 σαύτην, ὅσπην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγонуῖαν· οὗς

Hom. II. ii. 238: ἡ ῥά τι οἷ' χ' ἡμεῖς προσ-
 αμύνομεν ἧε καὶ οὐκί.

ἀπαρτᾶν] I. q. ἀποσπᾶν καὶ ἀποχω-
 ρίζειν. Gram. in Bekk. Anec. p. 10. Trans-
 late: 'That I am withdrawing my argument
 (i. e. wandering) from the indictment if I
 go into affairs and discussions relating to
 Greece in general.' Lord Brougham here
 observes: "The extreme importance to
 Demosthenes' case of the skilful move-
 ment, so to speak, by which he availed
 himself of Aeschines' error, and at once
 entered on the subject of his whole ad-
 ministration,—thus escaping the imme-
 diate charge to which he had no answer,
 and overwhelming his adversary by a
 triumphant defence on ground of his own
 choosing,—requires that he should again
 and again defend this movement, which
 he here does very carefully."

ὁ γὰρ διώκων] 'for the man who im-
 puts the recital in the resolution that I
 act and speak for the best interests of the
 state, and who has impeached this state-
 ment as untrue, he it is who has made

such topics appropriate and necessary to
 this indictment.'

εἴτα καί] 'in the next place, when there
 were indeed many lines of public life open
 to my choice.'

πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι] His first public
 speech was on the Symmoriae, B.C. 355.
 Before this Philip had taken Amphipolis
 and Pydna (B.C. 358), and Potidaea (B.C.
 356).

ἃ δ' ἀφ'] 'but the checks he met with,
 from the day on which I entered upon
 these duties,' i. e. τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ
 δημηγορεῖν.

τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών] 'premiering thus
 much.'

ὑπῆρξε] 'had from the first.'

φορά] 'a crop.' Θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, 'exe-
 crable men, miscreants.' φορά is often
 used as here. "Diod. xvi. 54: τοιαύτη
 φορά τις προδοτῶν ὑπῆρξε τότε κατὰ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 235: φορὰ δη-
 τῶν πονηρῶν ἔμα καὶ τολμηρῶν. So
 'novorum proventum scelerum,' Lucan.
 Pharsal. ii. 61." Dissen.

συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι
 χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς, τοὺς δὲ
 πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ 20
 ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνους μέγαν
 76 γίνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοία τοῦ
 συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων
 ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσήκον
 ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων 25
 λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς 246
 77 πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρήν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τὸ
 φρόνημα ἀφείσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν
 καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια 5
 ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς,
 ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προ-
 ησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιυδεῖν γιγνόμενα·
 78 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμέ-
 νοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν 10
 πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβη-
 κόντων τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχροῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς

ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε] 'he brought into a still worse state the Greeks who even before were ill-disposed and unfriendly to each other.'

τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς] 'and making offers to others.'

διέστησεν] 'and broke them up into many parties, though all had one interest,' (i. e.) to prevent his becoming great.

ἐν τοιαύτῃ δέ] "Malim, ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὴ," says Dobree, and so should I if there were MS. authority for it.

τοῦ συνισταμένου] 'of the gathering and growing mischief.'

τί προσήκον] 'what course of conduct and action it was fitting for the state to adopt, and of this to receive a reckoning from me.'

ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα] 'for the person who assumed that post in the administration of the state was myself.' ἐγώ at the end of the sentence is emphatic.

πότερον] 'should it, Aeschines, abandoning its spirit and its character, and

ranging itself with Thessalians and Dolopians have helped Philip in trying to gain the supremacy over the Greeks, and have annihilated the honours and the rights of your ancestors?' The Thessalians are contemptuously joined with the barbarous and non-hellenic Dolopians. Both had assisted the Persians against the Greeks. Herod. vii. 139. 185.

εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει] Some propose κωλύσειε. But, as Disson observes, the future indicative in this indirect narration, implies the greater certainty of the issue: "Quae videbat eventura certissime, nemine prohibente." 'Nemine' is rare Latinity, but it occurs in Tacitus, Ann. xvi. 27.

ὡς ἔοικεν] 'and perceived as it would seem, a long time beforehand.'

περιυδεῖν γιγνόμενα] 'to allow to come to pass.' Fabst: 'ungehindert geschehen lassen.' Observe the participle after a verb of sense or perception.

τῆς συναιτίας] 'that was an accomplice in bringing about.'

- καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἡ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα
 γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἥς ἂν Ἀρκά-
 79 δας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ 15
 τούτων πολλοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλά-
 χασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὥχεται εὐθὺς
 ἀπὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμ-
 μάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδὲνα μηδὲν λυπήσας,
 ἣν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος 20
 μέμψις καὶ κατ'ἡγορίᾳ· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα,
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
 τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἡδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξό-
 τατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες ;
 80 Ἄλλ' ἐκείσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσ- 25
 ἦκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρώσαν
 ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον ; ἡ τί τὸν σύμβουλον
 ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν ἐμὲ (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο 247
 81 πλείστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῆδεν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
 μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ
 περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν
 πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀναλω- 5
 κυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναλώκασιν ἕκαστοι,
 82 ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγών,

χεῖρον ἀπηλλάχασιν] So Aeschin. c. Ctes. § 158: οὕτε γὰρ πόλις οὐτ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης οὐδέτις πώποτε καλῶς ἀπῆλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος.

ἣν ἂν τις] The old reading, which Dissen retains, and which, if the MSS. warranted it, I should prefer, was ὅμως ἣν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων. But the Codex S. omits ὅμως, and the great majority of the MSS. omit οὐκ. The reading in the text makes good sense, for if Philip had simply chastised the Phocians, and crushed the Thessalian tyrants, his conduct would so far have been commendable, and his opponents open to blame. The old reading, on the other hand, expresses a sentiment which we should rather have expected from Demosthenes, but there is no sufficient authority for it in the MSS.

εἰ δὲ . . . περιείλετο] 'but if he has stripped from all without exception their dignity, their dominion, their liberty, nay rather, even the constitutions of all that he could.' Ἡγεμονία may refer to those Thessalians who exercised a supremacy over their neighbours.

κατασκευαζόμενον] 'establishing a supremacy and sovereignty.' Or, as Mr. Norris, 'compassing for himself.'

ἡ τί τὸν] 'or what ought its counsellor at Athens to have proposed?'

ὃς συνῆδεν] 'I who knew that from the earliest times to the day on which I appeared as a speaker.' Mr. Kennedy, 'mounted the platform.' Latine, 'rostra escendi.'

πλείω καὶ . . . σώματα] 'more blood and treasure.' Leland,

ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, 10 πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο προῖέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης 83 ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσειε, ὥς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, 15 ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῶν δ' οὖσι τ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλ- 20 84 τοὺς ἐβελοντὰς παραχωρήσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως,

ἐκκεκομμένον] At the siege of Methone on the Thermaic gulf, by Aster an archer, and probably in B.C. 354—353. Diod. xvi. 31—34. Justin vii. 6. Polyænus iv. 15. There is a story that the arrow which struck him was inscribed with the words, Ἀστὴρ Φιλίππῳ θανάσιμον πέμπει βέλος, and that Philip shot it back into the town with the inscription, Ἀστέρα-Φιλίππος ἦν λάβη κρεμήσεται. The threat was said to have been carried into execution. Mr. Grote (xi. 365) thinks that Philip lost his eye afterwards (B.C. 351) near the Thracian Methone, but I cannot discover any authority for this supposition, except the statement copied by Suidas from Harpocration, s. v. Μεθώνη.

τὴν κλεῖν] A rare form for κλεῖδα. 'With his collar-bone broken.'

τὸ σκέλος] In B.C. 340. Justin (ix. 3) thus alludes to the incident: "revertenti ab Scythia Triballi Philippo occurrunt: negant se transitum daturus, ni portionem accipiant praeda. Hinc iurgium et mox praelium, in quo ita in femore vulneratus est Philippus, ut per corpus ejus equus interficeretur. Quum omnes occisum putarent, praeda amissa est."

πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη] 'ready to sacrifice any part of his body, of which Fortune might wish to deprive him, so as to live

with the rest in honour and glory.' Dissen accounts for placing μέρος in the relative clause, by the wish to give greater emphasis to the adjective, which is thereby isolated from its substantive, and put at the beginning of that clause. Thus here we have πᾶν ὅτι βουλευθείη, 'any part whatever.' So in Aristoph. Ran. v. 888: ἕτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν οἷσιν εὐχομαι θεοῖς. Many other instances might be quoted.

ὥς . . . προσῆκεν] 'that it was right for a man brought up in Pella, a place then indeed obscure and insignificant, to have reached such an elevation of mind, as to aspire to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and conceive this project in his thoughts, while you who are Athenians, and every day contemplate in every thing that meets your ears and eyes the memorials of the virtue of your ancestors, were possessed with such meanness, as by your own offer and of your own free will to surrender the independence of the Greeks to Philip.' Comp. adv. Pant. § 65: τίς δ' ἂν οἰκέτῃ παραχωρήσειε πολίτης τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. Also below § 337.

ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις] 'in every thing that meets your ears and eyes.' Drake. 'In all your debates and spectacles.' Norris. 'In speeches and dramas.' C. R. K. 'In allen Reden und Schauspielen.' Jacobs.

ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευό- 25
 85 μην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν ; ἤδη 248
 γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν,
 Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρ-
 ρειον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ
 ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἢ πόλις ἠδίκητο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα, 5
 καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβα-
 λεῖν τουτουσὶ, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπεΐθους
 τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ᾧ λέγων
 εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουλευθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ.
 ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευά- 10
 86 ζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάρους ἐπιχειρῶν,
 καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεὸν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμὸν, καὶ

ἔγραφον δέ] 'the mover of your resolutions and the adviser of your counsels was I myself.'

Ἀμφίπολιν] "The conquests of Philip," says Mr. Grote (xi. 336), "are always enumerated by Demosthenes in this order,—Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone." The two first were taken in B.C. 358, and Potidaea in B.C. 356, while Athens was engaged in the Social War. For Halonnesus and Peparethus see p. 144. Serrheium and Doriscus in Thrace were captured from Cersobleptes after the peace of B.C. 346 was sworn at Athens.

οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν] 'I assume an utter ignorance of all such wrongs: I ignore them altogether.'

εἰς ἔχθραν] 'that I brought these (my fellow citizens) into enmity with Philip.'

Εὐβούλου] Described as Ἀναφλύστιος in the Document, p. 419, though there are reasons for supposing that he was really Προβαλίστιος by his demus or township. He and Aristophon were both dead at this time. See § 207. A. Schäfer i. 190.

Ἀριστοφῶντος] There were two Athenian orators named Aristophon in the age of Demosthenes, one of the township of Colyttus (ὁ Κολυττεύς, or ὁ Κολλυτεύς), the other, his senior, of the township of Azenia, and called ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς. The latter is described by Demosthenes (adv. Lept. § 163) as δεινὸς λέγειν, and said by Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 195) to have boasted of having been prosecuted seventy-five times on the charge of making illegal and unconstitutional propositions,—γράφας παρανόμων πέφeyγεν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ

πέντε. As Demosthenes does not distinguish him by the name of a township, he probably alludes to the more distinguished of the two, who was for many years a leading statesman at Athens, and contemporary with the affairs of Amphipolis. A. Schäfer (i. 162, note) quotes authorities to show that he reached the age of 100 within a few months, and retired into private life about B.C. 350 (Vit. x. Orat. 844 d). Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 137) describes him as πλείστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάδῃν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν. See note, de Chers. p. 184, where I now think the same Aristophon is meant as here, and not the other of Collytus or Colyttus. An Aristophon was also Archon Eponymus when the de Corona was spoken. (Plut. Dem. in Vit. c. 24.)

Διοπεΐθους] Introd. to the de Chers. p. 171.

οὐδὲ νῦν] 'nor will I now, as I did not then, speak of these matters.'

σφετεριζόμενος] 'but (I ask) whether the man that was appropriating Euboea, and establishing it as a hostile post against Athens . . .' See notes pp. 81 and 186.

Μεγάρους] In B.C. 343 a conspiracy was formed at Megara, under one Perilaus, to seize the city with the help of some Macedonian troops from Phocis. The Megarians however applied to Athens for aid, and Phocion being immediately despatched with troops, the city was secured against the attempt. See de Chers. p. 180, and F. L. §§ 99. 337.

Ὠρεόν] Oreos was in the N. E. of Euboea, and Eretria in the centre of it,

- καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ
Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος,
καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν 15
ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα
πάντα ποιῶν ἡδίκηκε καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλκε τὴν εἰρήνην
ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα
87 κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μὴ, εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν 20
ὀφθῆναι ζώντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὄντων, περιείργασμαι μὲν
ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἢ πει-
σθεῖσα ἐμοὶ, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ
ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι,
88 τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; 25
ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμεν ἐγὼ, καὶ ὄρων καταδουλούμενον 249
πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνον ἡναντιούμεν, καὶ προλέγων καὶ
διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ διετέλουν.

almost opposite Oropus, the frontier town of Boeotia, towards Attica. In both these places there were Philippizing parties (πράττοντες Φιλίππῳ), with Philistides as a leader in one, and Cleitarchus in the other, who so far overpowered all opposition and remonstrance, as to introduce troops, by whose means they ruled as the instruments and in the interests of Philip. Demosthenes (c. Phil. iii. p. 226) speaks of the inhabitants of these towns as suffering great oppression in consequence. See pp. 180. 225. Porthmus was a fortified sea-port near to Eretria, and on the line of communication with Athens.

ἃς μὲν . . . ἃς δέ] For τὰς μὲν and τὰς δέ, the regular inflexions of the demonstrative τός, as we find ὅς used in Homer, and καὶ ὅς in prose. See note p. 5.

κατάγειν] . This verb and κατελθεῖν, are used peculiarly of the restoration and return of exiles to their own country.

πότερον φανῆναι] 'was it right that some one of the Greeks should rise up to stop his doing these things or not?' Observe ἢ οὐ, as an independent question in one clause, and ἢ μὴ as a dependent one in the other.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν] 'if this was not right but that Greece should be in the sight of the world, "Mysian booty," as the phrase is.' During the absence of their king Telephus, the Mysians, as the story

goes, became the unresisting prey of their neighbours. Hence the proverb ἡ Μυσῶν λεία, applied to countries in a similar position. The Scholiast explains it thus: Παροιμία· τάττεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην καὶ ἀναιτίως ἀπολλυμένων, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστυγεϊτόνων τε καὶ ληστῶν τῆς Μυσίας κατὰ τὴν Τηλέφου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδημίαν. So also Aristotle, Rhet. i. 12: καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀδικηθέντας καὶ μὴ ἐπεξελθόντας ὥς ὄντας κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τούτους Μυσῶν λείαν. Mr. Drake compares the proverb ἐν τῷ Κᾶρι κινδυνεύσομεν, Eurip. Cyclops, v. 647, 'we will make our experiment on the Carian,' as 'in corpore vili.'

ζώντων . . . ὄντων] Instead of ὄντων, ὄντωντων and other words have been proposed, but without necessity. There may be redundancy in the word, but it gives additional force to the expression. Comp. Τιμοδῆμῳ τῷ νῦν ἔτ' ὄντι καὶ ζῶντι (pro Phorm., § 35).

περιείργασμαι] 'superfluous has been my labour in speaking on these subjects.' Lit. 'I have overdone it.'

ἔστω δέ] 'and let it be granted that all the transactions are iniquities and delinquencies of mine.'

ταῦτα τοίνυν] 'these then were my public acts,' or, such was my public conduct.

προλέγων] 'forewarning.'

- 89 Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβὼν, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχύνῃ. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ 5 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων τίς τίνος αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ γενήσεται φανερόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 90 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπρειος εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγένοισεν εἰς Μακε-
- 91 δονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμελεσθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῇ καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἷτινες παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποιήκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγορίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην] 'and as for the peace indeed, it was he (Philip) who broke it.' This seizure of the merchantmen, and the devastation and pillage of the Chersonese in B.C. 340, were among the final causes which determined the Athenians to a formal declaration of war. See § 177, and Diod. xvi. 77. Grote xi. 629. We know nothing of the seizure except what is related here, nor do we know from what authorities the writer of the next ψήφισμα drew up his statement about it.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] The spuriousness of this document may be inferred as follows: (1) There was no Archon Eponymus named Neocles when the seizure was effected, whether it was in B.C. 341—340, as Mr. Grote thinks, or in B.C. 344—343, as Mr. F. W. Newman (Class. Mus. i. 151) maintains. (2) Eubulus, the celebrated statesman and opponent of Demosthenes, who in p. 419 is described as Ἀναφλύστιος, is here described as Κόπρειος or Κόπριος, from Κόπρος, a demus of the Hippothontid tribe. Böckh, Inscript. i. 216. Most of the MSS have Κόπριος, but Dindorf observes "Restitui diphthongum quam praebent inscriptiones." (3) There is this peculiarity in the resolution, that it gives the date of

Boedromion only, without the day of the month.

ναύαρχον] The Athenian title for an admiral is στρατηγός.

καταγένοισεν] See note on § 49. Κατάγειν is here used, as in the de Pace, p. 127, of intercepting and carrying off vessels to a hostile port.

οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ] A strange phrase. Froth διαλέξονται an appropriate word must be supplied, e. g. ἐροῦσιν. 'Who shall say that the people does not make any complaint against him?' The word μεμψιμοιρεῖ is not found in Demosthenes, but is used by later writers, as Polybius iv. 60. 9, and Lucian, Jup. Trag. c. 40.

εἰ δέ τι] 'but if from having found Leodamas in any irregularity contrary to his orders.' πλημμελεῖς is properly 'out of tune.'

κατὰ τὴν . . . ἀξίαν] 'according to the deserts of his disobedience.'

εἰ δὲ . . . ἀγνωμονοῦσιν] 'but if it is a wilful wrong either on the part of him who gave (Philip, ὁ ἀποστείλας), or him who received the commission.' Mr. Kennedy considers the Greek to be an expression of the thought, 'If it be a trespass on the part of the captors, whether committed by Amyntas on his own ac-

ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ἵνα 250
αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

- 92 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ
ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἐφέξῃς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἴτ'
'Αριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἴτα Φιλοκράτης, εἴτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἴτα
πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 93 [Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη,
πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνεγκόντες,
ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων
ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ
εἵλοντο τοῖςδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημο-
φῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκιδῆν. πρυτανεία φυ-
λῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

count, or under the special orders of Philip.' Mr. Drake interprets *ἰδίᾳ* by 'solely' = *καθ' αὐτούς*, 'if they are solely in fault whether Philip or Amyntas, without any fault of the Athenian commander.' But obscure writers are open to great variety of interpretation.

καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν] Some MSS. have τοῦτο γράφαι λέγειν, which Bekker adopts.

Ἡγήσιππος] This person had the soubriquet of ὁ Κρώβυλος (Aesch. c. Timar. § 71. c. Ctes. § 118). He was of the same political party as Demosthenes, and joined with him (c. Phil. iii. p. 228) on his embassy to the Peloponnesus in B.C. 343. He is generally considered the author of the speech περὶ Ἀλονήσου, p. 145.

Φιλοκράτης] This person was impeached (F. L. § 126) by Hyperides (B.C. 343), and went into exile. Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 79) describes him incorrectly as of the same politics as Demosthenes, and still in exile in B.C. 330: ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένης ἐφυγάς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγένηται. See de Pace, p. 105.

εἴτα πάντες] "Such a series of decrees implies a succession of messages backwards and forwards to the scene of action, perhaps replies from Philip in the interval." F. W. Newman (Class. Mus. i. 152), who thinks that allusion is made to these seizures in the words (de Chers. § 6) πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδίκως εἰληφῶς

ὑπὲρ ὧν ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμέτερα ἐγκαλοῦντα κύρια ταυτί (p. 175). He adds, "We might believe that while uttering the word ταυτί the orator displayed the very same ψηφίσματα, as he afterwards caused to be recited at this part of the De Corona."

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] This word is not generally applied to the resolutions of the senate, though, as in this case, the senate was empowered (§ 91) to elect ambassadors, the resolution by which they did so was in effect an act of the people.

ἐχρημάτισαν] 'they brought up and proposed the proceedings of the ecclesia for consideration by the senators.' χρηματίζειν is the usual word, signifying to introduce the business of the day. C. R. K.

εἵλοντο] The senators.

Κολλυτεὺς] 'Aristophon of Collytus, a president, proposed them.' Collytus was a township of the Aegeid tribe, and therefore this Aristophon could not have belonged to the presiding tribe (ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή). If then the document had been genuine we must have concluded that he was one of the nine presidents chosen by lot from the nine non-presiding tribes, as often as the senate or the people were convened. (Boulῆ, Dict. of Antiq. p. 159.) But as the designation ὁ Κολλυτεὺς is not any where adopted by Demosthenes himself, there really is no valid authority for it, and moreover the so-called Colyttian may after all be no other than the Azenian. Reiske I now find has expressed the same opinion, which

- 94 Ὡσπερ τοῖνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω 5
καὶ σὺ δείξον, Αἰσχίνη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἰτιὸς
εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν
αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος
οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν.
Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

10

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

- 95 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαί- 251
ρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ
Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν
ἐνανάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ
εὐθυθείᾳ ἔσσεσθαι, εἰ οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα
πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σίτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον,
βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμ-
περιελημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ
96 ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ

Clinton (F. H. ii. 147) thinks to be refuted by the dates, as the Azenian was engaged in public affairs in B.C. 403, sixty-three years before the time in question (Athen. xiii. 38). But we have octogenarian statesmen in England, whose political life has extended over an equal length of time, and it is possible that like them Aristophon the Azenian occasionally took an active part in public affairs, even when he was a very old man. This supposition of identity would of course be less probable, if the document in the text were genuine, as Clinton manifestly conceived it to be. Mr. Kennedy translates *πρόεδρος* 'a committee-man.'

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ] This letter is in the margin of Bekker's MS. *k*, and omitted altogether by the Codex *s*. Some of the reasons for believing it a forgery are as follows: (1) It does not prove what Demosthenes asserts Philip's letter would prove, viz. that Philip blamed others and not himself: for the words *ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀρχόντων* . . . , so far from excluding Demosthenes, are as applicable to him as any one else. (2) A much graver objection lies in the allusion to Selymbria, which is thus stated by Mr. Grote, xi. 630: "Neither Demosthenes, nor Philochorus, nor Diodorus, nor Justin, says

any thing about the siege of Selymbria, though all of them allude to the attacks on Byzantium and Perinthus. I do not believe that the siege of Selymbria ever occurred. Moreover, Athenian vessels captured, but afterwards restored by Philip on remonstrance from the Athenians, can hardly have been the actual cause of war. The pretended decrees and letter do not fit the passage to which they are attached." Mr. Newman (l. c.) gives additional reasons for the same conclusion.

πρεσβευταί] "The singular *πρεσβευτής* was already the legitimate term; but it can hardly be by accident that the historians and orators so uniformly make the plural *οἱ πρέσβεις*." F. W. N. But Deinarchus, c. Demos. § 22, writes *τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ὡς τοῦτον ἐλθόντων*.

Λαομέδων] Dindorf reads *Λαωδάμας* as in § 90.

καθ' ὅλου] So Polybius xvii. 31: *καθ' ὅλου δ' ἔφη θανυμάζειν*.

πρόφασιν μὲν] 'ostensibly indeed for the purpose of conveying the corn, but (really) to assist the Selymbrians.'

συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ] 'mandata sunt.' Hesych. ii. 1305: *συνέταξεν, ἐνετείλατο, παρήγγειλεν*. Dissen. But such a phrase would not be expected from a contemporary of Demosthenes.

- τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ιδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντελεσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθήσαι· καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσδοτον 97 ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῦα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἔαν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοθῶς πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]
- 98 Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν 99 ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐγεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμεν ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἡναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον 252 μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος 5 ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος

φιλοτιμουμένων] 'who were patriotically pursuing the accomplishment of this object.' The notion of rapidity implied in the perfect *συντελεσθαι* may be illustrated by de Chers. § 3, p. 174: *περὶ τούτων δ' οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεύσθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι*. In *φιλοτιμείσθαι* there is an ironical sarcasm.

πρόσδοτον ἔσεσθαι] 'will be an income to them.' So F. L. § 159: *καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεῖνόν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σχέτλιον τὰς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων συμφορὰς προσδόδους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις γεγενησθαι*.

τὴν εἰρήνην] Aeschines (c. Ctes. p. 84) endeavours to throw all the blame of the rupture on Demosthenes.

τοῖς ἄλλοις] The letter in the text does not charge other persons any more than Demosthenes.

ἐγεγράφει] Bekker, from the MSS., reads *γέγραφε*, with the note, "malim ἔγραφεν."

τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμεν] 'this was what I stuck to.' *ἔχομαι* is 'I hold myself on

to,' as in *τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα*, 'what is next to these things'; hence 'to lay hold of, and grapple with.'

ἔγραψα] 'I proposed, when he first began to steal into the Peloponnesus.' (B.C. 345—344.) In B.C. 343 Demosthenes (c. Phil. iii. § 85) himself went as an envoy to counterwork Philip's operations there. See p. 228.

τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν] In B.C. 341. This expedition was commanded by Phocion, and like his other operations was eminently successful, Oreus and Eretria being both liberated from the rule of Cleitarchus and Philistides, who, with the Macedonian garrisons which supported them, were driven from the island. Diod. xvi. 74. Steph. Byzan. s. v. Ὀρεός. Grote xi. 627.

τούς ἀποστόλους] Demosthenes not only advised and caused the armaments to be sent out, but they were despatched in conformity with his law for the reform of the trierarchy.

Χερρόνησος] In B.C. 340, when Demosthenes himself went as envoy to By-

- 100 ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν
 ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαί, στέφανοι,
 χάριτες παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικου- 10
 μένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγέ-
 νετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγορήσασιν τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε
 μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζεν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εἴνους ἑαυτοῖς,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι πάντα
 101 γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν 15
 χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρῶν, πολλὰ δὲ
 Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἑρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φί-
 λιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, καὶ περὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἡδίκηει μηδένα
 ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα σὺ 20
 102 οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλείταρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε
 πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη,
 καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν· οὗς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὥς ἐχθροὺς καὶ
 οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ'
 ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδὲν, ὃ βλασφη- 25
 μῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὥς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ'
 ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ γε, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ 253
 οὐδέποτε, ἐὰν μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.
 103 στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γρά-
 ψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἄσπερ οὕτως

zantium, and the Athenians under Phocion repelled Philip's operations there. Had Philip taken Byzantium, the Chersonese would have been at his mercy. See note p. 426.

τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων] 'while to those of the injured who then were persuaded by you, the result was their preservation, and to those who disregarded you, the frequent recollection of the warnings you gave, and the opinion that,' &c.

ὥστε ταῦθ'] 'to have these advantages against you.'

περὶ τῶν ἄλλων] 'and that there should be no exposure of his other actions, nor any question about his wrongs by any body any where.'

ἀφικνούμενοι] 'who were in the habit of coming here, used to lodge with you, and you acted as their host.' Lord Brougham translates it, 'you did the honours of the

city to them,' with this note: "πρόξενοι were those appointed to do the honours or exercise the public hospitality to strangers of note; as in 1814, persons of distinction were appointed to attend foreign princes visiting this country, and more recently, when the Sandwich Island chiefs and Russian princes visited us."

οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη] 'accordingly none of these things was effected,' which Philip and his partizans designed.

σιωπῶ μὲν] As c. Ctes. § 219: σὺ δ', οἶμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας.

ἀτιμώσαντες] If a prosecutor in such a case as this failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes, the prosecution was considered 'frivolous and vexatious,' and he was liable to consequences which amounted to ἀτιμία.

Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ 5. τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 104 [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπρίοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεω

δευτέρου κηρύγματος] Taking this passage by itself, we might conclude that the 'second proclamation' was that proposed by Ctesiphon, as Reiske and others have supposed, with Schäfer, who explains δευτέρου . . . γιγνομένου by ὥστε δευτέρου κήρυγμα μοι τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. But to this there are great objections. For it appears from § 282, that Demomeles and Hyperides had previously carried a resolution in the same terms as Aristonicus, so that the *second* proclamation could not have been Ctesiphon's, but must, according to the statements here and in § 282, have been that of Aristonicus. It may be objected that this oration does not elsewhere mention any previous resolution like that of Aristonicus, but on the other hand it appears from Aeschines (F. L. § 49), that Demosthenes and his colleagues were 'crowned' on their return from their first embassy (p. 107) to Philip (B.C. 346). This was on the motion of Demosthenes himself, a fact which may account for the indirectness of his allusion to it. Assuming this to have been the first motion of the kind, that of Aristonicus was the second (B.C. 340), that of Demomeles, early in B.C. 338, the third, and that of Ctesiphon the fourth (Grote xi. 638. 681; xii. 387). The second 'crowning' appears to have been occasioned by the success of the orator's policy in the liberation of Euboea, and the rescue of Byzantium from the domination of Philip. The third, by the negotiation of the Athenian alliance with Thebes (B.C. 339), which Demosthenes had promoted, and the consequent advantages gained over Philip in "the battle on the river, and the winter battle." (§ 274.)

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] "This decree," says Mr. Newman, "is the most unexceptionable in the whole speech, but at the same time the easiest to forge. Nevertheless, I think there are serious objections to it. It professes to be the decree of Aristonicus, but if the date was really March, B.C. 338, Chaerondas was not then Archon. If, as Winiewski (p. 250) supposes, it was in July, B.C. 338, Chaerondas was then Archon, but as the battle of Chaeroneia was fought in August of that year, this hypothesis implies that the two decrees (of Aristonicus and Ctesiphon) were proposed within an extremely short interval of time. Any how, the addition of Ἡγήμονος, whatever its meaning, is quite exceptional, and not intelligible."

Φρεάρριος] Φρεάρριοι δῆμος Ἀθηναίων τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Φρεάρρου ἐπισήμου ἥρωος· ὁ δὲ μότῃς Φρεάρριος. Harp. s. v. πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται] A common formula. Comp. § 112. So the Pseudo-Plutarch, x. Orat. 848 c: Ἀριστόνικος Νικοφάνους Ἀναγυράσιος — πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται.

τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ] A resolution with this allusion in it was more likely to have been passed in B.C. 340, than in B.C. 338. I do not agree with Mr. Newman that the failure of the impeachment against Demomeles (§ 280), "emboldened Aristonicus to propose a new crown to Demosthenes for a part of his administration which had hitherto passed unhonoured, viz., his Euboean policy of the year 340." Demosthenes in describing the events as νέα καὶ γνώριμα (§ 106) with relation to the resolution implies that it followed close upon those events, when they were 'fresh and recent.'

- ἡλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
- 105 Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσιν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος ὁ Φρεάρριος.] 254
- 106 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἂν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι ; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἢ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. 5 φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκῶς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.
- 107 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέσθε, λέγων καὶ 10 γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.
- 108 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη, 15 τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κὰν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ

ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους . .] A trimeter Iambic, but of inharmonious construction, the third and fourth feet being in one word.

τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην] A suspicious word, which Mr. Kennedy translates 'Prize-master.' The ἀγωνοθέται were persons in the Grecian games who decided disputes and adjudged the prizes to the victors. Dict. of Antiq.

ἃ νῦν οὗτος] c. Ctes. § 232: αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανῶτε, οὐκ ὀλέσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις σὺρίττεσθαι ;

ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως] 'and if the contrary, punishment.' The phrase is used in the same euphemistic way at § 268: εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμέ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν

τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. So θάτερον πλέον ἀπεργάζεσθαι, 'to make bad worse.' The Latin 'secus' is similarly used.

τῷ νικᾶν] 'by the approval both of my speeches and motions when you were in consultation, and by the successful execution of my propositions.'

τῷ θυσίας] 'because you have offered.'

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας] This again suggests the conclusion that the events which occasioned the last resolution (νέα καὶ γνώριμα) must have happened in B.C. 341, and not when Chaerondas was Archon.

τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ] 'but by statesmanship and in Resolutions, through me, though some of these men deny it till they burst.'

ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως] 'A second position of attack upon the city,' i. e. 'another means of carrying on hostilities

- τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων
 109 ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς
 σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυ- 20
 ζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου
 συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ'
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες
 ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ'
 ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὃ τι μὲν 25
 110 προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν 255
 ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ
 σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἄλλο-
 τριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' 5
 ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς
 111 ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν
 ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ
 μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμον

against the city, by stopping its supplies.' As Mr. Kennedy observes, "The occupation of Byzantium would be in reference to the corn trade, what the occupation of Euboea might have been for a more direct attack upon Athens." Comp. § 289.

σίτῳ . . . ἐπεισάκτῳ] Produced in the country bordering on the Propontis, and the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea, especially in the Tauric Chersonese, or Crimea. In Thucydides (vi. 20) Nicias points out an advantage possessed by the Syracusans over Athens because σιτῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐπακτῷ χρῶνται.

παρελθὼν] 'having moved towards Thrace (Roumelia), at first he called upon the Byzantines to join him in the war against us (B.C. 340), and when they refused, and said they had not made their alliance with him for such objects.'

χάρακα βαλόμενος] 'having thrown up a line of circumvallation against the city.' χάραξ, a vine, pole, or stake (vallus), is here used for χαράκωμα (vallum), which properly meant the palisades running along the outer edge of the 'agger.' Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Vallum. χάρακα is the reading of the Codex S., suggested also by a gloss of Harpocration, who explains it by χαράκωμα, the reading of Bekker. It occurs in a fragment of the Ἀσπίς of Menander:

πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐκλελοιπότες
 τὸν χάρακα τὰς κόμας ἐπόρθουν.

(Meineke iv. 91.)

μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας] 'having set his engines against it.' This does not imply that they were brought up to the city and actually employed against it, as appears from c. Phil. iii. § 23, p. 209: εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τέχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν. The siege of Byzantium constituted an epoch in the history of siege machines. This we learn in a passage quoted by Mr. Grote (xi. 634) from Athenaeus, a contemporary of Archimedes, in a work περὶ Μηχανημάτων, in which he says, ἐπίδυσιν δὲ ἔλαβεν ἡ τοιαύτη μηχανοποιία ἅπασα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελιώτου τυραννίδα, κατὰ τε τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντοιο Βασιλείαν, ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει Βυζαντίους Φίλιππος. Εὐ-
 ημέρει δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τέχνῃ Πολύειδος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς οὐ οἱ μαθηταὶ συνεστρατεύοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Mathem. Vet. ed. They. Paris, 1693. Some particulars of the siege are given by Dionysius Byzantinus in his ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου.

τίς δ' . . . ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν] 'who devoted himself honestly (ἀπλῶς) and unsparingly to the work.' Mr. Norris, 'heart and soul.'

ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς] After the siege of

ἀνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον 10
ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης,
ἣν οὔτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς
μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μὴ μετὰσχοιεν
ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε,
μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς 15
καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντιῶν στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περιν-
θίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

112 [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίῃ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς

Byzantium the peace of B.C. 346 was formally dissolved by the Athenians decreeing the removal of the column erected in commemoration of it. Dionys. Hal. ad Amm. i. § 11: ἐχειροτόνησε (ὁ δῆμος), τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμ-μαχίας σταθεῖσαν.

ἀνευ τοῦ . . . ἐνεγκεῖν] 'besides bringing you,' i.e. independent of all that.

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς . . . διήγεν ὑμᾶς] 'kept you with,' i.e. enabled you to live with "all the necessities of life in greater abundance and cheapness." Isocrates (Nicocl. § 49) uses διάγειν in the same way: χρὴ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντας μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πειρᾶσθαι διάγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους. By τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, no particular treaty is meant, but simply the state of peace which followed the subjugation of Thebes by Alexander, and the defeat of Agis by Antipater. See p. 394.

οἱ χρηστοί] 'which these worthy men maintain against the interests of their country, with their expectations from the future, in which I pray that they may be disappointed, and not partake of what you who are well-wishers to your country ask of the gods, nor cause you to share in what they have chosen for themselves,' i.e. in the results of their policy. ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν = ταῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίσιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] So little is known of the Byzantines and Chersonesites that we cannot judge of the authenticity of this and the companion document by internal evidence of facts. But in Dindorf's opinion the dialect affords most certain proofs of spuriousness, strong Doric forms being

affected, and yet not uniformly maintained throughout. On the contrary, there is a mixture of ordinary forms (as βοηθήσας, ἐκκαϊδεκαπήχεις, θεωρίας, ἡμῶν) with dialectic, such as πολλοῖσιν, ἄμμε, and ἐπιστήωνται. The two treaties mentioned by Polybius (iv. 52) as having been concluded by the Byzantines with Prusias of Bithynia and the Rhodians are in ordinary Greek, but perhaps that might be used as the French language is in European diplomacy. There is an objection moreover in the fact that this decree has τῷ δάμφ τῷ Βυζαντιῶν καὶ Περινθίων, as though they were one united people, whereas Demosthenes clearly distinguishes them, and implies that they sent separate crowns, repeating the article in the phrase Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντιῶν στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων. If it be replied that the whole confederacy was regarded as a single people, the question arises why the Selymbrians, who lay between Perinthus and Byzantium, are not mentioned also.

ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ] Byzantium was founded by a colony from the Dorian Megara, with a mixture of Argives, B.C. 663, and as the divinities of the parent state would be worshipped in the colony, and the high priest of the Megarian Poseidon was called ἱερομνάμων (Plut. Symp. 8, § 4), there can be but little doubt that the ἱερομνάμων of Byzantium was also a high priest of the same god. That he was Eponymus, giving his name to the year, like the consuls at Rome and the Archon at Athens, appears also from Polyb. iv. 52, ed. Gron.: ἐπὶ Κῶθωνος, ἱερομνημονεύτος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. This practice of naming the year from a religious officer prevailed in other Dorian states, as at

βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγεναμένοις καιροῖς εἰνοέων διατελέει Βυζαντίους καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περυνθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περυνθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοισι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ 256 σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἄμμε ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ 113 ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμους καὶ τὼς τάφους, δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περυνθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλᾶν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρᾶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειουργήτοις ἡμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργίαν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαίδεκαπῆχαις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων

Syracuse and Agrigentum (Müller, Dor. ii. 162), and also at Argos, where the year was defined by the years of the priestess of Juno (Thucyd. ii. 2). Mr. Kennedy translates ἐπὶ ἱερονύμῳ, 'in the presbytership of.'

Βοσπορίχῳ] A Dorian ω for ου, as in other parts of, but not uniformly throughout the document.

ἄλῃ] A Doric word for ἐκκλησία, and probably connected with the Attic Ἑλλῆα, the court of justice at Athens. Müller, Dor. ii. 89.

λαβὼν ῥήτραν] A decree of the Dorian senate (γερονσία), before it was sanctioned by the assembly of the people, was called ῥήτρα at Sparta (Müller, p. 170), so that it might here answer to the Attic προβούλευμα. Some again explain it as *veniam loquendi*, ἐξουσίαν τοῦ εἰπεῖν, a better interpretation.

ἐν τε τοῖς . . . διατελέει] The present form is somewhat remarkable here. A similar instance occurs in Böckh's Inscript. ii. 282, No. 2353: ἐπειδὴ Κλεόμῆλος Κλεοβούλου . . . ἐν τε τῷ ἐμπροσθε χρόνῳ εὐνοῶν ὧν διατελεῖ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Καρθαίων. συγγενέσι Περυνθίοις] Perinthus was colonized by a body of Megarians and Samians. Plutarch, Quaest. Graec. c. 57.

ἔμμε] ἡμᾶς.

ἐπιγαμίαν] 'connubium.' The right of mutual intermarriage between the citizens of two different states. Here it implies that the marriage of an Athenian with a Byzantine would be recognized as a Byzantine marriage with all its consequences.

ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν] This was the

right of acquiring and possessing real estates in any country conceded by it to an inhabitant of another state.

πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλᾶν] For πρόσδοον πρὸς. The meetings of the senate and people were commenced with sacrifices, so that by this privilege the Athenians would have taken precedence in the transaction of business with both.

καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν . . . λειτουργίαν] 'to be exempt from all the state burdens.' Λειτουργία, 'a Liturgy,' signifies any service or duty performed by an individual for the state (λήϊτον, λῆϊτον, λείτον), λειτουργεῖν being explained by the grammarians, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐργάζεσθαι. So far then as an Athenian settler might be exempted from λειτουργίαι, to which the native citizens were subject, he would be placed in a better position than the Byzantines themselves.

ἡμεν] For εἶναι, as ἔμμεν in Homer.

ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ] The old reading was Βοσπορίχῳ, which cannot well be correct. The Codex S. has Βοσπορείχῳ, and as Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. Βόσπορος, explains Βοσπόριον by τοῦ Βυζαντίου λιμῆν, I adopt with Dindorf the reading in the text.

στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον] A similar representation is mentioned by Polybius (v. 88. 8), where speaking of Hiero and Gelo he says, ἔστησαν ἀνδριάντας ἐν τῷ τῶν Ῥοδίων Δείγματι (on 'Change') στεφανούμενον τὸν Δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀθήμου τῶν Συρακοσίων. Pliny also (H. N. xxxv. 36. 5) mentions an allegorical figure of the Athenian Demos by Parrhasius as being very celebrated.

ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Περινθίῳ· ἀποστείλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριαις, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῶσαι τὼς στεφάνους οἷς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δάμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας τάν τε Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Περινθίῳ εὐχαριστίαν.]

114 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

... ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστόν, Ἐλεούττα, Μάδυτον, Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύνονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ 257 ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνῃται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

115 Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν 5

οἷς ἐστεφάνωται] This reading is proposed by Valckenaer, Diatrib. Eurip. p. 278. Several MSS. have ὡς = οὗς.

τάν τε] A reading of Porson, Adv. p. 151, for πάντας.

Σηστόν . . .] These towns lie in the Thracian Chersonesus, where the Athenians had extensive possessions, and which was laid waste by Philip in B.C. 341—340. Eleus was at the lowest part of the Hellespont, and Madytus a little above it. Pomp. Mela, ii. 2. Alopeconnesus was on a promontory looking towards Imbros, to the N.E. of it. It had belonged to the Athenians, and was full of pirates and wreckers, so that their commendations could not have been worth much.

ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα] A phrase of doubtful meaning. But of course it is not to be supposed that a golden crown of sixty talents in weight was presented, unless by 'talent' something else is meant, very different from 60 minae, or 6000 drachmae of 66·5 grains each. It is more likely that the talent here spoken of was a smaller one in use for gold, and

equal to 6 Attic drachmae, i. e. about $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. and 71 grains. 60 such would give a crown of considerable weight and value, in fact of nearly 54 oz. Böckh (Pol. Econ. i. 39) says that he finds very few examples of crowns so heavy. See 'talentum' in Dict. of Antiq.

παραίτιος] 'a helping cause.' A common word in such decrees. Thus in an Agrigentine inscription, ap. Gruter, p. cccc (quoted by Reiske), we have ὑπάρχων τοῖς τε δημοσίοις ἡμῶν πράγμασι καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν παραίτιος ἀγαθοῦ πολλάκι γεγένηται.

τῆς Φιλίππου] δυνάμει or χειρὸς. Dissen compares Aesch. c. Ctes. § 257: ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου.

ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ] Common to the inhabitants of Sestus, &c., as the Pan-ionium (Herod. i. 143) was to the twelve Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor.

ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία] Demosthenes affects this combination. Thus § 361: οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαίρεσιν. And in § 390: ἢ ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις.

Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς
 Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ τί
 116 γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμ-
 ψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν
 ἡγῶμαι ἡγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ 10
 μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προῖέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικου-
 μένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, εὐνοίαν,
 τιμὴν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς
 ἔστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι δι'
 ὄντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἔστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω 15
 καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμὲ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.
 117 Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων
 καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέ-
 πρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησκων, συκοφαντίας οὐσας
 ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ 20
 ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγούμεαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ
 μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ᾗ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' 258
 ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταύτ'
 ἐν βραχείῃ καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ

σύμμαχος ὢν] Jacobs asserts that a previous alliance between Philip and the Byzantines is not mentioned elsewhere. But he is in error, for the fact is stated in § 109.

οἱ καὶ . . . ἂν ἐκείνοις] 'but you who might with good reason even have made many and just complaints against them for the wrongs which they had done you.' The reference is to the social war of the confederates, Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes, and Cos, against Athens, B.C. 357—355, by which she was obliged to recognize their independence, and acquiesce in their separation from her confederacy.

ἡγῶμαι ἡγνωμονήκεσαν] ἡγνωμονεῖν literally means to be guilty of wrongheadedness, and is here used as an euphemistic substitute for ἀδικεῖν, the offence being attributed to the head instead of the heart. This is not to be wondered at, for the Athenians themselves were grossly in the wrong.

οὐ μόνον οὐ] 'instead of bearing malice, and abandoning the oppressed, ever exhibited yourselves as their de-

liverers.'

σύμβουλον λέγω] 'counsellor and orator I mean.'

κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων] The attacks on the Byzantines are not found in the published orations of Aeschines. Those on the Euboeans are made c. Ctes. p. 66.

ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας] 'of this I believe you are already well assured.' A stronger and fuller phrase than the simple εἰδέναι. Comp. § 287: ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους. Also de Rhod. Liber. p. 339: ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες, &c. And c. Meid. § 50: ταῦτα ἐγνωσμένα ὑπάρχει.

οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι] 'that my policy in the administration of affairs, was that which it was to your interest to adopt.'

τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς] 'performed within your times.' If so, some of his hearers must have been very old men, for the battle of Haliartus was fought in B.C. 395, or sixty-five years before the delivery of this speech.

καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα . . . πράττειν] Mr. Kennedy thus translates this: 'For both in-

118 *κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ*
πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαι- 5
μονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν,
Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἰγίναν, Κλε-
ωνὰς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε
κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς 10

dividuals and communities should ever strive to model their subsequent actions by their most glorious antecedents.'

Λακεδαιμονίων . . . ἀρχόντων] Immediately after the Peloponnesian war.

ἁρμοσταῖς] Harpocraton describes them as οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑπὸ πόλεις ἔρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι.

Εὐβοίαν] Euboea, except Oreus, was taken by the Lacedaemonians after a successful sea-fight with the Athenians, B.C. 411. Thucydides (viii. 95) speaks of this event as the cause of the greatest alarm to Athens: *ἐκπληξίς μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν παρέστη. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ἐν Σικελίᾳ συμφορὰ, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν πω οὕτως ἐφόβησεν.* Boeotia came under the Lacedaemonian rule after the seizure of the Cadmeia or Citadel of Thebes (B.C. 382) by the Lacedaemonian Phoebeidas on his way to Olynthus (p. 373). As for Tanagra, it would seem that it remained favourable to Sparta, when Thebes and the rest of Boeotia was in open war against her; hence perhaps this city is so prominently mentioned here (Xen. Hell. v. 4. 49). Megara was rescued from the Athenians by the Lacedaemonian Brasidas on his way to Thrace, B.C. 424, from which time it continued in friendly relation with Sparta (Thucyd. iv. 66). Aegina was dispossessed of its inhabitants (B.C. 431) by the Athenians, who then colonized the island with settlers from their own city (Thucyd. ii. 27). Of the expelled Aeginetans some betook themselves to Thyrea, on the confines of Argos and Laconia, a territory given to them by the Lacedaemonians. The rest were dispersed throughout other parts of Greece. In B.C. 405 Lysander collected together as many of them as he could, and restored them to their old home (Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 9). Cleonae was a town not far from Argos, on the road to Corinth, in alliance (B.C. 420) with the former city and Athens against Sparta. Thucyd. v. 67.

τὰς ἄλλας . . . οὐ τείχη] An exaggeration. Lysander allowed the Athenians

to retain twelve ships of war, and did not compel them to destroy all the fortifications of the city, but only those of the Peiraeus, and the walls connecting it with Athens. Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 20. Thirlwall, iv. c. xxx. p. 167. The *ἑλλαι νῆσοι* were of course in the Aegean, as Lesbos and Samos. Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 5.

ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον] In Boeotia. Soon after the end of the Peloponnesian war the Thebans became dissatisfied with the Spartans, and managed to get up a war with them, by prevailing upon the Locrians of Opus to invade a territory which had long been a subject of contention between themselves and the Phocians (B.C. 395). Lysander was despatched into Phocis to collect troops there, and then march to Haliartus, where Pausanias, one of the kings of Sparta, was ordered to meet him on a certain day, which however he failed in doing. The Thebans meanwhile had sent an embassy to Athens requesting aid, which was unanimously granted, while at the same time they had themselves despatched troops to protect Haliartus. Upon this, Lysander, without waiting for Pausanias, resolved to make himself master of that town, and was slain in an engagement under its walls. The next day Pausanias appeared with 6000 men, but on the day after, the Thebans were again cheered by the arrival of the Athenian forces under Thrasybulus, which so alarmed Pausanias that he consented to a truce, and withdrew from Boeotia. Grote ix. 408. See note, p. 87.

πάλιν . . . εἰς Κόρινθον] Soon after the defeat at Haliartus, Agesilaus was recalled by the Spartans from Asia Minor, and a confederacy formed against them by Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the Boeotians, which led to a battle near Corinth (*μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡ ἐν Κόρινθῳ*, adv. Lept. § 59), in which the confederates were defeated (Xen. Hell. iv. 2. 23. Diod. Sic. xiv. 86), after a war which lasted eight years altogether. It was

- ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ
 119 ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὐτ' ἀκίνδυνα 15
 ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προεῖντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἧθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι.
 120 πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθεῖρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς 20
 ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς
 121 διδῶ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας 25
 καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτραις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα 259
 122 πεποιηκῶτων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι· καὶ

known as ὁ Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος, because the neighbourhood of Corinth was the scene of it, and concluded by the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387. See note, p. 89.

πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι] 'though they might have shown many reasons for bearing ill-will.'

τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον] See note on ἐπιτειχίσματα, p. 81.

ἧθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς] 'they were willing to expose themselves to dangers.' So Judges v. 2: "When the people willingly offered themselves." Some suppose that the Orator here had in his mind the address of Sarpedon (Il. xii. 322—328). Taylor says, "nimium noster Platonίζει, ut saepe observatum fuit." A similar sentiment is thus expressed by Cicero (Philip. x. 10): "Ita praeclara est recuperatio libertatis, ut ne mors quidem sit in recuperanda libertate fugienda. Quod si immortalitas consequeretur praesentis periculi fugam, tamen eo magis fugienda ea videretur, quo diuturnior servitus esset. Quum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata circumstent, non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debeat, patriae reddere.'

ὀρθῶς . . βουλευόμενοι] 'and a right and noble decision it was.' Drake.

καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ] ἀντὶ τοῦ μικρῷ τινὶ οἴκῳ· ἐκάλουν δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον ὀρνιθοτροφεῖον (a bird-cage) οἰκίσκον. Harpoc. Translate: 'even if a man keeps himself shut up in a chamber or closet.' Propertius (iii. 18. 25) thus amplifies the idea, which was often eulogized by the ancients:

"Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere, Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput."

τὴν ἀγαθὴν . . ἐλπίδα] 'holding before themselves the shield of a good hope.' Comp. Menander, Meinek. Fragm. iv. 214: ὅταν τι πράττης ὅσιον ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα πρόβαλλε σαυτῷ, τοῦτο γινώσκων ὅτι τόλμῃ δικαίᾳ καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους] 'though the Lacedaemonians were not friends or benefactors, yet when the Thebans after their victory at Leuctra attempted to crush them,' &c.

οὐδ' ὑπὲρ . . . διαλογισάμενοι] 'nor even considering what had been the conduct of those for whom you were to imperil yourselves.'

γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι καὶ
 ὅτι οὖν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τὰλλα
 ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις 5
 αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολο-
 123 γιείσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ
 πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε,
 οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀρωπὸν
 ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν 10
 ἐβελοντῶν τότε τρητάρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει,
 124 ὦν εἰς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὐπω περὶ τούτων. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν
 ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου
 κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν
 πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτη- 15
 κόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μὴδὲν ὦν ἡδίκησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε
 ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παρα-
 λείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας, καὶ πάσαι
 γεγρονύας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἅς ἀπάσας ἢ πόλεις τῆς
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεχ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποί- 20

οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιείσθε] 'you will neither bear them ill-will, nor take it into consideration.'

σφετεριζομένων . . . τὴν Εὐβοίαν] 'when they were getting possession of Euboea.' Euboea seems to have fallen under the supremacy of the Thebans after the battle of Leuctra (ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγεννημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων. Xen. Hell. vi. 5. 23). In B.C. 358 the Euboeans, for some reason or other, became discontented with their position, and a civil war broke out, one party invoking the aid of Thebes, the other of Athens. Both these cities accordingly despatched forces to aid their respective partizans, and the result was that, after a series of indecisive actions, and much bloodshed and suffering, the Euboeans made up their differences, and the Boeotians returned to their own country. This is the statement of Diodorus, xvi. 7. According to Demosthenes (de Chers. § 79, p. 199), however, and Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 85), the Thebans made a direct attempt to enslave the islanders (καταδουλοῦσθαι), whereupon they earnestly entreated the Athenians for aid, which was sent with the utmost

expedition, and with so much success, that in thirty days the Thebans were forced to evacuate the island. This it appears was the first occasion on which the office of a trierarch was undertaken by volunteers, so as to save the delay attending the ordinary process of selecting those whose turn it was to serve. Of these volunteers Demosthenes was one, a person named Philinus serving with him as syntrierarch of the same ship. c. Androt. § 17. c. Meid. § 204.

περὶ Ὀρωπὸν] See pp. 4 and 371. Grote x. 392.

καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε] 'and indeed though you acted nobly in saving the island, yet you acted much more nobly still, in that when you had become masters both of their persons and their cities you restored them. . . .'

μὴδὲν . . . ὑπολογισάμενοι] 'and did not in an affair where you were trusted take into your consideration any of the wrongs you had suffered.' Schäfer thus: 'Nullam injuriarum vobis illatarum pensi habentes in iis rebus, quae vobis creditae essent: sed omnes integras bona fide red- dentes.'

- 125 ηται. εἴτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὐσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ 25
- 126 προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει 260 καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον κατασχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα ; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγὼ· εἰ γὰρ ἡβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν ; οὐκ ἐξῆν ; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι ; 5
- 127 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ 10 κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' 128 ὑστερίζουσιν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθνηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι τὰς παρα- 15 σκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς

εἴτ' ἐγὼ] 'well then after observing the state on so many and such occasions ready to enter upon a contest for the interests of others, what was I to urge or advise her to do, when the deliberation was in a manner about herself?'

νῆ Δία] Ironically: 'to rake up grievances I suppose.' So c. Meid. § 50: τίς ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ μετρία σκῆψις φανέται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῶ; ὀργὴ νῆ Δία· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὼν λέξει.

εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων] 'if I had attempted in words only to dishonour any of the glorious antecedents of the city.' τό γε ἔργον, 'the thing itself.'

καταλυόμενον] 'dissolvi,' 'going to ruin,' i. e. by falling in pieces. Thus Homer, Il. ii. 135:

δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλνεται.

ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν] 'getting off untaxed by small payments.' The prepo-

sition denotes the manner or means of their virtual exemption. Comp. Aristoph. Plut. v. 377:

ἐγὼ τοι τοῦτ' ἀπὸ μικροῦ πάννυ, ἐθέλω διαπράξαι.

ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσιν] 'and the state moreover from these causes missing its opportunities.' So ὑστερεῖν τῆς ἐορτῆς, 'to be too late for the feast.' As in Plato, Gorg. c. 1: 'Ἄλλ' ἢ, τὸ λεγόμενον (as the saying is) κατόπιν ἐορτῆς ἥκομεν καὶ ὑστεροῦμεν;

ἔθνηκα νόμον] Demosthenes proposed this law in B.C. 340, immediately after the declaration of war against Philip. He was then ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, a sort of 'first lord of the admiralty.' See p. 334.

καὶ γραφεῖς . . . εἰσῆλθον] 'and having been indicted I came to trial upon this question before you.' εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἰσιέναι

εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων
 129 οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν
 συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἰεσθὲ μοι δι-
 δόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θείναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ 20
 μὴ, καταβαλόντα ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἄνδρες
 130 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμι' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ'
 εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκείνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν
 προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν
 μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν 261
 ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ
 τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ

are used both of the defender and the accuser. So adv. Phorm. c. 1: οὐδεμίαν πώποτε δίκην εἰσῆλθομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐτ' ἐγκαλοῦντες οὐτ' ἐγκαλούμενοι.

τὸ μέρος] The fifth, which was necessary to save him from a fine of 1000 drachmae.

τοὺς ἡγεμόνας] See Appendix to the de Symmoriis, pp. 333, 334.

δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους] By these must be meant the members who in order of wealth came next to the leaders or foremen of the Symmories, perhaps with an allusion to those whose rating placed them in the second or third classes of the property-tax schedule.

διδόναι] 'offered.'

μάλιστα μὲν] As the most desirable alternative. 'If possible,' or 'by all means' is our idiom.

εἰ δὲ μὴ . . . ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ] 'to drop it and leave it under exceptions.' If any one wished to object against and stop a proposed law, as unconstitutional and illegal, he made oath (ὑπωμοσία) that he would impeach the proposer by a γραφή παρανόμων. The bill (rogatio) was then suspended till the action was decided. If however the proposer, by collusion or otherwise, afterwards abandoned his measure instead of prosecuting it, he would naturally be said 'to have dropped it and left it under adjournment,' καταβαλόντα ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ. In legal proceedings the ὑπωμοσία was the deposition or affidavit upon oath, by which a defendant or his friends for him supported an application for adjournment of a hearing or decision in his case, upon the pleas of compulsory absence, illness, &c. In this sense Harpocraton (s. v.) thus explains it:

τὸ υπερτίθεσθαι δίκην, προφάσει χρώμενον ἀποδημία ἢ νόσῳ, ἢ τινι τῶν παραπλησιῶν μεθ' ὅρκου. Pollux (viii. 56) explains it not very clearly thus: ὑπωμοσία δὲ ἔστιν ὅταν τις ἢ ψήφισμα ἢ νόμον γράφοντα γράψῃται ὡς ἀνεπιτήδειον. Schöman, de Comititiis, ii. c. 2. Dict. of Antiq. in Δίκη and Διαίτηται. Mr. Kennedy observes, "I take καταβαλόντα to mean 'having entered it in the public register,' ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ, where the records of all decrees were kept. Demosthenes after carrying his measure in the assembly, and depositing it in the public archives, might have abandoned the defence of it, had he chosen to compromise the matter with his opponents. But comp. καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα, § 135.

ἔπραττον] 'attempted.' Deinarchus (c. Dem. § 43) amongst his many accusations against Demosthenes, charges him with having received three talents, as a bribe to alter his proposed law on the trierarchy.

μικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν] So Plato, Theaet. § 79: ταῦτα πάντα ἡγησαμένη σμικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν, 'little or nothing.'

τὸ γιγνόμενον] 'each had to put down his share in proportion to his property.' Literally, and as lawyers say, 'the sum accruing due.' So also is used τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, 'the proportionate quota.'

δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος] Such a person's taxable capital would have been twenty talents, and he must either have served by proxy as well as in person, or in two successive years.

ὁ τῆς μίας ἑκτος] 'the sixteenth contributor to the one,' i. e. the one which the sixteen jointly furnished.

- 131 τῆς μιᾶς ἑκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελείς. ὥστε 5
 δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι,
 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ
 ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, εἴτα τοὺς κατα-
 λόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν
 ἐμόν. λέγε.

10

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 132 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς
 πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποβοωντίδος, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσ-
 ἤνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλεια
 ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ
 ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεὺς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν
 ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

- 133 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαῖδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ
 χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

συντελείς] 'contributories.' See p. 334.

καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον] 'in consequence of which I appeared on the indictment.'
 τοὺς καταλόγους] 'the service-rolls.'
 C. R. K.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] This document does not justify its title, for it is not at all like an ordinary ψήφισμα, and there is no resolution or enactment expressed in it. Instead of this it simply contains a recital of four circumstances. Then again Polycles was not archon in B.C. 340, the year of the reform of the trierarchy, but Theophrastus.

εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικόν] Mr. Newman asks, 'What is this?—Laid a copy of the law before the admiralty?' Such indeed seems the only conceivable sense, but it is really so unmeaning that Böckh, Pol. Ec. iv. note 387, suggests εἰσῆνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικόν, a reading which Dindorf adopts, observing "εἰς τὸ deletum in exemplari Lindenbrogiano apud Taylorum." Had the document been genuine I should have followed his example.

ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων] Ἀποφέρειν is a

regular judicial term, = 'nomen alicujus deferre ad praetorem;' so ἀποφέρειν γραφὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κακώσεως πρὸς τὸν ἔρχοντα. c. Theocr. § 42.

τὰς πεντακοσίας] We should certainly have expected χιλίας.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ] Böckh, Urkunden, p. 182, considers these κατάλογοι to be genuine. See p. 334.

ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις] 'according to the associations in the classes.' Böckh (Pol. Ec. iv. note 350) quotes Aristotle, Polit. v. 8 (κατὰ φρατρίας καὶ λόχους καὶ φύλας), to show that λόχος may mean a civil as well as a military division, but admits that the difficulty in the expression ἐν τοῖς λόχοις here cannot be solved. H. Wolf supposes the συμμορίαι to be meant, and this indeed is the only explanation that can be suggested. (See p. 333.) "From the embarrassment of the commentators concerning these λόχοι" Mr. Newman reasonably presumes that "the use of the word has no parallel extant."

ἐπὶ ἴσον] 'discharging the duty equally.' χορηγία is used for any state service, and is here the same as λειτουργία.

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

262

- 134 [Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ
τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλείονων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ
χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ
λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων
οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα
τάλαντα.]
- 135 Ἀρά γε μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ
μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν οἱ πλούσιοι ;
οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ
τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι
- 136 τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν 5
πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν
ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὥς

ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας] 'according to their property as rated (for taxation), commencing with ten talents.' Böckh (Pol. Ec. iv. 14) observes that the ten talents were 'not the whole property, but only the capital, on which tax was paid. "If then the valuation of Nausinicus (B.C. 378) was still in force, whoever was possessed of fifty talents would be required to furnish one trireme, whoever of 150 or more, three triremes and an auxiliary vessel besides."

ἕως τριῶν πλοίων] 'as far as three vessels and a tender.' The word πλοίων is here plainly used for triremes, and Mr. Newman observes, "I do not remember πλοῖον in the Attic classics with this sense. It is a received doctrine that ναὺς is the generic term for ships of war, and πλοῖον for ships of burden." But Aristotle (Ethics i. 1) evidently considers πλοῖον as a generic name for any sailing vessel, for he says that a πλοῖον is the τέλος or end of ναυπηγική.

εἰς συντέλειαν] 'grouped together into a company up to ten talents,' i.e. till the aggregate taxable capital of the contributors made that amount. On these two κατάλογοι, Mr. N. observes, that when the orator directs them to be read, "We naturally expect a schedule, or rather (in an English sense) a catalogue, which shall tell how many Athenian citizens had to keep one or more tri-

remes, how many half a trireme, how many one third, &c. &c.; nor does it appear to me that in this connexion, the word κατάλογος can have any other meaning. On the contrary, we are, instead, presented with two decrees, or fragments of decrees, which do not tell us the actual results of the reform at all; and, in fact, it would seem that what is here called τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον, would more properly be called a clause of the law itself."

τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα] 'not only then do I pride myself on not having abandoned these measures.' So c. Meid. § 48, καθυφεῖναι ἀγῶνα (to drop an action): ὁ θεσμοθέτης φανήσεται, ἰδίᾳ πεισθεὶς ὅπως οὐδέποτε ἀργυρίῳ καθυφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα. This usage of καθυφεῖναι seems to confirm the interpretation of καταβαλόντα (§ 129) given in p. 455, and Mr. Long observes that it seems to be like the Latin 'prævaricari.'

τὸν πόλεμον] The war which commenced with Philip's attacks on Perinthus and Byzantium, B.C. 340—339, and ended with Chæroneia.

ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε] 'appealed to the people,' by appearing as suppliants in the public assembly and depositing their ἱκετηρία (κλάδος), i.e. an olive bough with wool wound round it, on the altar in the Pnyx, on which the usual sacrifices of the τὰ εἰσιτήρια were performed before a meet-

- ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω κατα-
 ληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ 10
 137 δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησι ἦν
 τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ
 δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηρ-
 138 αρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' 15
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
 προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ
 δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν 263
 καὶ κακότηδες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν,
 139 οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταῦτ' οἶνον ἦθος ἔχων ἐν τε
 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς
 φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων 5
 χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὐτ' ἐν
 τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα
 ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι συμφερόντων.
 140 Ἐγούμαι οἶνον λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος
 εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστα τε ἔπραττον 10
 καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμι καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς,
 ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλωσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι

ing was opened. The full phrase is *ἱκετηρίαν τιθέναι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*, as in Aesch. F. L. § 15: *ἱκετηρίαν θέντες ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*. ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο] The Scholiast informs us that the temple of Artemis, the port of Munychia, served as an asylum or place of sanctuary for the trierarchs and seamen. Comp. Lysias, c. Agor. § 27, p. 132: *ὁ δὲ Ἀγόρατος καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ καθίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βομὸν Μουνυχιάσιν*.

ἀποστολέων] 'commissioners of despatch.' These officers, said to have been ten in number, were charged with the duty of seeing that the naval expeditions left the Peiraeus at the appointed time, and with their ships in seaworthy condition. A grammarian in Bekker's Anecd. 435. 29, thus describes their office: *δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν πλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἀναγομένων πλοίων ἀποδεδειγμένοι*. Pollux

viii. 89, describes them as *τοὺς προνοομένους τοῦ ἀποστολοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐκπλου τῶν τριηρέων*.

ἔξω] 'at sea.'

ἐγίνετο] 'were habitually occurring.'

τὸ δ' αἴτιον] 'and the reason was that the burden devolved upon the poor. Accordingly many were the cases of inability that happened.'

βάσκανον δέ] 'but malignant, or vexatious, or unprincipled, is there no public measure of mine.' *βάσκαίνω* is 'to look with an evil eye upon.'

ἔχων . . . φανήσομαι] 'it will be clearly proved that I have.' "Which is always the force of *φαίνομαι* with the participle." Drake.

καίτοι . . . παραλείπω] 'not but that I am omitting the most important points of my administration and conduct,' viz. those connected with the contest which ended in the battle of Chaeroneia.

τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφέξῃς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἴτα, 15 καὶ μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

- 141 Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμᾶς οἶμαι μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεῖναι 20 τοὺς πολλοὺς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων 142 διαλέξομαι. τοσοῦτον γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἡ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας 25 ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, 264 143 οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη. τίς γάρ ἐστι

τοὺς . . . λόγους] 'address to you my defence.'

ὁμοίως . . . ὑπάρχειν μοι] 'that all the same have I the consciousness of each of you for my witness.'

ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν] Lit: 'making a topsy-turvy hotch-potch,' i. e. making a thorough jumble of them. Plato uses the phrases ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταστρέφειν, μεταβάλλειν, and (Theat. c. 27) the proverb ἄνω κάτω πάντα. Compare τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, Herod. iii. 3. The Latin idiom is 'susque deque,' or 'sursum deorsum.' Ours, 'topsy-turvy,' i. e. 'topside t'other-way,' or as some explain it, 'topside, turf-way,' i. e., reversed as a clod turned over.

περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων] 'about the laws exhibited in contrast.' In a γραφὴ παρανόμων the prosecutor exhibited side by side with the clauses of the proposed new law those enactments of the old laws which he alleged to be contravened. Thus Aesch. c. Ctes. § 201: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλῶμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν ᾧ διαγινώσκειται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. Comp. c. Aristoc. § 72. Mr. K. translates παραγεγραμμένων by 'counter-written,' and also suggests 'contrasted'

or 'put in counterview.'

ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθήν] 'but I will speak of the justice of the case in the simple straightforward way.'

ὃ νῦν . . . διωρίζετο] 'as he just now was falsely and distinctly asserting.' Lord B.

ὧν ἡ διακεχείρικα . . . παρ' ὑμῖν] 'for whatever I have either handled or done as a public man amongst you.' διαχειρίζεσθαι is used peculiarly of administering public funds, or managing public property of any kind. Thus Aesch. c. Ctes. § 26: τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχειρίζε, and πάντες ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσιν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας.

ὧν μέντοι γε] 'For what however I have of my own private property offered and given to the people, I affirm that I am not accountable, no not for a single day.' Demosthenes here 'confesses and avoids.' Aeschines does not assert that his rival was accountable for the expenditure of his donations; but that it was not legally competent for him to be honoured with a crown for the discharge of the duties of an office, till he had passed his accounts of the expenditure of the public monies entrusted to him in and for that office. This allegation Demosthenes does not meet.

οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων] Who had to render a strict account of their admi-

νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς, ὥστε
 τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρω-
 πον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς 5
 συκοφάντας δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὦν
 ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δεῖξάτω,
 144 καὶ γὰρ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ θεωρικῇ
 τότε ὦν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, "ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν," φησὶν, 10
 "ἡ βουλὴ ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα." οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενὸς,
 ὦν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ συκοφάντα.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα, φησί. καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς
 ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τὰν ηλωμένα ἐπέδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσ- 15
 δεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγ-
 145 χάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὅτι δ' οὕτω
 ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις
 ἤθεσιν ὤρισταί, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων 20
 προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν εἰθ' ὅτι τὰς
 ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφα-

nistration before the λογισταί and εἰθνο-
 νοί. Dict. of Antiq. s. v.

φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον] 'public-
 spirited and generous.' φιλόδωρον "sig-
 nificatione multum differt a ceteris hujus-
 modi compositis; valet enim non appe-
 tens dona, sed facile largiens." Schäff.

ἐπήνεσεν] "Lex cum claris verbis
 vetaret τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν
 (Aesch. c. Ctes. p. 55), Demosthenes
 prudenter leniōri verbo ἐπαίνειν utitur
 ubi de se loquitur." Dissen.

οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενός] 'Yes, but
 not in respect of any of those monies for
 which I was accountable, but for what I
 gave as a donation.' The amount was
 1000 drachmae, says the author of the
 lives of the ten orators, p. 846.

καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην] 'and did not
 charge the state with it.'

ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐξετασόντων] 'For the
 rendering of accounts indeed requires
 audits and scrutineers, but a free gift de-
 serves thanks and commendation.'

ὁδὶ] Ctesiphon.

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις . . . ὤρισταί] 'and that

this is a settled principle not only in the
 laws but also in your habits.' For ἤθεσιν,
 as in the MSS., Dindorf substitutes ἔθεσιν,
 but incorrectly, I think. Of course ἔθεσιν
 means 'customs,' and ἤθεσιν 'moral prin-
 ciples,' both being the same in origin.
 But it may also mean, (as I think it
 does here,) habits which are the result of
 principle, and 'unwritten law,' contrasted
 with those which are based upon positive
 enactments. The Romans would have
 said 'lex' and 'mos.'

Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν] In B.C. 325
 he commanded the troops sent by Athens
 to assist the Phocians (Diod. xvi. 37). In
 B.C. 347, at the time of the embassy about
 the Peace, he was on such friendly terms
 with Aeschines (F. L. § 18), that he pro-
 posed this orator as one of the ambassa-
 dors to Philip. He is also mentioned c.
 Ctes. § 159, and in Vit. X Orat. 845.

ἔτι] The Codices A. F. S. Y. Q. p. s.
 have ἔτε, which Dindorf adopts.

Διότιμος] His full description was
 Διότιμος Διοπίθους ὁ Εὐωνυμεύς. (c.
 Meid. § 264.) A person of this name,

νοῦντο· εἴθ' οὕτωςι Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης
 146 ὦν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη.
 τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ 25
 ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ 265
 τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ'
 ἀληθὴ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενη-
 μένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

147 [Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βρηδρομίωνος ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη
 βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ
 δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν
 δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθούτων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν
 νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ

and perhaps the same, was one of the ten
 orators demanded of the Athenians by
 Alexander (B.C. 335) after his capture of
 Thebes, and also according to Suidas
 (s. v. Ἀντίπατρος) by Antipater after the
 Lamian war, B.C. 322. Arrian i. 10. 6.
 Vit. X Orat. 844. Grote xii. 60 and 434.

Χαρίδemos] A person of this name
 was a native of Oreos in Euboea, and
 the distinguished leader of mercenaries,
 whose exploits in Thrace as an auxi-
 liary of Cersobleptes are described in
 the speech c. Aristoc. He was also
 adopted as a full citizen of Athens (c.
 Aristoc. § 25), and therefore I con-
 ceive that he is the Charidemus here
 meant, especially since he is mentioned
 as a well-known character, and without
 any distinctive appellation, as he is also
 c. Ctes. § 77. If so, he is the Char-
 idemus whom some of the Athenians
 wished to make their general after the
 battle of Chaeroneia (Plut. Phocion, c.
 16. Demos. c. 22), and whom Alexander
 after the capture of Thebes called upon
 the Athenians to surrender to himself.
 Thereupon, he fled to the court of Darius,
 where he lived some time in great honour,
 but was put to death shortly before the
 battle of Issus, B.C. 333, in consequence
 of having expressed himself too freely in
 disparagement of the Persian troops. It
 is remarkable that Diodorus (xvii. 30),
 who describes him as an Athenian,
 θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ δεινότητι
 στρατηγίας, adds that he served with
 King Philip in his campaigns, and had
 been a leader and adviser in all his plans:

συνεστρατεύσατο μὲν Φιλίππῳ τῷ βασιλεὶ
 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρχηγὸς
 καὶ σύμβουλος γεγονώς ἦν. Grote xii. 62
 and 145.

Νεοπτόλεμος] Described as σφόδρα
 πλούσιος. c. Meid. § 271.

τούτοις] 'in honour of these men.'

Φλυεύς] Of the township of Φλυεῖς,
 and the Cecropid tribe. Euripides be-
 longed to it.

ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα] An uncommon
 phrase for πέμπτη ἀπὸ τῶν. But exam-
 ples of it are quoted from inscriptions by
 Böckh, de Archon. pseud. p. 150. 154.

ὅτι δοκεῖ] Unusual for ὅτι ἔδοξεν.

ἐν Ἰμβρῳ] If the incidents here men-
 tioned have any historical foundation they
 must have happened in the war against
 the allies (B.C. 355), when the Chians,
 Rhodians, and Byzantines made several
 descents on Lemnos and Imbros, and ra-
 vaged the estates of the Athenian
 colonists. Diodor. xvi. 21. But in this year
 Elpines, not Demonicus, was Archon.
 See Fas. Hell. B.C. 356. Moreover the
 specification of the Archon by a 'nomina-
 tivus pendens,' and the addition of his
 township, as in Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς,
 are quite unusual.

τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως] 'the treasurer
 of the administration,' i. e. the officer who
 had the charge of the disbursement of the
 public funds, and therefore here the pay-
 master of the forces. But the phrase is not
 used by Demosthenes. It occurs indeed, but
 only as a various and doubtful reading, in
 Pollux viii. 113, where it is explained to
 mean, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἀναλίσ-

τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 148 [Ἐἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλαις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.] 266

- 149 Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπου. ἐπέδωκα· ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἐπέδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον· καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας 5

κομένων, i.e. 'the superintendent of revenue and expenditure.' See § 47.

μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας] "Haec solennis constructio verbi μισθοδοτεῖν. Rarius regit dativum." Schäfer. But in Xen. Anab. vii. 1. 13 we find ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει, though Polybius v. 2. 11 has τὴν δύναμιν μισθοδοτήσας.

πρυτάνεων λεγόντων] 'the presidents declaring it to be with the sanction of the senate.' Mr. Newman thus: 'the Prytanes reading the bill by the authority of the senate.' But neither meaning is satisfactory.

ἐν τῇ . . . μάχῃ] As Mr. Newman observes: "It is a strange coincidence that the Athenians should have fought a battle in Salamis called ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ, when this name was likewise given to a battle fought against Philip, in the campaign which preceded Chaeroneia. The battle so called by Demosthenes, § 274, must surely have been in Phocis or Boeotia, not in Salamis."

τοὺς νεανίσκους] A strange term for στρατιώτας.

Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον] This manifestly implies that they were both honoured in the same way and at the same time for one joint act. But the words of Demosthenes, ὅτι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔδωκε Διό-

τιμος καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, imply two distinct occasions and transactions.

Παναθηναίοις] The greater Panathenaea were celebrated in the third year of every Olympiad, and lasted for several days, commencing probably on the 17th, and ending on the 28th of Hecatombaeon (July and August). Dissen thinks that they happened soon after the generous action of the Strategi, which was therefore to be honoured immediately at this festival, and again at the Dionysia in Elaphebolion (March and April), when there was a larger concourse of people. But such a supposition is quite gratuitous, if, as I believe, the ψήφισμα is spurious. See Dict. of Antiq. s. v.

θεσμοθέτας] They were the six Archons whose duties were extensively connected with the administration of justice, and who appear to have been called 'law-makers,' because, in the absence of a written code, they might be said to make laws, though they only declared and expounded them. Hence Mr. Kennedy translates the word by 'judges.' See Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Archon, p. 74.

ἀγωνοθέτας] See note, p. 445, § 105. δῆπου] 'I presume.' ἦρχον] 'I held office. Yes, and I rendered an account in those matters.'

- ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἤρξα·
 εἶτα παρὼν, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταὶ οὐ κατηγόρεις ;
 150 Ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς
 οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψή-
 φισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ 10
 προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται.
 λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 151 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος, Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψώνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυ-
 τανευούσης Οἰνίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ
 Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν
 ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα
 ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ
 152 πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ

νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἤρξα] Ironically of course. 'Yes, indeed, but I did wrong in my office. And did you then, though in court when the examiners brought me forward, not accuse me?'

εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί] The λογισταί were examiners or taxing masters, whose functions were more extensive than that of the εὔθυνοι, and to whom every public officer had to render an account of his administration within thirty days after the expiration of his office. εἰσάγειν is a judicial term, applied to bringing a cause into court, and from its use here it would seem that the 'examiners' not only subjected the public officers to a rigid scrutiny, but also were responsible for their personal appearance in court, to answer any accusations which might be made against them. The complete phrase then is εἰσάγειν εἰς δικαστήριον, or εἰς τὸ λογιστήριον. Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Εὔθυνοι.

οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο] The construction is τούτοις γὰρ τοῦ προβουλεύματος ἃ οὐκ ἐγράψατο. 'For by those parts of the preliminary resolution which he has not indicted, it will be clearly proved that he is malicious in those which he does attack.'

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] This resolution is generally supposed to have been proposed in B.C. 337, in the first half of which Chaerondas was Archon, his successor of B.C. 337—336 being Phrynichus. But Mr. Newman is of a different opinion, and thinks that it was in this latter year that Ctesiphon obtained the decree for crowning

Demosthenes. As he observes, we know from Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 27) that his rival was appointed *τεichoποῖός* in an *ἀγορά τῶν φυλῶν* on the 2nd and 3rd of Scirophorion (June and July), about a week before the summer solstice of B.C. 337, when Chaerondas wanted only about a month to complete his year of office. This would scarcely have been enough for finishing the work, and carrying the *προβούλευμα* through the senate. And if Demosthenes had been treasurer of the theatrical fund during that year, Ctesiphon might have removed the consequent objection by waiting a short time till its expiration, so that it is probable that the orator held that appointment in B.C. 337—336, and consequently that this was the year in which the decree was obtained. In either case the name of the Archon is wrong. Another objection is that the words *ἀνάγνωθι . . . οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος* would lead us to expect the *προβούλευμα* to have been incorporated in it. Certainly it does not prove the assertions or illustrate the argument which it is quoted to support. It does not inform us what were the provisions of the *προβούλευμα* which Aeschines did not arraign, though Demosthenes called for its production, professedly for that purpose.

πυανεψώνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος] The 22nd of October.

τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς] is the text of the MSS., for which Dobree proposed *χορηγοῖς*, and Dindorf *θεωροῖς*,

τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾷ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι 267 τὸν ἀγνοοθένην.]

- 153 Οὐκοῦν ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέ-
γραψαι· ἂ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι
μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἂ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμο-
λογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρα-
νόμων γράφει. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς 5
καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ
τοιούτος;
- 154 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ μὲν
μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις
αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω 10
σκαίος εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνῃ, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογι-

quoting Plut. Vit. X Orat. 11, p. 846: τῶν τειχῶν ἐπιμελητῆς χειροτονηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας εἰσῆνεγκε τὸ ἀναλωθὲν ἀργύριον μνᾶς ἑκατόν· ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας (eis thusias?). But considering the suspicious character of the resolution, I retain the MSS. reading, nor am I satisfied that θεωροί could mean what the sense requires, i.e. 'the commissioners of public spectacles from the tribes.' Mr. Newman observes on the text, "Will the words bear the sense:—Demosthenes gave 100 minae to the theatrical fund of each tribe? or, rather, ten to each, a hundred to all?" No other sense can be given to them; but τὸ θεωρικόν is the usual form, not τὰ θεωρικά. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν] On this passage, Dion. Halic. de Comp. Verb. v. 45, observes: τί δαί, εἰ τὴν Δημοσθένους λέξιν ταύτην· τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι, παρανόμων γράφει; εἰ λύσας τις καὶ μεταθεὶς τὰ κῶλα, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξενέγκαι· ὁμολογῶν οὖν ἔννομον εἶναι τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα, παρανόμων γράφει τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι; ἀρ' ὁμοίως ἔσται δικανικὴ καὶ στρογγύλη; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι.

τὸ χάριν . . . παρανόμων γράφει] This is an ingenious but evasive argument. Aeschines did not accuse Ctesiphon for having expressed the gratitude of the

state, but for having proposed a resolution for honouring Demosthenes, while yet in office and before he had passed his accounts. This was the illegality complained of, and which Demosthenes ignores, or, as the lawyers say, 'confesses and avoids.' The words of Aeschines are (c. Ctes. § 12): Κτησιφῶν δὲ ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

θεοῖς . . . ὄντως] 'execrable and truly malignant.'

πολλάκις αὐτός] Once. In B.C. 347, after the return of the ten envoys from the first embassy to Philip. See note on § 103. But πολλάκις is a rhetorical exaggeration.

σκαίος] I. q. 'gauche.' 'Perverse and stupid.'

ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι] The common reading is δύνασθαι, which however is not that of the best MSS., and is at variance with the common rule of ὥστε requiring μή when followed by an infinitive, and οὐ when by the indicative. The difference of meaning is thus explained by Mr. Shilleto (F. L. p. 203): "Οὕτως ἄφρων ἦν ὥστε οὐκ ἠβούλετο, 'he was so foolish that he did not wish' (expressive of the real result or consequence). οὕτως ἄφρων

σασθαι ὅτι τῇ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ
 στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν αναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων
 ἔνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίνεταί τὸ κήρυγμα ;
 οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν 15
 προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον
 ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ
 155 πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[“Ὅσους στεφανοῦσι τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων
 ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μὴ τινες ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλή στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίους
 ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

156 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν

ἦν ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι, expressive of the
 natural consequence. In Latin the dis-
 tinction might be marked by translating
 the former, ‘ut noluerit,’ the latter, ‘ut
 nollit.’ Now it is obvious that an ener-
 getic speaker, wishing to express that the
 result (was not only of a nature to follow,
 but) actually did follow, would employ
 the indicative: whereas in ordinary and
 unimpassioned language the infinitive
 would imply all that was necessary, the
 natural consequence supposing the real.
 Accordingly in the orators, much more
 frequently than in other writers, the con-
 struction ὥστε (or ὥστε οὐ) with the in-
 dicative occurs. There are however cases
 in which ὥστε οὐ is used with the in-
 finitive, in some of which the negative
 belongs to *one word* in the sentence, and
 does not affect the whole. In others, this
 construction is found where a passage is
 in the ‘oratio obliqua,’ and if turned into
 the ‘oratio recta’ would produce an in-
 finitive. Analogous thereto also, is the
 same usage after verbs of thinking, as
 below, § 349: πότῃ οὐχ ἡγεῖ γινώ-
 σκει αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἰ; ἢ τοσούτων ὕπνον
 καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ’ οὐ μεμ-
 νῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ
 πολέμῳ. Here omitting ἡγεῖ, we should
 have ἅπαντες ἔχουσιν ὥστ’ οὐ μεμνήνται.”
 Mr. S. however quotes a few other pas-
 sages which he says he cannot bring under
 this canon, e. g. c. Nicost. § 2: οὐδ’ αὖ
 οὐτως ἄπορος ἦν ὥστ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐξευρεῖν τὸν
 ἀπογράφοντα. So also Eurip. Phoen.
 1357, 8:

οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τειχέων περιπτυχὰι
 ὥστ’ οὐχ ἅπαντ’ αὖ εἶδέναι τὰ δρώμενα.

And Soph. Elect. 780—1 :

ὥστ’ οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον οὐτ’ ἐξ ἡμέρας
 ἐμὲ στεγάζειν ἡδύν.

Perhaps we can only say generally that
 οὐ indicates a more immediate and direct
 connexion than μὴ would.

οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες . . . προτρέπονται]
 Westermann quotes the Corp. Inscrip.
 100: ὅπως ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες φιλο-
 τιμῶνται εἰς τοὺς δημότας, εἰδότες ὅτι
 χάριτας ἀπολήψονται παρὰ τῶν δημοτῶν
 ἀξίας τῶν εὐεργετημάτων, and 108: ὅπως
 ἐφάμιλλον ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλο-
 δοξεῖν, εἰδόσιν ὅτι καταξίως τιμηθήσονται
 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν.

NOMOS] “Qui legitur nunc apud
 Demosthenem νόμος, fragmentum legis est,
 et ne genuinum quidem, sed nescio quo-
 modo consarcinatum. Vera verba exitus
 (of the last clause) Demosthenes deinde
 ipse affert, unde simul patet in proxime
 antecedentibus de praecone dictum fu-
 isse.” Dissen. But further, the excep-
 tion (ἐὰν μὴ) in the alleged law does not
 apply to the primary provision, ὅσους
 στεφανοῦσι τινες τῶν δήμων. The ex-
 cepted case could not, any how, have been
 comprehended in the others.

λέγοντος . . . πλὴν ἐὰν . . . ψηφίσῃται]
 The two orators contradict each other upon
 this point, with effrontery and falsehood
 on one side or the other. Which, and
 how far either spoke the truth it is

εάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τούτους δὲ ἀνα- 268
γορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους
πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ'

impossible to determine, although both appeal to documents, which in their day were of accessible record. But unfortunately the *Nómos* here given as that quoted by Demosthenes, cannot be relied on as genuine, nor are the conflicting statements of Aeschines supported by the production of the documents which he required to be read. What Demosthenes asserts is, that the law in question distinctly provided for the crowning of an Athenian citizen, in the theatre, if so decreed by the senate or the people. In support of his assertion, he has that law read, and then triumphantly asks Aeschines, whether he is not ashamed of himself for maintaining the contrary. It is almost incredible to suppose he would have ventured on such a proceeding, before a well-informed court, and against such an opponent, unless the law *did* allow what he thus publicly affirmed to be sanctioned by it. And yet, if we may credit his adversary, he not only committed this impudent absurdity, but he was actually guilty of it after Aeschines had forewarned (*προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθῃτε ἐξαπατηθέντες*) his hearers against it, and refuted it by previously citing the very same law, and showing that this law did not admit of the interpretation which Demosthenes put upon it. According to his speech (c. Ctes. §§ 34—49), it had formerly been customary for proclamation to be made in the theatre at the Dionysiac festivals (*ἐν ᾧσται*) of the crowning of citizens by the members of their own tribe or township, and also of the enfranchisement of slaves. This was carried so far, that it became a nuisance, and therefore, said Aeschines, a law was passed prohibiting it, as follows: μήτ' οἰκίτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μηθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορευέσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενός, ἢ ἔτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. But another practice had also grown up, that of proclaiming at these festivals the presentation of honorary crowns by such states as Rhodes and Chios, to Athenian citizens who had acted as their proxeni, or otherwise deserved well of them. Moreover, this had been done without asking the consent of the Athenian people, and accordingly it was prohibited, except when specially sanctioned by a formal vote of the assembly

(εάν μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος). The law to this effect was called ὁ Διονυσιακὸς νόμος, and if Aeschines tells the truth about it, Demosthenes was guilty of a 'suppression verit' (*χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τιμὴ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἡμῶν*), and of abusing the confidence or presuming upon the ignorance of his hearers, by asserting that a provision in it which related to particular persons and exceptional cases, was of general and unlimited application. Not only so, but we must further suppose that he did this, after they had been carefully warned to guard against the imposition, as follows: ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἐξεῖναι ἐὰν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνηματεύετε αὐτοῖς υποβάλλειν, Ναί, εἴ γέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ. On the whole then, I am inclined to believe, that wherever the falsehood lies, it was not orally proclaimed before the assembled Athenians, but subsequently inserted by one or other of the orators in a revised edition of his speech. But whether this opinion be correct or not, the truth seems to me to rest rather with Aeschines than his rival. His details are too minute, circumstantial, and consistent, to be pure inventions, nor is it probable that he would have accused Ctesiphon of an illegality in proposing the theatre for the coronation, if the Διονυσιακὸς νόμος had allowed it. Surely he would not have given his acute adversary such an advantage. Moreover, as Aeschines elaborately argues that the Διονυσιακὸς νόμος, which permitted the presentation of crowns in the theatre, must and could only have contemplated ξενικοὶ στέφανοι, we may also infer that it did not expressly specify what the legislator himself knew would in his time at least be understood, and that Demosthenes ingeniously availed himself of the omission for his own purposes.

ἀναγορευέτω] sc. ὁ κήρυξ, though Reiske understands ὁ δῆμος or ἡ βουλὴ. τί λόγους πλάττεις;] Comp. Soph. Aj. 148:

τοιοῦσδε λόγους ψιθύρους πλάσσω
εἰς ὧτα φέρει πᾶσιν Ὀδυσσεύς.

τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις;] 'Why don't you take hellebore' as a medicine? This is certainly vehement invective. We should be rather surprised if in the senate

οὐδ' αἰσχύνηι φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδε-
 νός, καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, 5
 οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι
 157 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέ-
 γεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδε-
 δωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἰτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσήκεν ἐκ
 τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἀλλ' 10
 οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινγνωσκομένους.
 καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ
 158 σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ

or at the bar, a speaker were to turn upon his opponent and say, 'Why don't you go to Bedlam?' The only difference would be, that one was supposed to be a cure, and the other might not be the way to it. A similar idea is expressed by 'Naviget Anticyram.' Horat. Sat. ii. 3. 166.

νόμους τοὺς . . . ἀφαιρῶν μέρη] 'garbling some laws, and leaving out parts of others.'

δημοτικῷ] 'in a patriot,' or rather 'in a man of the people.' Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 169) described five characteristics of a δημοτικός, as opposed to an ὀλιγαρχικός, and laboured to prove that Demosthenes possessed none of them. He said: Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογῆσαι τὰδε δεῖν ὑπάρχειν τῷ δημοτικῷ· πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενῆς ᾖ τοῖς νόμοις, οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν. δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τιν' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ, τὸ γ' ἀναγκαιότατον, μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ, βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι, κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. τρίτον, σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν διαίταν, ὥπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς διατροφῆς δωροδοκῇ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου. τέταρτον, εὐγνωμόνα καὶ δυνατὸν εἶπεν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας. πέμπτον, ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐγκαταλίπῃ τὸν δῆμον. Τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τὰναντία τοῦτων ἔχειν. Comp. above § 14, p. 404: Σόλων, εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός.

ὥσπερ . . . συγγραφῇ] 'as if you had put out a statue to be made according to contract, and then had it delivered to you deficient in what it ought to have had

under the contract.' For a συγγραφὴ, or 'written agreement,' of the kind here alluded to and entered into by the sculptor Agatharcus, see Andocid. c. Alcib. § 17.

ἢ λόγῳ . . . γινγνωσκομένους] An 'accusativus pendens,' connected with ὥσπερ. Translate, 'or as if patriots were tested by a definition, and not rather by their whole conduct and public services.'

βοᾷς . . . ὀνομάζων] Sc. ἐμέ. 'You shout and call me all sorts of names, mentionable and unmentionable.' "ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα, dicenda tacenda, quidquid in mentem venit." Demosthenes alludes to the personalities, c. Ctes. p. 79.

ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης] On the second day of the Anthesteria, called χόες, when the new wine was first drunk, and a procession in wagons and other carriages passed along the streets, those who joined in it were in the habit of throwing out all sorts of jests and ribaldry on the passers-by, whence τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σκόμματα and πομπεύειν are used for abusive taunts and insulting personalities. See note on § 13, p. 406, and Dict. of Antiq. p. 342. Suidas, under ἐξ ἀμάξης, says, ἡ λεγομένη ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίους Λήναια· ἐν ᾗ ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ ποιητὰι συγγράφοντες τινα ἄσματα τοῦ γελασθῆναι χάριν· ὅπερ Δημοσθένης ἐξ ἀμάξης εἶπεν. ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν γὰρ οἱ ἄδοντες καθήμενοι ἔλεγόν τε καὶ ᾄδον τὰ ποιήματα. Doubtless the practice would prevail on any occasion of a merry-making procession. Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. vii. 72, compares it with a similar one of the Romans in their triumphal processions. Those of the mediaeval 'Festival of Fools' were more practical and less refined in their fun. Strutt's Book of Sports, iv. 3. 9.

καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο] 'and yet I would say this too.'

τοῦτο, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας
 τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδική- 15
 ματ' ἔχειν, ὣν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ
 λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς
 ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ
 τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα
 συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρ- 20
 ρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις
 159 ἡδίκηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχί-
 νης οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν
 εἵλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν
 ἀπελθεῖν. ἥδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν 25
 ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρόν
 ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἴτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' 269
 ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ
 ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλιπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ὃν
 160 ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσειςιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἄπασι, τοῖς
 νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάν- 5
 των πολλακίς πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι

λοιδορίαν . . . διαφέρειν] A similar
 sentiment is expressed by Cicero, pro
 Coel. 3: "Sed aliud est maledicere,
 aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat,
 rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argu-
 mento probet, teste confirmet. Male-
 dictio autem nihil habet propositi, praeter
 contumeliam: quae si petulantius jactatur,
 convicium, si facetius, urbanitas nomi-
 natur."

ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν] e. g. 'deals in of-
 fences, while abuse keeps to calumnies.'

οὐχ ἵνα . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων] 'not that
 we should abuse each other with scandals
 from our private life.'

τὰ ἀπόρρητα] This phrase as here used
 is illustrated by Lys. c. Theomn. i. § 6:
 ἐτόλμα λέγειν . . . ὥς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀπορ-
 ρήτων, ἐάν τις εἴπῃ τὸν πατέρα ἀπεκτον-
 εῖναι, also by Isocr. c. Lochit. § 5: περὶ τῆς
 κατηγορίας νόμον ἔθεσαν (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ὃς
 κελεύει τοὺς λέγοντάς τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων
 πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς δφεῖλιν.

οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα] 'not even here
 however,' i. e. (in personalities), 'ought he
 to come off with less than myself.' Lord
 B.: 'it is right he should get as good as
 he brings.'

οὐ μὲν ἦν . . . λαβεῖν] 'where you
 might have obtained justice for these,' i. e.
 the citizens before him.

οὐ δ' ἐγὼ . . . ἄπασι] 'but where I
 indeed am safe in every thing, by the
 laws, by the length of time, by the limita-
 tion of actions, by the frequent previous
 adjudications about every point, by the
 fact that I have never been convicted of
 any wrong to you; while the city, on the
 other hand, must more or less participate
 at any rate in the character of what
 has been done on account of the state
 —is it here and on this ground that
 you have met me?' The meaning seems
 to be, that the issues joined on the trial
 necessitated a review of and a verdict
 upon the measures of Demosthenes, in
 the credit or discredit of which the state
 would participate, as it had ratified and
 adopted them.

τῇ προθεσμίᾳ] The term fixed for
 bringing actions or prosecutions, and after
 the expiration of which they could not be
 commenced, so that προθεσμίας νόμος
 answers to our 'Statute of Limitations,'
 and such statutes as limit a term for in-
 formations and the like. Dict. of Antiqu. s. v.

μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης; ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾷς ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ.

10

- 161 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὥς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοῖδορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ῥαδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ 15 κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι; —
- 162 εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὀλεθρος γραμμα-

Ἐπειδὴ . . . δέδεικται] Wolff thinks that Demosthenes here took advantage of some acclamations in the assembly, which he affected to regard as the general voice of his judges, and thereupon expressed his conviction that his client would be acquitted. Had the reading not been ἅπασι but ὑμῖν, in contrast with δεῖ δέ με, I should be more disposed to agree with him. As the text stands, I would translate it: 'Having then pointed out to all what is the conscientious and just verdict, and, as I must, it would seem . . .'

τὰς ὑπὸ . . . εἰρημένας] Westermann observes that βλασφημίας precedes the participle, by reason of what he calls 'rhetorical accent.' He compares § 121: τὴν τότε Θηβαίους βῶμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, and § 293: τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένη. We should say that the collocation was suggested by the laws of harmony and sense.

ἀντὶ πολλῶν . . . εἰπεῖν] 'in reply to his many falsehoods say just what is absolutely necessary.' So (Thucyd. i. 90) ἀναγκαιότατον ὕψος is said of a wall built only just high enough for purposes of defence.

λόγους τίνας διασύρει] 'cavils at some expressions of mine.' Comp. διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπήνεσε. De Synt. § 13.

αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς] 'though he has himself uttered language which what decent man (I should like to know) would not shrink from uttering?' It will be seen that there is no apodosis after εἰρηκῶς, so that the sentence is incomplete, unless indeed we suppose that the apodosis is in δεῖ δέ με,

for which some would write δεῖ δὴ με. Demosthenes here alludes to the personalities of Aeschines c. Ctes. p. 79.

Αἰακὸς . . . Μίνως] These judges of the dead are quoted as representatives of integrity.

σπερμολόγος] 'a babbler' or 'prater.' This word properly means ὁ τὰ σπέρματα συλλέγων (Hesych.), and is applied to birds which support life by picking up seeds. But it has many derived meanings founded upon this primary notion. Thus it is applied to a pauper who gains a livelihood by picking up scraps of meat or vegetables in a market, and also to a worthless idler who, without regular employment, loiters about public places for a chance job, a 'homo circumforaneus.' The meaning of 'babbling' as in the text, and in Act. Apost. xvii. 18, is connected with the notion of picking up scraps of knowledge and bits of talk, to retail as gossip or scandal. Here Lord Brougham translates it 'word-monger.' Eustathius ad Odys. p. 1547. 35, thus explains the word: 'Ὁ δὲ σπερμολόγος κυρίως εἶδος ἐστὶν ὁρνεόν λαβόμενον τὰ σπέρματα. ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας, διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων ὁρνεόν αναρρέοντα καὶ διαζῆν. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλήσιν καὶ οἱ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἔχιοι.' The σπερμολόγος of the Thames is the London 'mudlark.'

περίτριμμα] 'a drudge of the forum.' So περίτριμμα δικῶν. Arist. Nubes, 447. ὀλεθρος γραμματεῖς] 'a wretch of a

- τεὺς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαύτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπα- 20
 χθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ
 γῇ καὶ ἡλίε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν
 καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἥ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ
 διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἡκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγον-
 163 τοσ'· σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἡ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία ; 25
 ἡ καλῶν ἡ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις ; πόθεν ἡ πῶς ἀξιο-
 θέντι ; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν
 ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦ- 270
 τον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθρίασῃς, τοῖς δ'
 ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναι-
 σθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν,
 οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν. 5
- 164 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν,
 ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης
 ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησεΐῳ διδάσκοντι

writing clerk.' Aeschines had once been one of the *υπογραμματεῖς*, or under secretaries to some of the Athenian magistrates. Compare § 261: τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεῦν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. It will be seen that *δλεθρος* is here used instead of an adjective. Comp. c. Phil. iii. p. 215: ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος.

οὐδ' ἂν...πορίσασθαι] 'nor have brought out such offensive language.' For *πορίσασθαι*, compare adv. *Lacr.* § 51: *ραδίως λόγους πορίσασθαι*. Epitaph. § 15: ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν πορίσασθαι. Schäfer.

ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ] Alluding to the former profession of Aeschines, who concluded his speech thus: 'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ Γῇ, καὶ Ἡλίε, καὶ Ἀρετῇ, καὶ Σύνεσις, καὶ Παιδείᾳ, ἣ διαγιγνώσκουμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἰρηκα.

σύνεσιν . . . ἐπικαλούμενον] 'appealing to good sense and good breeding.' ὦ κάθαρμα] 'you abomination.' Lord B. Literally: 'you offscouring or scum of the earth.'

πόθεν ἡ πῶς ἀξιοθέντι:] 'whence or how qualified?'

κἂν . . . ἐρυθρίασῃς] Demosthenes here seems to retaliate upon Aeschines for the following observation, c. Ctes. § 242: ὅπου γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ὄντως ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνησιμεν ἔργα, ἐὰν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους

λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν, ὅταν δὲ ἀνθρώπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα κἄρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι] 'while to those indeed who like yourself are destitute of it, and nevertheless pretend to it, the result is that by their want of delicacy they give offence to their hearers when they speak, instead of appearing to be what they pretend.' For the usage of *ἀπολείπεσθαι* comp. note p. 98.

πρὸς τῷ Θησεΐῳ] 'teaching letters,' i. e. keeping a school, 'by the temple of Theseus.' This building is situated to the N. W. of the Acropolis at Athens, and is the least dilapidated among the remaining structures of Greece. It is of the Doric order, erected about 465 B.C., and peripteral, with six columns in front, and thirteen on each flank, including those at the angles. Sir W. Gell described it as perhaps the most beautiful and best preserved monument of antiquity, and producing, notwithstanding its small dimensions of 104 by 45 feet, an inconceivable effect of majesty and grandeur. It was for many centuries known as the Church of St. George, and is now the national museum of Athens. Dict. of Geog. i. 288. See also the plan of the Acropolis, p. 302, and Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, p. 127.

γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἥ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σου τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ 10 Καλαμίτῃ Ἡρώϊ χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, 165 κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ

χοίνικας . . . καὶ ξύλον] The word χοῖνιξ, besides the liquid measure so called, means also the nave or box of a wheel, and accordingly the plural χοίνικες is applied to the fetters or shackles for the legs, made by hollowing out a solid into a cavity. Comp. the 'ponderosas crassas compedes' of Plautus, Captivi iii. 5. 64, and:

αἱ κνήμαι δέ σου βωδῶσιν
ἰὼν ἰὸν τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας πο-
θοῦσαι. (Arist. Plut. 275.)

The term ξύλον, as is well known, often means the 'stocks.' Here it seems to mean a wooden collar for the neck, as in Arist. Nubes v. 592: εἰτα φμώσῃτε τοῦτον τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν ἀνχένα. Mr. Kennedy compares Plaut. Capt. ii. 2. 107: "Hoc quidem haud molestum est jam quod collus collaria caret."

μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις] 'marriages in the day-time.' μεθημερινός = 'diurnus,' 'what is of the day or done by day.' καθημερινός = 'quotidianus,' 'what is of every day.' As for γάμοις it is a euphemism for a plainer term, and perhaps carries with it a pregnant sarcasm, implying that the mother's wedlock was prostitution.

ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ] Bekker reads κλεισίῳ, and the Codex S has κλεισίῳ. The word itself κλεισίον, lit. 'tugurium,' a shed or hut, and sometimes a stall or shop, is here a brothel, as χαμαιτυπείον in Lucian, Dial. Mort. x. 11.

τῷ Καλαμίτῃ Ἡρώϊ] Nothing is known of a Hero Calamites except from this passage, and so all sorts of suggestions have been made about it. Franke, in a review of Dissen's edition, supposes that the Calamites was a 'Hero der Schulmeister,' an idea which will be strange to most of them. In the Codex S, ἡρώϊς is 'super-scribed,' as a various reading, which receives some confirmation from Apollonius (Aesch. in vit. p. 247), who describes the οἰκῆμα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἡρώϊ. Again, in the de F. L. § 279, the father of Aeschines is spoken of not as a school-master's slave, but as himself keeping a

school near the house of Heros the physician: διδάσκων δ' ὁ πατὴρ γράμματα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἱατροῦ. Accordingly Schäfer conjectures that this Heros was nicknamed ὁ καλαμίτης, from his skill in using splints (κάλαμοι) in setting bones; and proposes to read τῷ καλαμίτῃ Ἡρώϊ, 'Heros the bone-setter,' a conjecture supported by Phot. 75. 24. Porson: Ἡρώς ἱατρός· οὗ μέμνηται Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ Στεφάνου. On the whole I think this reading and interpretation most consistent and simple, and therefore for want of a better I adopt it. Curiously enough the word καλαμηδόν is applied by Paulus Aegineta, a medical writer of the seventh century, to describe a 'fracture.' See Mr. Shilleto's note on the de F. L. § 279. Mr. Drake, I find, is of the same opinion. His translation is 'by the shop of Heros, surnamed Καλαμίτης,' and he says that the word probably came from some medical use of the Κάλαμος.

τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα] Aeschines is said to have been a man of handsome person, but the phrase is further explained by a statement (Bekker, Anec. 394, 29) that ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν αἱ μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ὁ καλὸς ἀνδριάνς μου. Dissen further suggests a sarcastic allusion to the statue-like appearance of Aeschines when pleading (οὐ λέγειν εἰσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντ' Αἰσχίνῃ δεῖ. F. L. § 285) as contrasted with the energetic action of Demosthenes: τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον] 'a capital actor of third-rate parts.' The τριταγωνισταὶ took only the subordinate characters: τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας. Comp. § 231.

ἀνέστησεν αὐτήν] The word ἀνέστησεν, 'raised,' or promoted, is used appropriately with reference to the ἐργασία, a follower of which (c. Neaer. § 87) is described as ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίου καθῆσθαι. So also we find ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκῆματος ἀνίσταται. (Isaeus, Or. vi. § 25.) The τριηραύλης gave the time by his flute to the rowers in a trireme. Cicero (de Divin. c. Caec. 17) calls the boys who performed this duty on board the Roman triremes, 'symphoniaci pueri.'

ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας ; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς 15
θεοὺς ὁκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ
προσέχοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὦν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὁψὲ
166 γάρ ποτε—, ὁψὲ λέγω ; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην ἅμ' 20
Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς
τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν
δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἦν Ἔμ-
πουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν
καὶ πᾶσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν 25
167 πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ
πονηρὸς φύσει ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ 271
πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν] If the right collocation is given in the text, I understand here & βεβίωκεν. 'For neither were the actions of his life of an ordinary kind, but such as the people execrates.' The paragraph can have no other meaning if we read: ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὦν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν. The last clause cannot in such a sequence mean that Aeschines was not sprung from common parents. It must refer to his actions. But the reading of Schäfer and Jacobs, as exhibited in the Codex S, is Ἀλλὰ... ὁκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσέχοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὦν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι κ.τ.λ. To this however there is, I think, an insuperable objection in the abrupt change from the second person (περὶ σοῦ) to the third in οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν, if as is supposed the subject of ἦν is Aeschines.

χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην] 'nay rather, only yesterday or the day before.' In this phrase he corrects the ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε, 'lately and at last.' Apollonius (Aeschin. vit. p. 247) says: μητρὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ Αἰσχίνης Γλαυκοθέας, ἥ ὡς ἔνιοι Γλαυκίδος. According to Aeschines (F. L. § 82) her father's name was Glaucus: ὁ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδελφὸς δὲ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἀχαρνέως υἱός, κ.τ.λ. Probably then her real name was Glaucis, metamorphosed into Glauciothea.

Ἔμπουσαν] The Scholiast on Arist. Ran. v. 289, describes the Empusa as a goblin or spirit possessed of the power of assuming all sorts of shapes: Ἔμπουσα—φάντασμα—δὲ δοκεῖ πολλὰς μορφὰς ἀλλάσσειν. The same idea is thus expressed by Aristophanes himself:

Ξ. καὶ μὴν ὁρῶ νῆ τὸν Δία θηρίον μέγα.
Δ. ποῖόν τι; Ξ. δεινόν· παντοδαπὸν
γοῦν γίγνεται.
ποτὲ μὲν γε βούς, νυνὶ δ' ὄρεὺς, ποτὲ
δὲ γυνή
ῥωαιοτάτη τις. Δ. ποῦ ὅστι; φέρ'
ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴω.
Ξ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' αὖ γυνή σ'στιν, ἀλλ' ἡδη
κύων.
Δ. Ἔμπουσα τοῖνυν ἐστί.

We must suppose then that Glaucis was nicknamed Empusa from the facility with which she appeared in all sorts of characters: 'parata quidvis et facere et pati.' A different explanation of the nickname is given by the unknown author of the life of Aeschines (Bekker, p. 288), who says that his mother got it from frightening children.

ἐλεύθερος... ἐκ πτωχοῦ] Mr. Kennedy illustrates this construction by Milton's "How cam'st thou speakable of mute?" and translates thus: 'having risen from servitude to freedom, from beggary to affluence.'

οὐχ ὅπως... ἀλλά] 'you are so far from showing your gratitude to them that you have hired yourself out as a public

ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τούτωνι πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστί τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἑάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς 5 ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

- 168 Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγεϊλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος 10 οὗτος καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δευνὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων.
- 169 ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπεζήτησε τὸν 15 ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώ-

man against them.' On οὐχ ὅπως see note c. Phil. iv. § 46.

ὡς ἄρα] 'on the ground forsooth that.' ἀποψηφισθέντα] 'disfranchised, struck off the register.' The register of the members of each township was called ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, because any person whose name was inscribed in it was qualified to enter upon an inheritance, or ἀρχειν τῆς λήξεως, λαγχάνειν κλῆρον being equivalent to the Roman phrase 'adire hereditatem.' Occasionally, and especially when it was suspected that any names had been improperly placed on it, a διαψήφισις or scrutiny was held, as in a registration court, when any member of the 'demos' might object to the qualification of any one on the register. This done, an inquiry was made into the case, and the votes of the demos taken upon it. If the result were unfavourable to the party objected against, he was struck off the register, ἀπεψηφίσθη. Antiphon it would seem had suffered this indignity, and in revenge entered into treasonable correspondence with Philip. He must not be confounded with Antiphon the orator. See Δήμος and Διαψήφισις in Dict. of Ant.

ἐπ' οἰκίας . . . ψηφίσματος] 'going to their houses without a vote of the people.' An Athenian's house, like an Englishman's, appears to have been his castle, which could not be entered without legal

warrant for that purpose, which Demosthenes did not in this case possess. Plutarch (in vita, c. 14) describes his conduct on this occasion not as arbitrary but aristocratical, σφοδρὰ ἀριστοκρατικὸν πολίτευμα, and states that after Antiphon had been acquitted by the Ecclesia, Demosthenes dragged him before the Areiopagus (ὃν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφεθέντα συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν κατήγαγε). Deinarchus (c. Dem. § 64) did not fail to make it a ground of accusation against him. But if Antiphon was guilty, as he seems to have been, Demosthenes only acted like a man of spirit in apprehending a vindictive traitor caught *flagrante delicto*.

ἡ βουλὴ . . . πάγου] The Council of Areiopagus seems to have adopted this course in virtue of their extraordinary functions as conservators of the public welfare. The apprehension here spoken of was doubtless supported by an inquiry into the subject, and a report (ἀπόφασις) made thereupon to the ἐκκλησία. In fact Deinarchus (c. Dem. § 64) expressly says so: ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες.

τὴν ὑμετέραν . . . συμβεβηκυῖαν] 'and seen how ill-timed was your mistake.' τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί] 'this grand talker here.'

170 *σαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοιγαρ-*
οὖν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ 20
πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ
τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἀφ' ἧσπερ
πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προεῖλεσθε κάκεινῃν καὶ
τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπ-
ήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερίδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξε καὶ 25
ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ 272
οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαιφῶ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ'
ἄληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

στρεβλώσαντες] 'as it was; you tortured and executed him.' The reader may notice the use of 'torture' in the criminal proceedings of a community so civilized as that of Athens. But it does not appear whether in this case it was applied as a punishment or to extort a confession. Generally speaking, at Athens slaves only were tortured (*βασανίζειν*) to elicit evidence (c. Onetor. i. § 40), but possibly after Antiphon was struck off the register, he might not have been regarded as a free citizen. Even in England within the last 100 years the 'peine forte et dure' was provided by law, if a man would not plead to an indictment for felony, and in Dec. 1858, in London, a jury was locked up without food or fire for a whole night, as a means of bringing them to a righteous judgment on a doubtful point. Comp. Isaeus, Or. viii. § 15.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ . . . Δήλῳ] For a long time the Athenians had been at issue with the Delians about the guardianship of the temple of Apollo at Delos, both claiming it. Accordingly, in B.C. 345, they agreed to refer the question to the Amphictyonic Council, when it appears that Aeschines was selected by the Athenians to be their advocate, *σύνδικος* or *συνήγορος*. But the influence of Philip was then becoming so powerful, that it was in the highest degree necessary for the advocate of Athens to be an able orator, and opposed to the Macedonian interest. Aeschines, however, by his proceedings in the case of Antiphon, had given proof to the contrary, and accordingly the Areiopagus, in the exercise of the authority delegated to it, rescinded his appointment, and substituted Hyperides, an orator whose anti-Macedonian principles were well known. Some frag-

ments of his *λόγος Δηλιακός* on this occasion are still extant: Stobaeus, Tit. 124. 36, p. 618.

ἀφ' ἧσπερ πολλὰ] Several MSS. omit *ἀφ'.*

ὡς . . . κάκεινῃν] 'inasmuch as you had selected' (i. e. delegated) 'this body to act, and given it full powers in the business.' Of course the Areiopagus could not have rescinded an act of the sovereign power in the state, unless previously authorized to do so as in this particular case. As for *προεῖλεσθε*, it has been, and I think well, explained by *εἰλεσθε αὐτὴν πρὸς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*, you selected it 'to act for, or in preference to yourselves.'

ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ . . . ψῆφον] 'giving the vote,' or rather 'taking it from the altar.' This of course was supposed to confer peculiar sanctity on the decision, and may remind us of the story of the Duke of Normandy swearing Harold on the relics. Compare adv. Macar. § 15: *λαβόντες τὴν ψῆφον καιομένων τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου*. Also Herod. viii. 123: *Διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ*, and Plautus, Rudens v. 2. 47:

"Gr. Tange aram hanc Veneris. LA. Tango.

Gr. Per Venerem hanc jurandum est tibi. LA. Quid jurem? Gr. Quod jubebo."

In Mr. Kennedy's Demosthenes, note 17, there is an interesting dissertation on oaths, and the different modes of conferring solemnity upon them. Comp. Müller (Eumenides, p. 161), who observes, "The taking of the ballots from the altar was a usual ceremony of the Areiopagus upon divisions."

171

MARTYRES.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἷδε, Καλλίας Σουνιεὺς, Ζήνων Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερίδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλῃ Ὑπερίδῃς.]

172 Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἐτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότῃν εἶναι καὶ κα-⁵ κόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὁμοίον γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἕτερον δὲ
173 ἀναμνησέσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συν-¹⁰ ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀνα-
στάς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε¹⁵ τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τἀναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῇ.

174 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν²⁰ ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι

Ἐν μὲν . . . τοῦ νεανίου] 'here then is one and such a political act, of this fine fellow, very like indeed, is it not, what he charges me with?' Aeschines was then forty years of age, "ein starker Vierziger," and therefore would not be a νεανίας in the common acceptation of the word. Its meaning here is illustrated in a note, p. 65. Olyn. iii. § 37. Mr. Kennedy translates: 'such is one of this boy's political acts.'

ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα] The date of this mission cannot be determined with certainty, but it probably occurred in B.C. 344 (comp. Winiewski, p. 347). For we know (de Halon. § 21) that in this year Python, an orator of some celebrity (εὐδοκίμησεν ἐν δημηγορίᾳ) was sent to Athens on an embassy by Philip. Diodorus, on

the other hand (xvi. 85), supposes it to have taken place shortly before the battle of Chaeroneia, and that the two orators confronted each other at Thebes, not at Athens. He expressly refers the boast of Demosthenes to such an occasion.

θρασυνομένῳ . . . ῥέοντι] 'blustering, and running in full stream against you,' or, as we say, 'with a torrent of invective.' Comp. Hor. Sat. i. 7. 28: "Tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti." So also Eurip. Hipp. 443: Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν, ἦν πολλὰ ῥυή. And Thucyd. iv. 22: πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο.

τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια] 'I did not betray the rights of the city.'

καίτοι ὅστις . . . ἐκοινολογεῖτο] 'and yet the man who kept up a secret intercourse and communication with an emis-

μόνος μόνῳ συνήει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε 273
τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι
ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

MARTYRES.

175 [Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερίδης Καλλαίσχρον, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου
μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι
Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος
οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ
Φιλίππου. αὐταὶ ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυραὶ ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος
τρίτη ἱσταμένου.]

176 Μυρία τοῖνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω.
καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι 5
δείξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν
ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ
τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν
προσῆκεν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν
ἔξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφε- 10
ρόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λαιδο-

sary of our enemies, alone with him.' This Anaxinus was a native of Oreus in Euboea, whose hospitality Demosthenes had enjoyed there, and who really or ostensibly was employed by Olympias, Philip's queen, to purchase at Athens the articles of her toilette (τοῦ τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 224). Winiewski (p. 351) conjectures that this person was sent by Philip to Athens for the purpose of collecting intelligence when the Athenians were meditating the expulsion of the tyrants from Eretria (§ 99) and Oreus. (B.C. 341.) From what Aeschines says (l. c.), this supposition is not improbable, for according to his statement, the affair in question must have happened about the same time. He speaks of it as the last of several incidents which he enumerates, and declares that the proceedings of Demosthenes against Anaxinus was an artifice by which (εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ) he hoped to anticipate a public accusation by himself. He further reproaches him with having caused the infiction of tortures and death on a man at whose table he had eaten and drunk, and says that for this he was called a 'host-slayer' by the people. Καὶ τοῦτον

ἀπέκτεινας, καὶ περὶ τούτου ἐν ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος, οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἡρνήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίνου, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐφῆσθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης. Dissen considers this statement to have been inserted in the edited speech of Aeschines, as a reply to the charge of Demosthenes.

ἐπωμόσαντο] 'took oath of it before the generals.'

ἐπὶ Νικίου] There was no archon of the name of Nicias about B.C. 340, and it is remarkable that the witnesses are described with the addition of their fathers' names, but without those of their townships or demi.

τοῖς μὲν . . . ἐπηρεάζων] There seems to be a play upon words here, which cannot be reproduced in English. Translate, 'Assisting our enemies and harassing me.'

ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται] 'but these things are not treasured up by you for careful remembrance or proper resentment.' C. R. K.

ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν] 'to supplant and calumniate.'

ρίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

15

- 177 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συναγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοῖ, πῶς γὰρ οὐ ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος; δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. 274 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνιστῇκει πόλεμος,
- 178 ὃ τι μὲν πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος 5 ἱαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δείξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μείζον οὐτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ 10

ἀνταλλαττόμενοι] 'bartering the interests of the city for your pleasure and gratification in hearing abuse.'

τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν . . . πολιτεύεσθαι] 'than to take up his position on your side as a public man.'

ἐπειδὴ . . . τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο] Comp. § 89. This was in B.C. 341—340. The march towards Attica was in B.C. 339 (October and November), when Philip, after being appointed commander-in-chief by the Amphictyonic Council to act against Locris, seized upon and re-fortified Elateia in Phocis, with the avowed intention of attacking Attica. Grote xi. 668.

οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ] 'when affairs were no longer in a state admitting of doubt.'

ὃ τι μὲν . . . ἱαμβειοφάγος] 'what this malignant mouther of iambs ever did for you, he would not be able to show.' Some grammarians explain ἱαμβειοφάγος by ὕβριστής, φιλολοῖδος, as referring to the use of the Iambic metre in scurrilous verses. Thus Etym. Mag.: 'ἱαμβοφάγος· λοῖδος, ἐπειδὴ ἱαμβος ἔμμετρος ἐστὶ λοῖδος. But it is better to understand it as an allusion to the former profession of Aeschines, and his recitation of iambs as an actor. This explanation also is suggested in the Etym. Mag. (s. v.) thus:

μέμνηται Δημοσθένους ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου, τάχα καὶ παραπαίζων εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ὅτι τὰ ἱαμβεῖα τῆς τραγωδίας ἔλεγεν ὑποκριτῆς ὢν.

ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι] The plaintiff and defendant had a certain time allotted to each for their speeches. (Aesch. c. Ctes. 198. Aristoph. Ach. v. 700.) This was determined by the trickling of a certain quantity of water through the narrow tube of a water-glass, just as we count minutes by a sand-glass. An officer of the court stood by the glass, and stopped its running whenever a witness was called, or a document read. Hence ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι, 'in the time allotted to me.' Hence also the joke against the sobriety of Demosthenes, 'that other men spoke by water, but he composed by it.'

καίτοι . . . θάτερον] The construction is: ἀνάγκη [ἐστίν] αὐτὸν, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ . . . μὴ γράφειν . . . ἢ μὴ φέρειν. 'One of two things must be: either by reason of his not then having any fault to find with my acts, he abstained from proposing other measures contrary to them, or that while pursuing the interests of our enemies, he refrained from bringing forward measures better than mine.' Mr. Kennedy reproduces the prominence of αὐτὸν thus: 'he is reduced to an alternative, either he had no fault . . . or . . .'

γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον
ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

179 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα ἐργά-
σασθαι τι δέοι κακὸν ὑμᾶς ; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν 15
οὔτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοιούτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν
Δοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές. τὸ δ'
οὐ τοιούτὸν ἐστι. πόθεν ; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνήψῃ σὺ τὰ κεῖ 20
πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

180 Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς
πάντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν,
καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει,
καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς 25
εἴποισι καὶ εἶπον τότε εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον
τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον 275
(ἔγνω γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ
σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἐνεκ'
αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν
με ποιῆσαι.

181 Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετευνάμην οὕτως σφοδρῶς ;

5

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ... ἔγραφεν] 'did he then
abstain from speaking also, as he refrained
from proposing, when some mischief was
to be worked against you? No indeed,
rather no one else could speak.' Οὐ μὲν
οὖν = 'imo vero.'

ἐν δ' ... τέλος] 'one thing he did at
last, which put the finishing stroke to his
former achievements.' Comp. c. Meid.
§ 26: δύο ταῦτα ὥσπερ κεφάλαια ἐφ'
ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐαυτῷ νεανειυμένοις ἐπέθηκεν.

τὰ τῶν ... Δοκρῶν] 'the decrees (i. e.
of the Amphictyonic Council) concerning
the Amphissian Locrians.' Thus Thucyd.
i. 140: τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα.

τὸ δ' οὐ τοιούτὸν ἐστι] 'whereas this
is not so.' Plato very often uses τὸ δέ in
the same way.

ὃς πατρῷος] 'who is the father-god of
our city.' The ancient Attic king Ion

was called the son of the Pythian god,
probably in consequence of the Ionians
having adopted the worship of that deity
from the Dorians, and the Athenians had
πατρῷοι θυσίαι at Delphi. Dem. Epist.
p. 1481. Harpocration (s. v. Ἀπόλλων)
says: τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κοινῶς πατρῶον
τιμῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἰωνος· τούτου γὰρ
οἰκίσαντος τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης
φησὶ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Ἰῶνας κληθῆναι καὶ
Ἀπόλλω πατρῶον αὐτοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι.
Müller (Dorians ii. 2, § 15) also thinks it
possible that he was called πατρῷος as
being the god of the πάτραι of the
Ionians.

τούτου ... ἀπτόμενον] 'putting his
hand to this work.'

Τί οὖν ... σφοδρῶς ;] 'Why then have I
made these imprecations and asseverations
thus energetically?'

- ὅτι καὶ γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταύτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντας, ἐκείνῳ φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, 10 ὅτε τοὺς τालαιπῶρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῇ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ἤρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμῶν, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς 15 ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ " πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν" οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶπον λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν 20 ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἦτις δ' ἡ φύσις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθεῖν

ἔχων . . . καὶ . . . εἰδὼς] 'though I have and though I know.'

μὴ . . . οὗτος ἐλάττων] 'lest this man should be thought too insignificant to have accomplished the evils done by him.'

ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ] Amphissa was a town of the Locri Ozolae, on the borders of Phocis, and about sixty stadia from Delphi. Elateia was the largest town in the N.E. of Phocis, on the borders of the Epicnemidian Locris, and commanded the passes into Thessaly and the south of Greece by Alpenos. It was only eighty miles from Athens. Strabo ix. 639 c. describes it thus: πᾶσων μεγίστη τῶν ἐν ταῦθα πόλεων καὶ ἐπικαιροτάτη διὰ τὸ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἔχειν τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὴν Βιωτίαν. It may be observed that τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλάτειαν, is hexametric.

οὗτός ἐστιν . . . ἀνὴρ] 'he it is who by his machinations brought about this war in Amphissa, and who, more than any other man, has been the cause of all our greatest calamities.'

τότ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ] 'and when I at that time immediately protested and exclaimed.' By τότε εὐθὺς Demosthenes means

immediately after the return of Aeschines from his mission as a deputy to the Amphictyonic Assembly, which upon his instigation had tumultuously attacked the Amphissian cultivators of the consecrated plain of Cirrha. The war which resulted therefrom was called the Third Sacred War, and continued from B.C. 339 to B.C. 338. Aesch. c. Ctes. p. 70. Grote xi. 650.

οἱ μὲν . . . συγκαθήμενοι] 'his partizans who sat with him at his call.' 'His packed party.' C. R. K. Παράκλητοι (= 'advocati') were friends and supporters who had been solicited to attend any one upon a trial or in the assembly, to give him countenance and support when addressing the court or the people. So F. L. § 1: αἱ τῶν παρακλητῶν αὐται δεήσεις. Amongst the Romans "the 'advocatus' was defined by Ulpian (Dig. 50, tit. 13) to be any person who aids another in the conduct of a suit or action" (Mr. Long, Dict. of Antiq.), and, according to Mr. Drake, "the word 'advocatio' came to have the technical meaning of 'time granted by the praetor for a man to summon his friends.'"

τότε ἐκωλύθητε] Nevertheless we are

ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, 25
καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.

- 185 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ
Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε 276
τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν
τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ
ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰσήγετο 5
186 ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων
ὑμῶν οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν
ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ
τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιοῦσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξέπέμπετε
στρατηγούς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ 10
187 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν· εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας
ἐνεκ' ἐχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθαι
βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδένα ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν·
ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἰρεθῇ,
ῥᾶον ἡλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί 15
οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὥς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφι-

told by Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 127) that his rival had sufficient influence and address to prevent the Athenians from adopting the determinations of the Amphictyonic Council, and participating in the measures adopted by it against Amphissas.

πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν] 'for an investigation of public affairs.'

καὶ τῶν ληστῶν] 'the plunderers' or 'marauders.' By λησταί are meant irregular bands detached from the main army, and acting as guerilla parties against an enemy. See Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 35: Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολεμοῦντο ἀλλήλοις.

οὔτε γὰρ . . . οὐδέν] A pregnant expression for οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγνομένων ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδέν.

μήτε . . . διέντων] 'if neither the Thessalians joined his march nor the Thebans gave him a passage.'

συνέβαινε . . . κακοπαθεῖν] 'though victorious in war over the generals, such indeed as you sent out, it was his fortune to suffer losses from the very nature of the locality, and the circumstances of each

party.' With τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου compare (c. Phil. i. p. 93) τὸν τόπον τῆς χώρας, and (Diod. Sicul. i. 42) τὴν τοποθεσίαν τῆς χώρας.

εἰ . . . συμπεῖθαι] The optative mood of a contingency not expected to be realized, whereas the subjunctive in αἰρεθῇ is used for one intended to be brought about.

τὰς ἐκείνων . . . λαβὼν] 'taking up pretexts in which they were concerned.'

τὰ μὲν . . . πείσειν] 'that he would deceive in some cases and persuade in others.' Παρακρούεσθαι is literally 'to give the scales an unfair lift for one's own advantage.'

πόλεμον . . . παραχῇ] 'to get up a war for the Amphictyons and a disturbance about the meeting at Pylae.' The Amphictyonic meeting was called a Pylaea (Πυλαία), and the ordinary representatives of the states which took part in it were called Pylagorae (Πυλαγόραι) or Meeters at Pylae. On this subject Strabo, lib. ix. c. iii. writes thus: αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται δώδεκα συνελθεῖν λέγονται πόλεις· ἐκάστη δ' ἐπέμπε Πυλαγόραν, δις κατ' ἔτος οὕσης

κτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταύτ' εὐθύς
 188 αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν
 τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν
 ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα 20
 ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας
 φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναν-
 189 τίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς
 οὖν ταύτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ
 προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ 25
 εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλα- 277
 γόρας οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν
 190 ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο

τῆς συνόδου, ἑαρός τε καὶ μετοπώρου· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πλείους συνήλθον πόλεις. Τὴν δὲ σύνοδον Πυλαίαν ἐκάλουν, τὴν μὲν ἑαρινὴν, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινήν, ἔπειδ' ἐν Πύλαις συνήγοντο, ὥς καὶ Θερμοπύλας καλοῦσιν· ἔθνον δὲ τῇ Δήμητρι οἱ Πυλαγοῖραι. Nevertheless, we know that in the historic times of Greece, they were in the habit of meeting at Delphi, and accordingly Heeren (Polit. Hist. of Greece, c. vii.) says that "the deputies first met at Thermopylae to sacrifice to Ceres, and then proceeded to Delphi, where business was transacted." In agreement with this opinion Professor Malden (Philol. Soc. vi. 1853, No. 133) sensibly explains the matter thus: "I believe that when the council was originally constituted, and long afterwards, the representatives of the confederate nations met, and performed their sacrifices, and did whatever it pertained to them to do, in the temple of Demeter at Anthele, which Herodotus (vii. c. 200) names as their place of meeting, close to Thermopylae. But when they undertook the guardianship of the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, the care of the temple, and the regulation of its rites, and the protection of its privileges, must have become their chief function: and I believe that then, for the better performance of this business, they transferred their sittings practically to Delphi; only assembling first at Pylae, their original place of meeting, for the sake of performing their ancient sacrifices, and then adjourning to the place where their real business lay. I conjecture also, that it was at the same

time that the deputies distinguished by the special title of Hieromnemones ('*ἱερομνήμονες*, Minders of Sacred Matters), were added to the original Pylagorae." The very generally received opinion, as expressed by myself in the Dict. of Antiq. (s. v. Amphictyons), has been that the deputies met at Pylae in autumn, and at Delphi in the spring, but I am now disposed to agree with Prof. Malden's views on the subject.

εἰ μὲν . . . ἱερομνημόνων] 'But then, supposing the subject to be introduced by any of the commissioners for religious purposes who were sent by himself or his allies.' Observe again the optative (εἰσηγοῖτο) of an alternative not to be adopted, and the subjunctive (ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ᾗ) of a contingency intended to be realized. It will be remembered (p. 114) that at the close of the Phocian war, Philip had acquired the right of sending delegates to the Amphictyonic Council, by the transfer of the Phocian votes to himself.

ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος . . . ποιῶν] 'but should it be an Athenian who did this and one sent from you who were opposed to him.'

ἀνερρήθη] 'was declared elected.' The Amphictyonic Council consisted of two classes of representatives called Pylagorae and Hieromnemones, whose different functions and powers it is not possible to define with any accuracy. It is certain, however, that the office of the latter was the more permanent, and that they were more immediately connected with the administration of the temple at

εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοντας, πάντα τὰλλ' ἄφεις καὶ παριδὼν
ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ 5
μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ
διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ
191 προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι
περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφιστεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν

Delphi, and religious matters in general. They were appointed by lot, on the same day as the Archons (c. Timoc. § 170), the Pylagorae, on the contrary, being elected by actual voting (*χειροτονία*). From Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 115) we learn that two Pylagorae were chosen to act with himself on the occasion in question, when Theophrastus was Archon and Diognetus Hieromnemon, a statement from which, combined with that in the oath of the Heliasts (c. Timoc. § 170), it would seem that the office of Hieromnemon like the Archonship was an annual one. If this be so, the natural deduction is that the Pylagorae were elected, not annually, but every half-year for each Pylaea, a conclusion which Professor Malden further confirms by the expression τὸν ἱερομνήμονα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρας τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 126: and by Aristoph. Nubes v. 623: λαχὼν Ἰπέρβολος τῆτες ἱερομνημονεῖν τῆτες = 'this year.' On the other hand it has also been inferred that the Hieromnemones were appointed for life, and that the office of Pylagoras was annual; a conclusion which I do not think so well supported as the other. We may add that the frequency of election would diminish the interest taken in it, and account for the small number of voters as stated in the text.

ὥς δὲ . . . λαβὼν] 'and when being invested with the dignity of the state (as its representative) he came to the Amphictyons.'

ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη] 'set about accomplishing what he was hired for.'

ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία] Cirrha, or Crissa, on the Gulf of Corinth, near to and within sight of Delphi (ὑπόκειται τὸ Κίρραιον πέδιον τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον. c. Ctes. § 118), was frequented by pilgrims landing at its port on the way to Delphi, and its inhabitants were accused by the Delphians of exacting undue imposts from their visitors. Accordingly the Amphictyons declared war against them as guilty of a wrong to Apollo. This continued

ten years, and was the first sacred war. At its termination in B.C. 585, the city was razed to the ground, its territory consecrated to Apollo, and curses were imprecated on whosoever should till or occupy it. This however appears to have been done by the Locrians of Amphissa (ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀπὸθεν οἰκοῦντες Δελφῶν), whereupon, according to Aeschines, the third Sacred War originated as follows: "These Locrians," he tells us (c. Ctes. § 116), "with a view of gratifying the Thebans, had proposed (εἰσέφερον δόγμα) to fine Athens fifty talents for having hung up in what was called 'the New Temple,' before it was finished, some golden shields, with the inscription Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο." Aeschines asserts that being then Pylagoras (at the spring meeting, B.C. 339), he defended the city, and retaliated upon the Amphissians by calling on the Amphictyonic Council to punish their barefaced impiety in cultivating the Cirrhaean Plain, and occupying its harbour. According to his own account, he did this so effectually that the accusation about the shields was at once and altogether forgotten, and such a general indignation raised against the Locrians, that a resolution was unanimously passed, in execution of which the whole population of Delphi, freemen as well as slaves, from eighteen years (ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῶσι) and upwards, sallied out with pickaxes and shovels the next morning, demolished the harbour, and set fire to the Amphissian buildings and property in the plain. The result was of course a war, in which Philip eventually acted as the Amphictyonic commander-in-chief, and was thereby enabled to carry out his design against the independence of Greece.

ἀπείρους λόγων] 'men unused to speeches'; the Hieromnemones. This might well be, as they were appointed by lot. Mr. Kennedy translates ἱερομνήμων, 'Presbyter.'

περιελθεῖν] 'to make a survey of.'

οὔσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἡτιᾶτο 10
 εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂ
 νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνῶσεσθε δ'
 192 ἐκείθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς
 Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλή-
 τευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δείξουν. 15
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ
 193 ψευδεῖ. περιμόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
 κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ
 μικροῦ μὲν κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινας δὲ καὶ συνήρ-
 πασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλή- 20
 ματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφιστεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρα-
 194 τιάν, ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν,
 εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα
 ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλοι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετ- 25
 τάλων καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ προφάσεις

οὐδεμίαν δίκην . . . ἡμῖν] 'though the Locrians were not instituting any suit against us, nor threatening what he now pretends they were.' Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 116) did not allege that the Locrians had instituted any formal proceedings against Athens, but only that they had proposed a resolution (εἰσέφερον δόγμα) to the Amphictyons on the subject of the shields. Mr. Grote (xi. 651) supposes that the shields were not new, but recently set up afresh after the Phocian spoliation, in a new cell or chapel without the customary solemnities. If newly gilded and burnished, as probably was the case, the inscription formerly little noticed or obscured would be made more conspicuous by the fresh gilding, and revive reminiscences of the Persian war by no means agreeable to the Thebans and their friends the Locrians.

οὐκ ἐνῆν . . . δήπου] 'Of course it was not possible for the Locrians to bring an action against the state without summoning us to appear.' The appearance would be before the Amphictyons.

ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς;] 'in whose archonship?'

κενῇ . . . καὶ ψευδεῖ] 'this was an idle plea that you presumed upon, and a vain one.'

ἐταράχθη] 'had been stirred up.'

ὁ Κόττυφος] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 128) informs us that this Cottypus was a Pharsalian, and president of the Amphictyonic Council.

ὥς . . . οὐκ ἦλθον] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 129), on the other hand, relates that the Amphictyonic troops invaded the territory of the Amphissians, and compelled them to submit to certain conditions, which however they did not fulfil, so that it was necessary to make a second expedition against them. But it is easy to see that his statement does not really invalidate that of Demosthenes. Both might have been true in the main.

εἰς τὴν . . . πόλει] 'measures were taken against the ensuing assembly by those of the Thessalians, and the men in the other states who were prepared and traitors of old, for transferring the matter to Philip as general forthwith.' With εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν, 'at' or 'by the next meeting' (the autumnal one), comp. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 98: πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἑκτὴν ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός. The phrase ἐπὶ ἥγον occurs more fully (c. Phil. iii. p. 223) thus: οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους 278
 τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας,
 195 ἡ ἐκείνους αἰρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἥρέθη γὰρ
 ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλ-
 λέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φρά- 5
 σας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν κατα-
 λαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ'
 εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χει-
 μάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε·
 196 νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, 10
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν·τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴτα
 μέντοι καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. δὸς δέ μοι
 τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέ-
 πρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἢ μιὰ κεφαλὴ ταρα-
 ξασα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 15

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

197 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόραις καὶ

ἐρρῶσθαι . . . Κιρραίοις] 'having bid a long farewell to the men of Cirrha.' See note on de Pace, p. 126, and Arist. Achar. 200: Χαίρειν κελεύω πολλὰ τοὺς Ἀχαρνέας, and Aeschyl. Agam. 554: καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν ξυμποραῖς καταξιώ.

τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν] The narrative of Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 120—130) implies that the first proceedings of the Amphictyons against the Amphiſſians occurred at the spring meeting of B.C. 339, and the appointment of Philip as general at the autumn meeting of the same year. The seizure of Elateia (μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς) then probably took place in November or December of that year, if not earlier. Grote xi. 668.

νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης] 'but as it was, for the moment at least.'

μάλιστα μὲν . . . καὶ δι' ἐμέ] 'principally indeed by the favour of some God towards us, in a secondary degree however and so far as it could rest with any one man—through me too.' "Lord Brougham expresses εἴτα by 'under Providence.' Leland had given the same turn before him. And it is a good one." C. R. K.

τοὺς χρόνους] 'the dates.' Probably from some public and authenticated record.

ἡλίκα . . . ταραξασα] 'what confusion this abominable fellow has caused, and yet not suffered punishment for it.'

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ] Droysen, Mr. Grote, and others do not believe these resolutions to be genuine, nor do I. The first of them is quite different from the substance of what Aeschines declares to have been resolved on, and omits all mention of the violent proceedings detailed in the speech against Ctesiphon. Of these Demosthenes says nothing, nor does the resolution here given, and what is more striking, it does not even allude to the vote adopted by the Amphictyons (Aesch. c. Ctes. § 124) for calling an extraordinary and special meeting to decide upon the measures to be executed against Amphiſſa. The compiler in fact seems to have adopted the facts mentioned in Demosthenes, ignoring those of Aeschines altogether. Then again the words Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, prefixed to both the resolutions, imply a reference to the same assembly, from which it would follow that Philip was appointed general at the spring *πυλαία* of B.C. 339, whereas we know that this appointment did not take place till the autumnal meeting of that year, and after

τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουνσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρας καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

- 198 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ 279 ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ 199 κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεύσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοισιν, ὅπως μὴ περιῶδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

- 200 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἀρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.]

the occurrence of some important events consequent upon the spring meeting. Another suspicious circumstance is the phrase *ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων*. For I am not aware that any mention is made by any other authority of the 'assessors' or 'co-legates' of the Pylagorae. Dissen indeed supposes them to be the *ἱερομνήμονες*; but if so, it would have been more natural to have called them so. As for the *τῷ κοινῷ*, I see no objection to it, as it might apply to what Aeschines calls the *Ἐκκλησία*, i. e. an assembly of all those citizens from Amphictyonic states who were present with the deputies for the purpose of sacrificing and consulting the God, and probably also of all the Delphians themselves. Another point is that the second resolution makes Cottyphus an Arcadian instead of a Pharsalian, as Aeschines describes him. Moreover the document

headed ΧΡΟΝΟΙ is quite worthless; for Aeschines asserts that the year to which it refers was that in which Theophrastus was Archon, and not Mnesitheides. Comp. Grote xi. 665, and F. W. Newman, Class. Mus. i. 165. Also Fast. Hell. ii. Appen. 16. [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως] Were these documents genuine it would follow that the Amphictyons distinguished their years by an Eponymus, a priest probably elected from the Hieromnemons.

κατανειμάμενοι] 'having apportioned the sacred territory among them.'

ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ] This phrase "for ἀξιοῦν βοηθεῖν sounds to me like a more recent idiom, and much more does *καὶ διότι αἰροῦνται αὐτὸν στρατηγόν*, if it means ἀγγέλλειν ὅτι." F. W. N. Such a use of *διότι* in fact may be found in Diodorus Siculus, but not in Attic Greek of the age in question.

Μνησιθείδης] The Athenian Archon of B.C. 339—338 was Lysimachidas.

201 Δὸς δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἤν, ὥς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἅληθῇ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύντετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγει.

10

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

280

202 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῶου, ὥς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομῶντος, ὥς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανήμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασιν

ὥς οὐχ ὑπήκουον] 'when they declined compliance.' See § 186, and Grote xi. 668.

τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ] The Arcadians, Eleians, Messenians, and Argives.

ὅτι τὴν . . . πρόφασιν] 'That he was acting in concealment of the real motive of his proceedings, namely, the designs which he had therein against Greece, while he pretended that he was carrying out the general interests and the resolutions of the Amphictyons.'

τοῖς δημιουργοῖς] These magistrates whose title simply expresses their doing the work of the people, were not uncommon in the Peloponnesian states. (Müller, Dor. ii. 145, trans.) They existed among the Eleians and Mantineans, with whom they seem to have been executive magistrates (οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ. Thucyd. v. 47). Also in the Achaean League, as officers who put questions to the vote in the general assembly of the confederates. (Livy xxxii. 22; xxxviii. 30.) Dict. Ant. s. v.

οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι] I was once informed by a general officer, who spoke

from experience, that the Zulu Kaffirs deserved this title (if from ὄζειν) more than any race of men he had ever met with.

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῶου] 'during the present month Loius, as we reckon, and as the Athenians, Boedromion.' Mr. F. H. Clinton has shown, I think, conclusively (iii. 61) that no part of Loius could be contemporaneous with any day of Boedromion. This error then is an indication of spuriousness, nor is the specification of the months of other countries, corresponding to a given one in his own, what we should expect in the despatch of a king and a soldier addressing the Peloponnesians in Attic Greek.

τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασιν] "Locus depravatus. Schaeferus verba τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις plane claudenda cernebat." (Dissen.) I quite agree with Dissen, and think it useless to suggest emendations. Dobree supposes a combination of two readings: (1) τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασιν πανδημεῖ, (2) τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν μὴ χρωμένοις.

πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα [τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένους] ἐπιζημίους.
εὐτυχεῖτε.]

- 203 'Ορᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς
'Αμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρα-
σκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς
ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος;
μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' 5
204 ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὦ γῇ
καὶ θεοί· ὦν εἰς οὐτοσί, ὦν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τὰ ληθῆς
εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν
μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, 10
πόλεων ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων
αἴτιος. ὦν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε 281
θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ'
ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.
- 205 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ
πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς 5
πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως
ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων
ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.
- 206 ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ 10

χρησόμεθα ἐπιζημίους] The MS. Felic. has *χρωμένους* for *κειμένους*.

τίς οὖν . . . αὐτῷ;] 'Who then was it that helped him to arrange all this?'

περιιόντες] 'do not then go about and say.' So F. L. § 208, 209: *περιῶν λέγει, τραγωδεῖ περιῶν*.

ἐνὸς . . . ἀνθρώπου] Philip.

εἰ μὴδὲν . . . ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν] 'whom, were it fitting to speak the truth without any scruple, I should not hesitate to call the common pest of all that has been subsequently lost, men, places, and cities.' Τόποι is probably the same as *χωρία*, 'forts.' Comp. Virg. Aen. ii. 573: "Trojae et patriae communis Erinnyes."

ὁ γὰρ . . . αἴτιος] 'the man that found the seed is the grower of the crop.' Cicero appears to have imitated this passage in Philip. ii. c. 22: "Ut igitur in se-

minibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti."

ὦν ὅπως ποτέ] 'and how it is that you did not turn away from him as soon as ever you saw him is to me a wonder: only as it seems there is with you a thick cloud over the truth.'

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν] Demosthenes here enters upon a justification of his own conduct as a public man.

τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν] 'the narrations of them.'

ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους] 'For seeing that the Thebans and in some sort you also were led away by the partizans of Philip, and those who were bribed in either state, to disregard and take no precaution whatever against what was dangerous and required great watching—I mean the suffering Philip's aggrandize-

Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἐκατέροις, ὁ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρα- 15
 207 τηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φίλιαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεὶ. οὓς σὺν 20
 ζῶντας μὲν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοὶ, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων.
 208 ἀλλ' ἐκέισε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου 25
 μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συν-
 εργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φί-
 λιππον ἔλθειν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι 282
 συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀνα-
 λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν. οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προ-
 ἤγαγον οὗτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἄλ-
 λήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν 5
 ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβῶν.

ment,—but ready for animosity and collision with one another.' "Παρ' ἐκατέροις, apud utrosque seorsim, ut mox ἀμφοτέροις, utrisque simul." Disсен.

'Αριστοφῶντα] See § 85.

πρᾶξαι . . . φίλιαν] 'to bring about this (the existing) friendship' between Athens and Thebes.

οὓς . . . ὧ κίναδος] 'men, whom while living, you, you fox, flattered and closely followed.' Compare for the abuse, Cic. Phil. ii. 12: "Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite." Also, De Div. in Q. Caec. 17, where after saying that Verres had once acted like a 'Mucius,' Cicero adds that he was again turned from a human being into his real-self, a 'verres' or 'hog:' "ex homine tamquam aliquo Circaeo poculo factus est Verres." The difference is that Cicero charges his adversaries with stupidity.

γὰρ . . . ἐμοί] 'for in your reproaches against me.'

τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον] 'the war in Amphissa having been got up by this man, and the others his coadjutors having helped him to establish the animosity with the Thebans.' The rhetorical skill with which this clause is constructed deserves notice. It produces a striking contrast between τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον and τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, between τούτου and τῶν ἄλλων, between ποιήσαντος and συμπεραναμένων. Grote (xi. 669) quotes it to prove that the old enmity between Athens and Thebes had been artificially aggravated by the partisans of Philip in both cities.

εἰ μὴ . . . μικρόν] 'and if we had not roused ourselves a little beforehand, we should not have been able even to recover ourselves.'

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 209 [Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἡρόπυθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἕκτη φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἃς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγαιτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην,
- 210 παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] I think the documents in the text spurious for the following reasons. For whether we suppose with Grote that the occupation of Elateia occurred in the winter of B.C. 339, or with Thirlwall in the spring of B.C. 338, there was no such person as the Archon Heropythes, in either year. Then again, it is implied by the documents either that the peace of B.C. 346 was still in force, or that a new treaty had recently been made. But Philip and the Athenians had been at open war since the summer of B.C. 340, nor is there any allusion to a subsequent peace in any oration of Demosthenes or Aeschines, which assuredly there would have been if any such peace had been agreed upon. Diodorus (xvi. 77) does indeed mention one which was concluded immediately after the siege of Byzantium. But this testimony is unsupported, to say nothing of the improbability of such an occurrence. And (as Mr. Newman observes) the speech of Demosthenes implies that the two resolutions quoted were passed before the seizure of Elateia, though the πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγαιτόνων (§ 209) must have been taken after that event. Again the resolution which (p. 289) purports to be that of Demosthenes is stated to have been passed during the Archonship, not of Heropythes, but of Nausicles, at least a year and six weeks after the preliminary resolutions now in question. But it is absurd to suppose that such an interval elapsed between the events implied and described in these documents: at the utmost not more than a few months or weeks could have intervened. These remarks of course apply only to the resolutions, but if these are spurious, so are the 'Answers.' Further, the four documents do not confirm or illustrate the facts which Demosthenes wished to establish, i. e. the existence of a hostile feeling between Athens and Thebes, fostered and aggravated by the machinations of Philip and his partizans. In fact the words ἐν

οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τούτων τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε, would lead us to expect votes of mutual hostility passed by Athens against Thebes, and by Thebes against Athens. But those in the text are quite beside this purpose. They only bear upon the relations between Athens and Philip, the former of the two not even mentioning Thebes, the latter only incidentally. Then, as for the Ἀποκρίσεις, they are not between Thebes and Athens, but from Philip, one to the Athenians and the other to the Thebans, although there is no Theban document to which it could be a reply. Moreover, after the recent success of Athens in the Propontis, it is not probable that she would have used such abject terms as are attributed to her in the resolutions, the former of which represents her as begging for time to consider, and for a temporary truce (πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι — θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός), while the other gratuitously declares that the citizens would not have recourse to arms except in a very extreme case (καὶ γὰρ ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων). Lastly, the remark in § 217 (Ὅστω διαθεῖς . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους), is quite inapplicable to the documents in the text. It shows that the actual resolutions and answers proved that Philip's partizans had succeeded in aggravating the old animosity between Athens and Thebes, a fact which Demosthenes was desirous to establish, in order to enhance the merit of his services in effecting a reconciliation and negotiating an alliance between them. Grote xi. 673–676. Thirlwall vi. 60. Class. Mus. i. 157. κεφαλαίῳ . δέ] "Quod autem ceterorum omnium caput est." Schäfer.

ἐπιβάλλεται] 'is intending' or 'aiming at.' This meaning however is scarcely consistent with Attic usage in the age of Demosthenes. Polybius (i. 4. 3) has ταύτην οὐδ' ἐπιβάλλεται οὐδεὶς βασιανίζειν.

πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φυλάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 211 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντας Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουνυχίωνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρ- 283
212 χούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιόσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὐνόμος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

- 213 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἄγνωῷ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλομένοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοὺς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ'

μάλιστα μὲν] 'by all means if possible.'

θαρρηλιῶνος] The order and length of the months were Elaphebolion (30 days), Munychion (29), Thargelion (30), March, April, May.

Ἀναγυράσιος] From Ἀναγυροῦς, as Φλιάσιος from Φλιῶς. (Plato, Phaedo, § 1.) Cicero tells Atticus (Epis. ii. 6) that he once wrote 'Phliuntius,' adding, "Sed primo me ἀναλογία decepterat, Φλιῶς, Ὅπους, Σίπους: quod Ὀπούντιοι, Σιπούντιοι. Sed hoc continuo correximus."

ἐνῇ καὶ νέῃ.] Celtic scholars compare this phrase with the Welsh 'hen ac newi,' and the Gaelic 'sean agus nua,' 'old and new.' 'Old,' 'older,' and 'oldest' are in Gaelic, 'sean,' 'senne,' 'seinne,' the root being the same as in the Latin 'sen-ex,' and 'sen' in Latin is 'hen' in Greek, as ἔδωρ is 'sudor,' and ἔπομαι, 'sequor.' See note, p. 418.

πολεμάρχου γνώμη] Schömann (de

Com. i. 9) treats these documents as genuine, and considers this expression to intimate that the proposal was made to the Ecclesia by the authority of the Polemarch. As to the former decree, he supposes that the name of the proposer was omitted, either because it was thought unnecessary to insert it, or because the people *proprio motu*, ratified the *προβούλευμα*, or Bill of the Senate, when the question was put to them by the Proedri.

ἐνδεχομένως] 'according to circumstances.' Not a very likely word for the age of Demosthenes. At any rate it seems to be ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. One would rather have expected ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. ἦν . . . αἵρεσιν] 'What intentions.' Προαίρεσις would be better Greek in this sense.

τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε.] 'what exertions you are making, with the wish to enlist on your side.'

μὴ βουλομένων] οὐ βουλομένων would be better Greek here. Translate: 'but

214 ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτέισθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἃν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσῃτε. ἔρρωσθε.]

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

215 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ 284 τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ

216 προαίρεσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευέσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένῃτε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

217 Οὕτω διαθείς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ

they being better advised, and not choosing to regulate their policy at your pleasure, but ranging themselves on the side of their own interest.'

ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς] 'having turned round.' A military term.

πρεσβευτῶν] See note on § 95, p. 441. συγκατατίθεμαι] 'I assent to.' This is an unusual and recent sense of the word. παραπέμψαντες too, 'having discarded,' is a strange substitute for ἀπελάσαντας.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ] In this letter occur πυνθάνομαι διότι for ὅτι, προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν for παρέχονται, and "the stiff expression," ὑμῶν κατεγίνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι, 'I blamed you for being about to be persuaded.' The adjective συγκαταίνους also in συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι, is somewhat singular, and the use of πρόθεσις for προαίρεσις, 'a determination,' though it occurs in Polybius (as ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἀπέτελεσε, i. 54. 1), is not warranted by the Attic prose writings of the age of Philip. In the speech adv. Mac. § 83, we find it in a very different sense thus:

κελεύει τὰς προσηκούσας παρῆναι τῇ προθέσει (the laying out) τοῦ τετελευτηκότος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆμα ἀκολουθεῖν. The phrase οὐ μικρὰν οἴσειν ῥοπήν, 'to bring no slight advantage,' is also remarkable. Lastly, "though the Letter is called a 'Reply to the Thebans,' we have no Theban resolution to which it could be a reply."

εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε] This is the old reading adopted by Bekker, and which I retain, not thinking it 'tanti' to be curious in corrections of what is not genuine. But Dindorf reads τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀνανεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὥτως ἐμοὶ ποιεῖτε, and the emendation is so ingenious, if not happy, that I give his reasons. He says: "ἀνανεοῦσθε hoc loco posui cum Q. Legebatur post εἰρήνην. Συμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν φιλίαν ἀνανεοῦσθαι dixit Demosthenes p. 610, 18. Post εἰρήνην in Q. est lacuna, cujus quae sit ratio ex scriptura codicis S. intelligitur, qui post εἰρήνην, omisso verbo ἀνανεοῦσθε, has solus servavit veteris

lectionis reliquias, τῶς ἐμοὶ εἴτε (literis ὅν

τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθείς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα 5 ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὁμῶς, αὐτὰ τὰναγκαϊότατα.

- 218 Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυ-
τάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν
εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν 10
σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα

a manu tertia superscriptis), ex quibus, adscita Dobraei conjectura ποιείτε, feci ὄντως ἐμοὶ ποιείτε, ut intelligi saltem haec possent."

ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν] We cannot see how the ἀποκρίσεις of the text could have encouraged Philip to make his attack on Elateia. They profess to be written by himself, not by others.

ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο] 'as if in no case, happen what might, would the Thebans and Athenians ever again have acted in concert.' Bekker reads συμπνευσόντων, which might be correct if πνέω had made πνεύσω instead of πνευσοῦμαι, and if Demosthenes had been speaking of a strictly future contingency. But a future tense could hardly be used in reference to what had been previously calculated upon, and yet not realized. The construction is: ὡς οὐκ ἐτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν] The simplicity, force, and picturesque effect of this narrative have often been admired, and as Lord B. observes, "this sentence is a fine introduction to it." Longinus, c. 10, declares that the "diction is almost impressed with the character of the alarm which is described, μόνον οὐκ ἐνετύπωσε τῇ λέξει τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ ἰδίωμα."

ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις] Hence it appears that the Prytanes constituted a standing and executive committee, acting in some respects as the representatives of the state. They were fifty in number, the senate of five hundred being divided into ten sections, each of which served in turn for thirty-five or thirty-six days (πρυτανεία), so as to complete the lunar year of 354 days (29½ × 12). The members of these sections (the πρυτάνεις) acted as presidents of the Βουλὴ and Ἐκκλησία,

and had the right of convening both.

μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες] During their term of office they were entertained at the public cost, in a building which served as their official residence, called the Prytaneum. This appears to have been originally situated on the Acropolis, at the eastern end; but in the time of Pericles they had a new edifice appropriated to their use, in the ἀγορὰ and near the senate-house, called Ἡ Θόλος or 'the Dome.' Paus. i. 5, § 1; 13, § 3. Wordsworth's Attica, p. 143.

τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν . . . ἐξεῖργον] 'and began driving the shopkeepers from their booths in the agora.'

καὶ τὰ γέρρα] 'and set on fire their sheds.' According to Harpocration (s. v.), all kinds of coverings, whether of skin or any other material, were called γέρρα, and he supposes that the Athenians in their impatience to clear the ἀγορὰ, adopted the effectual method of setting fire to the skins, canvas, and other stuff, with which the shopkeepers' stalls were covered. His commentary is: γέρρα. Περσικὰ μὲν τινα δπλα τὰ γέρρα ἐστὶ, καθὰ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος (vii. 61) φησιν (shields of wicker-work). Ἡδὲ δὲ καταχρηστικῶς καὶ ἅπαν σκέπασμα, εἴτε δερμάτινον εἴη, εἴτε ἄλλης τινὸς ὕλης, γέρρον ἐλέγετο. Νῦν γοῦν τὰ τῶν σκηνῶν σκεπάσματα, καὶ παρακλύματα ἐμπύρασθαί φησιν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεστάναι περὶ τὰ ὄνια ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἔχειν. Schäfer, on the other hand, "suspiciatur incendium fuisse loco Φρυκτωρίας, ut in tanto tumultu omnes e demis in urbem confluerent." But the situation of the ἀγορὰ was not a good one for a 'beacon-fire' to alarm and summon the townships. In Bekker, Anecd. l. 227, we read: γέρρα ἐστὶ σκηναὶ ἐξωθεν δεδι-

- ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ
τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις.
219 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν
ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν 285
ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβου-
λεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς
εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσ-
ηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κακείνους 5
εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται ;”
220 παρῆει δ' οὐδεὶς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος
οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν
παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς
πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν 10
γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην
221 κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ
μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει,

φθερωμένοι. Ἔστι δὲ γέρον καὶ εἶδος
ὅπλου δερματίου.

μετεπέμποντο . . . ἐκάλουν] Imperfects indicating the simultaneous occurrence of many exhibitions of alarm.

πρὶν . . . προβουλεύσαι] ‘before the senate had done any business, and proposed any measure.’

πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω] ‘the whole people had taken their seats above,’ i. e. in the Pnyx, the situation of which was elevated. It included an area of more than 12,000 square yards, large enough to contain all the free citizens of Athens. The remains of it still exist on a low, rocky hill, a quarter of a mile to the west of the Acropolis, and about half that distance s. w. of the Areiopagus. It sloped gradually towards the hollow of the ancient agora, the chord of the semicircle forming the highest part of the slope, and the middle of the arc the lowest. At this point the ground was buttressed up by a retaining wall of huge blocks, which prevented the soil of the slope from falling into the agora below. Hence, it was said, the name of Pnyx, because the ground was thus consolidated and compressed (πυκνουμένη). The chord of the semicircle was formed by a line or wall of rock, hewn vertically, from the middle of which projected the βῆμα or platform, ten or eleven feet in

height, and about ten feet square in superficies. This also was hewn out of the solid rock, whence it was also called λίθος, and from it the speakers, facing the agora towards the N. E., addressed the Athenian assembly before and below them. Steps were hewn on each side for the speakers to mount it. See Wordsworth's Athens, p. 47, where there is an admirable description of the effects produced upon Athenian oratory by the scenery and the suggestions of the place where it was delivered, and by which it was often inspired. In after times, as Pollux (viii. 132) informs us, the assemblies were holden in the Dionysiac theatre, ἐκκλησίαζον πάλοι μὲν ἐν τῇ Πυκνί, αὐθις δὲ ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ θεάτρῳ.

ὡς εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλὴ] Into the assembly of the people.

ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ] ‘the crier continued to ask.’

τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται:] According to Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 4), the old and full form was τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκορτα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ;

τὸν ἐροῦνθ'] ‘some one to speak.’

καίτοι . . . σωθῆναι] ‘and yet if it was for those who wished for the safety of our state to come forward.’

πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ
 βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἡβοῦ- 15
 λεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς
 ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ
 μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ
 222 εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκείνος
 ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν καὶ πλούσιον 20
 ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος· ἕνεκα ταῦτ'
 ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ'
 εἰδὼς μὴδ' ἐξητακῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν
 οὐτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν 25
 223 εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξιν συμβουλευεῖν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν
 οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον· εἰς 286
 ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν,
 ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολὺ
 τευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ
 ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ' 5
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρου δὲ, ὅτι μικρὸν

οἱ τριακόσιοι] After B.C. 428, an *εἰσφορά*, or extraordinary property tax, appears to have been a matter of common occurrence, and in 377 B.C. a new system, that of Nausinicus, was adopted for its collection. With a view to this object, the citizens were then divided into *συμμορίαι* or classes, each of the ten tribes contributing two such classes of sixty citizens each, who were the wealthiest members of the tribe, so as to make 1200 in all. But in those 1200 was included a smaller body of 300, thirty from each tribe, selected as the wealthiest of all in it. They had to make advances for the rest, and to bear the principal burdens of the state, and are the *τριακόσιοι* here meant. See note, p. 49.

εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα] 'but if those who were both these things, at once loyal to the state and wealthy.'

οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα] 'those who subsequently gave the great voluntary contributions.' *ἐπιδόσεις* are gifts after or in addition to their quota of assessed taxes.

παρηκολουθηκότα] 'one who had closely followed the transactions from the beginning, and had rightly inferred for what

cause, and with what object, Philip was thus acting.' Compare Luke i. 3: *καὶ οὕτως παρηκολουθηκὸς ἔκρινεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*.

πόρρωθεν] 'from far back.'

οὐτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν] 'was not whether he were patriotic, or whether he were rich, any the more likely to know what to do, or to be qualified for advising you.'

ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος] Scil. ὃν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει. 'I then showed myself, this man, on that day.'

ἐνὸς μὲν] 'one of which is, that you may understand that I alone of your orators and public men did not desert the post of patriotism.' Comp. c. Meid. § 155: *λελοιπέναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν*. Auger remarks that Demosthenes affects this word *τάξις*, "comme pour faire entendre que s'il avoit, comme guerrier, abandonné son poste à la bataille de Chéronée, il ne l'avoit jamais abandonné, comme ministre à la tête des affaires." But a sensible man was much more likely to have avoided any allusion to such a subject.

ἐξηταζόμεν] 'I was found,' or 'I showed myself.'

ὅτι μικρόν] 'because at the expense of

ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης
 224 πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι “τοὺς
 μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμέ-
 νους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' 10
 ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἡκούομεν
 ἐν Ἑλατεῖα ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι
 μέντοι ἴν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσεται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἡκει, σαφῶς
 ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει” ἔφην “ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου.
 225 ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι 15
 ἐνὴν, ἅπαντας ἡντρέπισται τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστη-
 κότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύνα-
 ται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατεί-
 ληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα
 τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς 20
 δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἴν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβη-
 226 θέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν
 προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς” ἔφην “ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσ-
 κολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι
 καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι, 25
 πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὗξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα φοβοῦ-
 μαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ 287
 μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθω-
 σιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῇτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε,

a little time you will gain much experience (i. e. information) as regards the rest of your administration in general.' Lord B. and Mr. K. thus: 'That you may acquire a fuller insight into our whole polity for the future.' My translation agrees with Jacobs': 'um durch einen kleinen Aufwand von Zeit für das Uebrige der ganzen Verwaltung viel an Erfahrung zu gewinnen.'

ὡς ὑπαρχόντων . . . Φιλίππῳ] 'as if the Thebans were on the side of Philip.' Some MSS. have φίλων, an addition proved to be unnecessary; if not unusual with Demosthenes, by (F. L. § 61. 128) τούτους μαλακοὺς ἐποίησε τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι, and δῆλός ἐστιν . . . καθ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρξειν ἐκείνῳ. Com-

pare also § 153: δὴν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ σφεῖς ὡμολόγουν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις] This contradicts an assertion in the ψήφισμα: ὡς μὲν κατέλγηε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγαιτόνων. ἡντρέπισται] 'has ready at his command.'

παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα] 'by bringing his arms into the neighbourhood.'

καταπλῆξαι] Literally, 'to strike down with terror.'

εἰ μὲν . . . μεμνήσθαι] 'if then we shall act on the principle of remembering any thing disagreeable that has been done to us by the Thebans.'

πρὸς τῷ . . . γένησθε] 'if you apply yourselves to consider seriously what I say, instead of disputing about it.'

οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα 5
 227 κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημὶ δεῖν; πρῶτον
 μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ
 φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν
 εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ κίν-
 10 δυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινᾶδες τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ
 τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας,
 ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται
 τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ
 τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθή-
 σουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας 15
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχει· ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοη-
 228 θήσετ', ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦ. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι
 κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ
 τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς
 ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς 20
 χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάντῳ μοι προσ-
 ἔχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθε Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ
 ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθε βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν,
 ὥς ἐκείνων μὲν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ
 'κεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προορωμένων· ἢ ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα 25
 καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διωκημένοι καὶ 288
 μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν

ἐπανεῖναι . . . μεταθέσθαι] 'first of all, I advise you to dismiss your present fear, and then to change your views.'

Ἐλευσινᾶδες] The road by Eleusis, along 'the Sacred Way' from Athens was not the nearest route to Thebes, but the most practicable for a large army with cavalry. From Eleusis it proceeded by the valley of the Cephissus to Eleutherae, a town on the frontier, whence it turned off to the N.W. for Thebes, crossing Mount Cithaeron by the pass of Cynoscephalae, or 'Dog's Heads.' The nearest road was through Acharnae, and thence by the pass of Phyle between Cithaeron and Mount Parnes to Eteonus and Scolus (Hom. Il. ii. 497), towns on the right bank of the Asopus on the high road to Thebes. See Wordsworth's Map, p. 1.

τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ] Those of military age, from 18 to 60.

ἵνα . . . ἐξ ἴσου γένηται] 'that those of the Thebans who are on your side may be placed on an equal footing for speaking out in defence of their rights.'

ἐάν τις] 'in case any one should march against them.' By τις Philip is meant.

ποιῆσαι . . . κυρίους] 'to empower them to determine both as to when the ambassadors should go to Thebes, and when the expedition should set out.' Mr. Grote would perhaps translate ἐξόδος an 'outmarch.' Mr. Kennedy does.

τούτῳ πάντῳ μοι] 'to this especially let me (μοι) beg your attention.' 'Pray attend particularly to this.' C. R. K. μοι is what some call the 'dativus ethicus.'

αἰσχροὺς γὰρ] 'for the time of doing it would be dishonourable to us.'

καὶ . . . διωκημένοι] 'we may both have accomplished what we wish.'

ἐὰν δ' ἔρα] 'and if after all we fail of

- δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκείνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶ-
 σιν, ἂν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ
 230 ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις 5
 εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς
 εἰπόντος ἐναντίου οὐδὲν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραψα
 δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν οὐκ ἔπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔπρέσβευσα
 μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ
 πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν 10
 ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περισστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους.
 Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.
- 231 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυτὸν ἐκείνην
 τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ
 λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάταλον, σέ δὲ 15

success.' The sense of what follows is well expressed by Lord B. thus: 'should we happen to fail in this object, then they will have themselves to blame for their errors, and by us nothing base, nothing unworthy will have been done.'

Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια] Lord B. observes: "This speech is strikingly different in diction and far easier than Demosthenes' ordinary style. Did this happen through accident, or did he use a plainer language purposely, at this crisis with the Athenians?"

συνεπαινεσάντων] 'all unanimously approving,' the compound being stronger than the simple word, ἐπαινεῖν.

οὐκ εἶπον μὲν] A famous climax ('Gradatio') on which Lord B. observes: "The exquisite diction of this justly celebrated passage is altogether inimitable in English," and doubtless Demosthenes bestowed great pains on its composition. Different turns have been given to it in English. Lord B. translates thus: 'not only did I make this speech, but I also propounded a decree: not only' &c. Mr. K: 'I did not make this speech without moving' &c. But the rapidity and terseness of the original are perhaps on the whole better expressed thus: 'I did not make this speech and yet not make a motion, nor make a motion and yet not go as ambassador, nor go as ambassador and yet not persuade the Thebans.' On this Lord B. suggests an improvement: 'I was not the man to make a speech, and not carry a decree,' and Mr. Drake for 'yet not' has 'then not.' Quintilian

(ix. 3) cites the Greek as an example (ex notissimo Graeco) of a climax (or ladder), and translates it thus: "Nec haec quidem dixi sed nec scripsi: nec scripsi quidem sed nec obii legationem; nec obii quidem sed nec persuasi Thebanis," a version too literal to convey the meaning, and in which 'ad populum tuli' should have been used for 'scripsi.' Quintilian adds: "Sunt tamen erudita et Latina," and gives an example from a speech of Licinius Calvus against Vatinius: "Non ergo magis pecuniarum repetundarum quam majestatis, neque majestatis magis quam Plautiae legis, neque Plautiae legis magis quam ambitus, neque ambitus magis quam omnium legum judicia perierunt." Another is found in Cicero pro Milon. c. 23. Dionysius Hal. (v. 47) quotes the passage in the text as an instance of a σχηματισμός, and contrasts it with the tameness of the following statement of the same facts: ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔγραψα, γράψας δ' ἐπρέσβευσα, πρέσβεύσας δ' ἔπεισα Θηβαίους.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ] 'Well, now then, how would you have me represent you, and how myself on that day? Would you have me describe myself as what you would abusively and slanderously call me, Batalus?' While the officer searches for the document, Demosthenes avails himself of the interval to abuse Aeschines, introducing his invective with the word καίτοι, as in §§ 268. 278.

Βάταλον] The origin and meaning of this nick-name were subjects of doubt even in the time of Plutarch, as appears

μηδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακὸς κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοῖνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ 20

from the following passage (Demos. vit. c. 4): ἦν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος καὶ νοσῶδης, διὸ καὶ τὴν λοιδορουμένην ἐπωνυμίαν τὸν Βάταλον εἰς τὸ σῶμα λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων λαβεῖν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὥς μὲν ἐνιοὶ φασιν, αὐλητῆς τῶν κατεαγόντων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμῶδων αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἐνιοὶ δὲ τινες ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερὰ καὶ παροιμία γράφοντος τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηνται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπῶν τι λεχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τότε καλεῖσθαι βάταλος. According to Aeschines (c. Timar. § 126, 131), Demosthenes used to make a joke of it, and declare it was a pet name of fondness given him by his nurse, whereas it was in reality a nick-name given him from his effeminacy and unmanliness (ἐξ ἀνανδρίας καὶ κιναιδείας). He repeats the accusation (F. L. § 105) thus: ἐν παισὶ μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐκλήθη δι' αἰσχρογυρίαν τινὰ καὶ κιναιδίαν Βάταλος, ἐκ παίδων δὲ ἀπαλαττόμενος καὶ δεκαταλάντους δίκας ἐκάστω τῶν ἐπιτρόπων λαγχάων Ἀργὰς ἐκλήθη, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος προσέληφε τὴν τῶν πονηρῶν κοινὴν ἐπωνυμίαν σκωφάντης. A more satisfactory supposition is that the term is connected with βάττος and βατταρίζω (to stammer), and that Demosthenes was called Βάτταλος when a boy from his indistinct articulation. A. Schäfer i. 306.

μηδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα] 'and yourself not even an ordinary hero.' Demosthenes (F. L. § 275) tells us that kings and princes were generally represented by the *τριταγωνισταί* or third-rate actors. This must of course be understood of those who were not leading characters in the drama.

Κρεσφόντην] Cresphontes was one of the Heracleid chieftains who obtained Messenia for his kingdom, and was slain with two of his sons, in an insurrection of the nobles, who were indignant with him (δισιούμενον τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου), for his liberal treatment of the commonalty. His wife Merope was compelled to marry his murderer Polyphontes, who in his turn was afterwards put to death by Aepytus, the only surviving son

of Cresphontes. On these facts was probably founded the tragedy of Cresphontes by Euripides, in which Merope was the principal character. (Paus. ii. 18, § 6; iv. 3, § 3.) But as the events of the drama were in some measure subsequent to the death of Cresphontes, Welcker conjectures that Aeschines may have represented his shadow appearing in the commencement of the play, as in the Hecuba did the shade of Polydorus, a character also personated by Aeschines (§ 331). Aristot. Ars Poet. c. 14, § 19.

Κρέοντα] Aeschines had acted Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles (F. L. § 275), a character not however of the third but of the second class. See Dr. Donaldson's preface to the Antigone.

ἐν Κολλυτῷ] Collytus, a city demus of the tribe Aegeis, lay s.w. of the Ἀγορά, between the hills of the Pnyx and Museum. Aeschines (Epist. 5) is said to have lived there forty-five years. Timon the misanthrope also resided there, and it was the demus of Plato. Dict. Geog. p. 302.

κακὸς κακῶς . . . ἐπέτριψας] 'whom you murdered with your wretched acting, like a wretch as you are.' Comp. § 331: τὰς ῥήσεις ἅς ἐλυμαίνου. The force of ἐπέτριψας may be illustrated by the story told by an unknown writer of the life of Aeschines (Bekker, 8vo. p. 288), on the authority of Demochares, a nephew of Demosthenes. The tale was that Aeschines was a *τριταγωνιστής* in the company of Ischander, a *τραγωδοποιός*, and that on one occasion, while playing the part of Oenomaus, he fell to the ground in a disgraceful manner (*αἰσχρῶς πεσεῖν*), as he was running after Pelops. Upon this Jacobs observes, that the story of the fall may have originated in the too literal interpretation of the word *καταπίπτειν*, used by Apollonius (Aeschin. vita) to express the failure in the part of Oenomaus (ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον ὑποκρινόμενος κατέπεσε). Compare § 329: ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριπτον.

τότε τοῖνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν] The addition seems intended simply for emphasis. 'Then, yes I say, at that crisis, above all others.'

πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα ὅσα προσήκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἐπραττον. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

- 232 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρελθυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων 289 φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλληνσι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺν προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ
- 233 ὁμότητι καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλεησμένος
- 234 ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἔως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ] A translation of this document is given in the *Edinburgh Review* (xxxvi. p. 489), by the late Mr. Justice Williams, who considered it the genuine production of Demosthenes. "But," as Mr. Newman observes, "no decree in the whole oration is so like the rapid forgery of a rhetorician as this. Lengthy as it is, it does not yield us a single definite fact about Philip's hostilities, about which it wastes many vague words. Could any thing so verbose have proceeded from Demosthenes at such a time," or rather at any time? Dindorf says of it: "ab falsario totum compositum esse demonstravit Droysen (p. 702), nec defendit Voemelius (ii. p. 9)." Mr. Grote agrees, xi. 674.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους] Nausicles is here made Archon in Scirophorion (June), although in the foregoing resolutions, which must have been passed a short time previously in the same year, Heropythus appears as Archon during Elaphebolion (March), and Munychion. The fact is that neither of the names is right, the real Archon of the year (B.C. 389) being Lysimachidas.

ἐπειδὴ] An instance of ἀνακολουθία, i. e. of a clause in a sentence with nothing answering or corresponding to it.

ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς] Some MSS. have ὁ Μακέδων simply, which Schäfer supposes to have been intended as a taunt, just as the Protestant leaders called Charles V. Gandarnais, and the French Republicans called Louis XVIII. the Man of Ghent.

παραιρεῖται] 'is robbing' or 'surreptitiously depriving us of cities.' "Intelliges pūc maxime Thraciae loca supra § 27 nominata." Dissen.

ἐπὶ πολὺν προάγει] 'is going far ahead.' But the phrase is suspicious.

ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ] Comp. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 140: τὸ τελευταῖον, Ἐλάτεια καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσῆγαγεν.

κατακόρως] 'making an insolent use of.' Not a Demosthenic phrase. Jacobs: 'mit Uebermuth misbraucht.'

βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας] These words are opposed to Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, but they are illustrated by τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι, so that ἰδίας can only mean 'belonging to Athens itself.' Jacobs trans-

- ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμυλίσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβρίζουσας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γινομένας, δευνὸν ἡγείται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς
- 235 Ἕλληνας καταδουλομένους. διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν 290 διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν
- 236 ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἑλευσίνιδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας,
- 237 βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἑλλησι καλὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγείται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον
- 238 οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμνησκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν

lates the words thus: 'Und so lange das Volk der Athenäer sah, dass er nur barbarische wenn gleich ihm (dem Athen. Volke) angehörige Städte wegnahm.' So Schäfer: "ἰδίας, sc. ἑαυτοῦ (τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων)—oppida barbara eaque suae dititionis."

διὸ δεδόχθαι] Here comes what should be the Apodosis or answering clause to ἐπειδὴ before. Mr. Grote (xi. 673) remarks on this resolution, that it implies that Athens was now about to pass out of pacific relations with Philip, and to begin war against him, whereas, on the contrary, they had for some time been at war, a fact which made the seizure of Elateia all the more formidable and significant.

εὐξαμένους] "Ut in gravissimo futuro bello." Dissen. By ἥρωες are here especially meant the ἐπώνυμοι, so called from giving their names to the tribes, and whose statues were near the senate-house.

διότι] An exceptional substitute for ὅτι, to be found in Diodorus, but not in Demosthenes.

ναύαρχον] There is an objection to

this word here. It is the proper term for an admiral in the Lacedaemonian navy, while στρατηγός was the usual title for the commander of a fleet with the Athenians. Xenophon indeed (Hell. v. 1. 5: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . αἰροῦνται Εὐνομον ναύαρχον) uses ναύαρχος for an admiral, but I agree with Mr. Newman in thinking that Xenophon, from his living abroad and his familiarity with Lacedaemonian titles, may in this instance have deviated from the Attic phraseology.

οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν] 'not bearing any malice, if any thing unfriendly has been done.'

ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου] Nevertheless the kings of Macedonia were said to have sprung from the Temenidae, the kings of Argos. Herod. v. 22; viii. 137.

οὔτε . . . τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ] 'neither in connexion by families nor identity of race.' ὁμοφῆλοι, of course as Hellenes, and συγγενεῖς, as is conjectured, through the Gephyraei, an Athenian 'gens' originally from Thebes. Müller, Hist. Orchom. p. 118. On these points Mr. Newman sen-

- προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἑρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἑρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς
 239 Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίους τε 291
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ
 συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.
 πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπεριδῆς Κλεάνδρου
 Σφήγγτιος, Μνησιθεΐδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυ-
 εὺς, Κάλλαισχος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]
- 240 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ
 κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος
 καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο
 τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελ-
 θεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοῖνυν τοῦ δικαίου 5
 πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ
 241 νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ

sibly asks: "Was it according to the taste of Demosthenes, however congenial to Isocrates and even to Aeschines, to lay stress on a mythical tale about the sons of Hercules?"

καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν] The Athenians paid especial honour to the Theban Oedipus, regarding him as a sort of tutelary hero. Soph. Oedip. Col. vv. 91 and 1521.

ἕτερα πολλά] "Tale est auxilium (v. c. 375) Thebanis latum ad Haliartum pugnantibus contra Spartanos. Vide supra § 96. Ejusdem generis est opera laudabilis Atheniensium in liberanda Cadmea. Diod. xv. 25. Deinarch. c. Dem. p. 95." Dissen.

ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι] 'to establish intermarriage.' Mr. N. asks, "Is it credible that the Athenians, before ascertaining the temper of the Thebans, should have decreed not only *συμμαχία*, but also *ἐπιγαμία* with them?" As Mr. Grote (vi. 675) observes, "At this very time the Thebans were on such bad terms with Athens, that it was doubtful whether they would entertain or reject the proposition; nay, the chances even were that they would reject it and join Philip." It cannot then be supposed that the Athenians would have gone so far as to decree the establish-

ment of the right of mutual intermarriage between the two states. See note p. 448.

πρέσβεις] Five only are enumerated, whereas ten were proposed by Demosthenes, § 228.

Κοθωκίδης] Here closes the last of the documents inserted in this speech, and I am glad to find that even Böckh, who formerly maintained their genuineness, is now convinced to the contrary. A. Schäfer, Vorrede, ix.

Αὕτη . . . πρώτη] 'this was the commencement and first establishment of our relations with Thebes.'

ὑπὸ τούτων] 'by these men,' i. e. Aeschines and his party.

ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος] Longinus (de Sub. c. 39) maintains that the beauty and sublimity of this passage depend upon the collocation and the symmetry of the words, and illustrates his assertion by showing how much it would suffer, not only from a change of arrangement, but even from the substitution of ὥσπερ νέφος, or ὡς νέφος, for ὥσπερ νέφος. Do-bree quotes from Chrysostom i. p. 442: πᾶσαν ἐκείνην τὴν ἀθυμίαν παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ νέφος.

ὁ γὰρ . . . συκοφάντης] 'The counsellor and the caviller,' or 'the statesman and the

τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἑοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλήλων
 διαφέρουσιν ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην
 ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, 10
 τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ'
 242 ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν
 μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος
 ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ το-
 σαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιούμεαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξάι τι 15
 βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλήν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην,
 ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὃ τι τις νῦν ἐώρακεν, ὃ
 συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότεπραχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ
 λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι 292
 μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν
 243 ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα ἐγὼ, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶν-
 τος, Αἰσχίνῃ, "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται," οὐ τίς "αἰτιάσθαι 5
 περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων," οὐδὲ τίς "ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλ-
 λοντ' ἔσεσθαι." σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ
 δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπέ τίς ἢ λόγος ὄντιν'

common accuser.' This is illustrated by an anecdote which Plutarch tells of Demosthenes (c. 14) thus: ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος, ὅτι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τινα προβαλλομένων αὐτὸν κατηγορίαν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουε θορυβούντων ἀναστὰς εἶπεν "ὅμεις ἐμοί, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβούλῳ μὲν κὰν μὴ θέλητε χρῆσεσθε, συκοφάντῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἂν θέλητε." But to translate συκοφάντης in English is impossible, because it expresses a conception of the Greeks, which Englishmen have no occasion to express. Originally it meant an informer, but Aeschines (F. L. § 105) describes it as the common name of all villains,—ἡ τῶν πονηρῶν κοινὴ ἐπωνυμία. Lord B. here translates it 'partisans,' and Mr. K. 'pettifoggers,' neither of which is satisfactory. Mr. K. proposes another translation which expresses the full meaning: 'an honest politician and a factious one.' Our old English lawyers might have said, 'the counsellor and the barretor.'

τοῖς πεισθεῖσι] 'to those who follow his advice.'

ἂν τι δύσκολον . . . βασκαίνει] 'should

any thing untoward happen, this he makes a matter of reproach.' The grammarian Thomas Magister, quoted by Taylor, says: βασκαίνω οὐ μόνον ἀντὶ τοῦ φθονῶ, ὅπερ πρὸς δοτικὴν συντάσσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μέφομαι καὶ διαβάλλω παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς εὔρηται, καὶ συντάσσεται πρὸς αἰτιατικὴν, i. e. is constructed with an accusative.

τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν] 'but I go so much beyond this,' or 'I go so much farther in my concessions.'

ἢ ὅλως] 'or generally, if any other course was possible than what I adopted.'

μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον] 'not even as yet and to-day.' Observe the repeated negatives.

οὐ τῶν φαινομένων] 'was it not to choose the best of such measures as presented themselves and were possible?'

ἐγγυᾶσθαι] 'to guarantee the future.'

τίς ἢ λόγος] 'tell me either what measure there was which I ought to have devised, or what opportunity of benefiting the state was neglected by me?'

ἐχρῆν εὐρεῖν, ἥ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ 10
πόλει ; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με
ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί ;

244 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφείται;
καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλὴν· τὸ
δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. 15
τότε τοῖνυν τὰ μὲν ἡμελλεν, ὡς ἔδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ'
ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολι-
τείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ, ὡς
ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις

245 αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς 20
ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ·
ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς
οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην,
καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως
ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἥ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγ- 25
ματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ

246 τότ' ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ
μόνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων
γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' 293
ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ
πλοῖον ἀφ' ᾧ ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι

Ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . ἀφείται] 'But I need not urge that the past is always dismissed by all, whereas it is the future or the present that calls for the active services of the statesman.' Mr. Drake thus: 'requires that the public adviser should be at his post.'

τὴν προαίρεσιν . . . τῆς πολιτείας] 'consider the policy of my administration.'

ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτή] 'whereas it is his policy alone which shows the mind of the statesman.'

ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα . . . εἰλόμην] 'but that I did not adopt all the means possible so far as human calculation goes, and carry them out honestly,' &c.

ἡ ὡς οὐ . . . ἐνεστησάμην] 'or that I did not institute proceedings honourable and worthy of my country, and actually required.'

τότ' ἤδη] 'then, and not till then, accuse me.'

ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον] Demos-

thenes simply meant to ask, 'Are we to act upon the principle of blaming the innocent?' but instead of this he says, 'Shall we act like those who would blame an innocent ship-owner for the loss of his ship?' or 'are we to act as a man would act in blaming such a person?'—ὥσπερ ἂν ποιήσειε τις εἰ αἰτιῶτο; Translate: 'just as if one were to blame the ship-owner for the wreck of a ship, who, after he had done every thing for the preservation of the vessel, and fitted her out with all things likely in his opinion to secure her safety, then encountered a storm, and had his tackle strained, or rather entirely broken to pieces.' Mr. K. thus: 'As if a merchant after taking every precaution, and furnishing his vessel with every thing that he thought would ensure her safety, because afterwards he met with a storm, and his tackle was strained or broken to pieces, should be charged with the shipwreck.'

- χρησάμενον καὶ ποιησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ
 συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο; ἀλλ' οὐτ' 5
 ἐκυβέρνηων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν
 ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.
 247 ἀλλ' ἐκείνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα, εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνι-
 ζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ
 μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσ- 10
 ἔθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκείνος πάσας ἀφήκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ
 νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενο-
 μένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν,
 τί ἂν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταῦτό τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδο-
 248 κῆσαι χρῆν; ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στήναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀνα- 15
 πνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν
 εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ'—, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἃ γε
 μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία καὶ τῷ προβαλέσθαι
 τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.
 249 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὧ 20
 ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ
 ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βρα-
 χὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα

[εἴμαρτο] In deference to general practice I retain the aspirate, but as Mr. Long suggests it is difficult to reconcile it with ἔμμορε and εἰληφα.

τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν;] 'what must we have expected?'

πάσας ἀφήκε φωνάς] 'left nothing unsaid.' So Eur. Hec. 341: σπούδαζε πάσας φθογὰς λείσα. It is clear that ἐκείνος means not Aeschines, but Philip, who "used every effort of persuasion to induce the Thebans to join him." Comp. § 277: οἷας τότε ἠέλει φωνὰς Φίλιππος.

εἰ νῦν] 'if as matters were.'

τῆς μάχης] At Chaeroneia.

νῦν μὲν στήναι] 'as it was, one or two or three days enabled us to recover our stand, to meet together, to take breath, and do many things that conduced to the preservation of the state.' τότε δ', 'whereas in the other case,' i. e. if the battle had been in Attica instead of in Boeotia. στήναι, 'to get upon our legs again.' Jacobs translates thus: 'ein und zwei und drei Tage uns aufrecht zu stehn, zusammen zu kommen, aufzuath-

men und vieles Andre der Stadt zur Rettung verschafft haben.'

ἃ γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε] I. e. ἐαυτῶν. As for μηδὲ, Schäfer observes that οὐδὲ would not be so appropriate,—"Agitur enim de rebus quae non acciderunt." Translate, 'It is not worth while to mention those things, of which we have not even been suffered to undergo the trial, through the kindness of some one of the gods, and from the city having shielded itself with this alliance which you inveigh against.' Bekker reads: εὐνοία καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι.

ταυτὶ πάντα . . . τὰ πολλὰ] 'now all this my long story.' So Jacobs, 'dieses Alles aber, diese vielen Worte sind für Euch.'

τοὺς . . . ἔξωθεν] 'those standing on the outside round the bar.' The Court was surrounded by a δρύφακτος or wooden railing of lattice work.

ἐξήρκει] for ἐξήρκει ἂν, 'would have sufficed,' or simply 'was enough.' So Virgil, Georg. ii. 132: "Et si non alium late jactaret odorem, laurus erat."

τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνω τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προῆδεις, 25 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον 294
 250 ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἔτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντό),
 251 οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα 10
 Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους
 252 καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν 15
 ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τούτον εὖνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.
 253 δηλοῖς. δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύει καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύει. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῶν δοκούντων

προῆδεις] The form *ῥηδεῖσθα* is much more common than this.* Lobeck (ad Phryn. 237) quotes four cases of *ῥηδεῖς* in classical Attic, two from Aristophanes, and two from this speech: one here, and the other in § 327. In Plato *ῥηδισθα* is a common form. See Euthyd. c. 18, and Arist. Eccles. 552: οὐκ ῥηδισθά με φράσαντά σοι χθές;

τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας] 'you are accountable for the same ignorance as the rest.'
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις] 'for then they would not have adopted these counsels of mine.'

ὅπερ δ' ἂν] 'but the very thing which a man would have done who was most worthless, and most hostile to the state, that, after the event, are you found to have done,' i. e. after the contest between Philip and Athens was decided. Taylor approves an Italian version thus: 'E quel che un tristo e nimico huomo alla città farebbe, sei stato ritrovato far tu ne' casi che sono avvenuti.' But Demosthenes

contrasts his opponent's inaction before Chaeroneia with his activity after. Comp. ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, § 300.

Ἀρίστρατος . . . Θάσῳ] Nothing else is known of the incidents here alluded to.

οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ] 'enemies once and for all,' i. e. unmitigated or deadly enemies.

ἐνευδοκιμεῖν] 'and yet the man for whom the disasters of the Greeks were kept in reserve, to found a reputation upon, ought rather to die the death than accuse his neighbour.' Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματ' ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο is hexametric.

δηλοῖς δὲ καί] 'nay, you show this too, by your life and actions, and by what you do and what you do not as a public man.' With ἐξ ὧν ζῆς comp. § 165: ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν. Mr. K. translates, 'by your political action and your political inaction.'

συμφέρειν ; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν 20
οἶον οὐκ ἔδει ; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης· ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα
καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε
κινεῖται.

- 254 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βού-
λομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καὶ μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ 25
θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὁ
λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλ-
λοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προῆδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προῦ-
λεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς
οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, 295
εἴπερ ἡ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε
255 λόγον. νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ
πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ·
τότε δ' ἀξιούσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποσταῖσα 5
τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχευ αἰτίαν.
εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ ᾧ οὐδένα κίνδυνον
ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν
256 σοῦ ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλ-
μοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους 10
ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη,
ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ'
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν
ῆσαν πεπονημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν

ἀντέκρουσε] 'has any thing gone wrong?' Comp.: "Si tantulum offensum titubatumque sit." Cic. in Caecil. Divin. xxii.

ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα] 'just as fractures and sprains start whenever any disease attacks the body.' Comp. Olynth. ii. § 21, p. 45.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς . . . ἔγκειται] 'but since he presses much on the results.' So Κλέων πολὺς ἐνέκειτο. Thuc. iv. 22.

ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω] 'you who did not even open your mouth.'

οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον] 'not even then ought the city to have abandoned that policy.'

νῦν μὲν . . . αἰτᾷ] 'for now indeed she is considered to have failed in her undertakings, but in that case claiming as she

did to lead others, and afterwards deserting this position, she would have been charged with betraying all to Philip.'

εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο] 'for had she given up without an effort all for which there is no danger which her forefathers did not encounter, what man is there who would not have loathed you?' Lord B. thus: 'for if she had given up without a struggle all that your forefathers encountered every danger to win, who would not have spurned you, Aeschines?'

μὴ γὰρ . . . μηδ' ἐμοῦ] 'for heaven forbid I should say our country, or even myself: that is, I will not suppose for a moment that the state or myself could deserve such an indignity.'

τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ] 'the struggle to prevent that happening.'

τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν 15
 257 ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν
 Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ
 παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακε-
 δαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς
 χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ· τι βούλεται 20
 λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ
 258 ἔαν ἔτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ',
 ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ'
 ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς
 τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πρᾶτ- 25
 τουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη
 περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα 296
 259 τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσ-
 ἤκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἦθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι.
 ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ'
 ἐπαινεῖτε, εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιοτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν 5
 ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ-
 λιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ
 κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντα
 Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀπο-
 φηγάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταπτομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, 10

τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν] 'danger in the cause of honour.'

τῶν . . . ἰσχυρῶν] That is, before the Thebans gained the battle of Leuctra.

Περσῶν βασιλέως] See Herod. viii. 130—144; ix. 1—5.

μετὰ πολλῆς . . . ἀσμένως] 'with much thankfulness would the state have been readily permitted to have taken whatever she chose, and have kept her own on condition of doing what she was bid, and allowing another to have the lead of the Greeks.'

οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ' . . . Ἀθηναίοις] 'this it would seem was not, with Athenians of that age, hereditary, nor tolerable, nor natural.' Lord B. and Mr. K. both translate πάτρια by 'national,' the former observing that it seems to relate more to 'ancestry' than 'national' does.

προσθεμένην] 'by joining herself to.'

ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη . . . διατετέλεκε] 'but during all time has she persevered in

braving danger, in her struggle for supremacy, and honour, and glory.'

ὥστε καὶ τῶν] 'so that even of your ancestors you praise most those who thus acted.'

τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιοτο] "In his sentences Demosthenem sese tacite comparare Themistocli, Aeschinem vero Cyr-silo." Dissen.

ἀποφηνάμενον] i. e. γνώμην. Comp. § 241: ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται.

Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες] Herodotus (ix. 5) tells apparently the same story, but with a different name of Lycidas for Cyrsilus. The discrepancy is extraordinary, for the incident itself is one of great note in Athenian history, and *a priori*, it would be incredible that Herodotus, who was almost contemporary with the event, and Demosthenes, who was born less than 100 years after, should have differed as

οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν
 260 γυναῖκ αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε
 ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' οὗτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίου, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ 15
 μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει
 δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων
 τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει,
 ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύ-
 ουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται 20
 τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας ἅς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει
 φέρειν ἀνάγκη τοῦ θανάτου.

261 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον
 ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν
 εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς 25
 τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ
 ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἢ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας

to the name of the principal party in it. Cicero, de Off. iii. c. 11, tells the story thus: "Athenienses, quum Persarum impetum nullo modo possent sustinere, statuerentque, ut urbe relicta, conjugibus et liberis Troezenae positus, naves conscenderent, libertatemque Graeciae defenderent, Cyrsilum quendam suadentem ut in urbe manerent, Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus cooperuerunt." It is hardly possible that the historian and the orator referred to two different events nearly contemporaneous, especially as the murder of the wife as well as the husband is an incident in both.

δὲ οὗτου δουλεύουσιν] "Multum hic conferunt ad vim indicativi, in mediam rem descendente phantasia, et ob oculos oratore nobis ponente istos sensus." Dissen. But beyond this, they identify the Athenians of the two different ages, and represent the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another.

ἡγεῖτο . . . ἕκαστος] A somewhat similar sentiment occurs in a letter (No. IX.) to Archytas of Tarentum, attributed to Plato. Whoever is the author of it, it is worth quoting: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνο δὲ σε ἐνθυμῆσθαι, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐχ αὐτῷ μόνον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενέσεως

ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἡ πατρὶς μερίζεται, τὸ δὲ τι οἱ γεννήσαντες, τὸ δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι. Compare Lucan, Phars. ii. 380:

"Hi mores, haec dura Catonis
 Secta fuit, servare modum finemque
 tenere,
 Naturamque sequi patriaeque impen-
 dere vitam,
 Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere
 mundo."

περιμένει] 'awaits the death of destiny and that of nature,' i. e. 'his appointed and natural end.' Here δ τῆς εἰμαρμένης θάνατος is opposed to the death which is a man's voluntary act, and δ αὐτόματος to that which is caused by external violence.

τὰς . . . ἀτιμίας] 'the outrages and indignities.' In the next line observe the emphatic position of τοῦ θανάτου, 'death itself.'

ἄξια . . . φρονεῖν] 'to have a spirit worthy of.'

νῦν δ' ἐγὼ . . . ἀποφαίνω] 'I show that such principles are your own.'

τῆς μέντοι διακονίας] 'in the execution however of every single thing that was effected, I say that I too have had a share.'

τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαντῷ μετεῖναι
 262 φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ 297
 πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει γεγενη-
 μένῳ, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίσχεται,
 τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖ-
 ται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ ⁵
 καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης
 263 ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ
 ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ
 τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς 10
 ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυ-

τουδὶ] sc. Κτησιφῶντος. 'For if you shall condemn the defendant on the ground that my policy has not been the best.'

τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη] 'by the unkindness' or 'perverseness of fortune.' Comp. Soph. Oed. Col. v. 85: φοῖβω τε κἄμοι μὴ γένησθ' ἀγνώμονες. We may translate, 'I swear it by our forefathers, those of them who faced the danger at Marathon, and those who stood in array at Plataeae, and those who fought the sea-fight at Salamis, and off Artemisium.' As for the oratorical merit of this apostrophe, it will be sufficient to quote Longinus, who observes that the orator uttered it as if suddenly inspired, and under the influence of a divine frenzy (καθὰ περ ἐμπνευσθεῖς ἐξάφνης ὑπὲρ θεοῦ, καὶ οἰοεὶ φοιβόληπτος γενόμενος τὸν ὕρκον ἐξεφώνησεν). But nevertheless (as the critic points out) "even in excesses he shows the necessity of keeping sober" (διδάσκων ὅτι κὰν βακχεύμασι νήφειν ἀναγκαῖον); for though apparently carried away by enthusiasm, he does not lose sight of his argument, and while making an impetuous onslaught on his foe, he carefully provides against an attack upon himself. Thus (adds Longinus) he does not speak of the 'victors' of Marathon or Salamis, lest the 'defeat' of Chaeroneia should be suggested to his opponents or his hearers (οὐδαμοῦ 'νικήσαντας' εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ πάντῃ τὸ τοῦ τέλους διακέκλωφεν ὄνομα, εἰπεῖν δὴ περ ἦν εὐτυχὲς καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Χαιρώνειαν ὑπεραντίον), and then he immediately anticipates any objection from his audience (τὸν ἀκροατὴν φθάνων εὐθὺς ὑποφέρει) by turning short round upon

Aeschines, and reminding him that all, whether successful or not, were equally honoured by the state (οὓς ἅπαντας ἔθαψε . . . οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας μόνους). Lord B. (Works vii. 124) felicitously observes to the same effect: "The most figurative and highly wrought passage in all antiquity is the famous oath in Demosthenes; yet, in the most pathetic part of it, and when he seems to have left the farthest behind him the immediate subject of his speech, led away by the prodigious interest of the recollections he has excited; when he is naming the very tombs where the heroes of Marathon lie buried, he instantly, not abruptly, but by a most felicitous and easy transition, returns into the midst of the main argument of his whole defence,—that the merits of public servants, not the success of their counsels, should be the measure of the public gratitude towards them; a position that runs through the whole speech, and to which he makes the funeral honours bestowed alike on all the heroes, serve as a striking and appropriate support."

μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας] This adjuration has been quoted and extolled by many writers, as Quint. xi. 3. 168, and Longin. c. 16, who observes that the comic poet Eupolis is thought to have suggested it by the lines spoken by Miltiades in his Δῆμος: Οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην, Χαῖρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμὲν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ. The idea implied by προκινδυνεύσαντας was probably adopted from Thucyd. i. 73: φάμεν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι μόνοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ.

μαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους
 τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας,
 264 οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς
 ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ 15
 τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων
 265 ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε
 καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ
 φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερηῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ 20
 μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὦν τίνος προσεδείτο ὁ
 παρὼν ἀγὼν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ, ὦ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ
 τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος
 φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ
 266 τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ 25
 οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ 298
 τὰς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
 τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ

ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις] In the Cerameicus and after a funeral oration, as shown by Thucyd. ii. 34. Demosthenes is sparing in the use of epithets, and on ἀγαθοὺς Lord B. thus expresses himself: "Mark the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of diction, in the most touching parts of the 'old man Eloquent's' loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial-place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable it is here; yet the only one he applies is ἀγαθοὺς." Inaugural Discourse at Glasgow, 1825.

δικαίως] "The whole passage which ends here and begins εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἄκοντί, § 255, is deserving of close study, being one of the greatest pieces of declamation on record in any tongue." Lord B. With all respect to his Lordship, 'eloquence' would have been more appropriate. The reader may compare Dr. Donaldson's translation in his Literature of Ancient Greece, i. 178.

τῇ τύχῃ δ'] 'and as for their fortune, what the deity assigned to them, that did they severally obtain.'

ἔπειτα] 'did you then, with the view of robbing me of their honour and esteem, appeal to trophies, and battles, and deeds of olden time, and which of these, pray,

was called for by the present trial? With what spirit, then, you third-rate actor, ought I to have mounted the platform when coming forward to counsel the state on her claims to pre-eminence? With that of a man who had to offer counsel unworthy of the state? Why, if I had, I should have deserved to die for it.' By τούτων he means the audience, his fellow-citizens, to whom he points.

ὦ . . . γραμματοκύφων] 'you cursed quill-driver.' Lit. 'you execrable desk-stooper.' Aeschines had acted as a public clerk or secretary, and the word γραμματοκύφων is thus explained by a grammarian in Bekk. Anec. p. 228: ἀντὶ τοῦ γραμματεὺς, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προσκεκυφότες γράφουσιν. The descent from the glories of Marathon to the personal abuse of Aeschines is somewhat startling, and as Lord B. remarks, "would never with us have been borne."

παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 181) had said: πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγῆσας, ὅτε τὴν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐνίκητε, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὰς τάξεις λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δ' ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος;

ἐπὶ τῶν . . . σκοποῦντας] Lit. 'with

ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν
προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας, καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε 5
ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς
πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια
εἰσίστητε κρινοῦντες, εἴπω ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἷσθε
χρῆναι.

267 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις 10
ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχ-
θέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν εἰς ταῦτ' ἐξέβην, βού-
λομαι.

Ἵς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν
Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόν- 15
τας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ,
τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ
συμφέροντος ἔνεκα ἑμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν
268 τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ'

your eyes upon,' i. e. with a reference to the laws which concern private matters ('jus privatum') and the facts of each case. So § 292: ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἐν ἑσκόπῃ, and § 363: εἰ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι.

τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις] 'but your public resolutions, with your eyes upon the examples of your ancestors.' ἀξιώματα implies the obligation imposed upon the Athenians by such ancestral deeds.

ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ] 'together with your staff and ticket.' There were several ordinary courts at Athens in which the δικασταὶ sat and decided the cases brought before them. Each court was marked by a particular letter of the alphabet inscribed over the doorway, and was also painted with a distinctive colour. The δικασταὶ themselves were 6000 in number, divided into ten sections of 500 each, with a supernumerary section of 1000. These sections were assigned to the different courts by lot, as follows. Two urns were produced, one containing tickets marked with the section letters; the other furnished with tickets stamped with the court letters. Tickets were then drawn (sortitio) simultaneously one from each urn (A and B, say), and the result announced that section A was to sit in court B. If two sections were required for one

trial in one court, two letters would be drawn (A and C, say) from the sectional urn, and the result announced that sections A and C would sit in court B, and so on according to circumstances. This done, each δικαστής received a staff, on which were painted the letter and colour of his court, during his sitting in which he further received, probably from the president of the court (ἡγέμων δικαστηρίου), a token or ticket, the production of which entitled him to the receipt of his pay. Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Δικαστήριον and Δικαστής.

τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς] This was probably the embassy in which Demosthenes confronted Python. See § 173. But according to Marsyas (Plut. Demos. c. 18) Philip sent as ambassadors, Amyntas and Clearchus the Macedonians, besides Daochus the Thessalian and Thrasydaeus.

λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν] Here again Demosthenes abuses Aeschines, while the officer of the court searches for a document; and it is worthy of remark, and furnishes a presumption against the authenticity of the other records in the oration, that after this point no documents are exhibited in the text.

καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολῇ] 'and by the way, so far has he carried the extravagance of his calumny.'

ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τι τῶν 20
δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγε-
νησθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμέ καὶ τὴν
ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ
ρήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πρα-
χθέντων οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς 25
ὄπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος
εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατό-
τερος ; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

269

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

299

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσήγον
ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμαχῶν τάξιν ἐκεί-
νους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν
Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, 5
πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμ-
νήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίου ὦν μὲν εὖ πεπόν-
270 θεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὦν δ' ὑφ'
ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας
αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβalόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ 10
ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὦν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ
ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τᾶλλ'
ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἡξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὦν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν
ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέ-
μου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα 15
271 συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντείπομεν, τὰ

τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως] 'while of all that
has happened adversely he says that I
and my fortune are the cause.' Aeschines
(c. Ctes. § 141) declared: 'Ο δ' εἰσάγων
ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος
καὶ χρεια συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης.
οὐδενὸς . . . συναίτιος] 'to have had no
hand at all in.' It is contrasted with
μόνος αἴτιος below.

ἀτυχηθέντων] "Passivi usus rarior.
Dion. Halic. p. 551: ἡτύχητο γὰρ δὴ
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ τε περὶ Λεύκτρα
μάχη καὶ πολλὰ μετ' ἐκείνην ἕτεραι."
Schäfer.

ἐποιήσαντο] The Thebans.
τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον] 'to sum up how-
ever.'

ἢ διέντας] 'either allowing themselves
a passage through their territory against
you or joining in the invasion of Attica.'

τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς] A pregnant ex-
pression. 'That the herds in Attica
would come from there into Boeotia.'

ἀντείπομεν] Omitted by the Codex
S. Expediency and the recent events
in Phocis must have suggested to the
Thebans an alliance with Philip, but ac-
cording to Theopompus (Plut. Demos. c.
18), ἡ τοῦ ρήτορος δύναμις, ἐκριπίζουσα
τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίονσα τὴν φιλο-
τιμίαν, ἐπεσκόπησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν.
ὥστε φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν
ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ
λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν.

μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομί- 20 σσητε· ἃ δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

- 272 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. ἐξῆντε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως 25 ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο ὥστ' ἐξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν 300
- 273 ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν 5

τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα] 'the details on each point I would give my life to describe, but with regard to you I fear, lest the times having gone by, you may, as if you thought there had been a deluge over the events, consider the speeches about them an unprofitable annoyance.' Comp. Prom. Vinc. 1022: ὄχλεις μάτην με, κύμ' ὅπως, παρηγορεῖ.

ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ] 'just as if.' The phrase having passed into an every-day idiom is here used independently of the grammatical construction which it would otherwise require, the particle εἰ being superfluous. This appears from completing the clause thus: ὥσπερ ἂν ἐνομίσατε ἡγούμενοι, 'as you would have considered had you believed.'

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἐκάλουν] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 140) flatly contradicts Demosthenes, and asserts that all this happened before he made any proposition about an alliance with Thebes: ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἤπτετο, μετεπέψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσήετε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς διεσκευασμένοι καὶ οἱ περὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράφαι Δημοσθένην. Upon this Dissen remarks, and I think with reason: "Haecine manifesta mendacia potuisse coram iudicibus dici? Immo cum ederet orationem, haec et

talia addidit."

τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 140—151) says that the Thebans, alarmed at the seizure of Elateia by Philip, sent to Athens for aid, which was despatched to them—that consequently Philip was anxious to make peace, and the Thebans being disinclined to war, sent the Athenian troops back to Athens with a view to the Athenians deliberating about the expected proposal from Philip, against which however Demosthenes exerted himself so vigorously that the Boeotarchs conceived themselves bound to stand by their allies, and then led out the Theban army to join the Athenian forces. Comp. Plutarch, Demos. c. 18, and Phoc. c. 16.

τῶν ὀπλιτῶν] With Reiske, I understand these to be Thebans. Of course the compliment was in every way the greater, if, when the flower of the Theban forces was encamped outside, the Thebans invited the Athenian army into the city. They showed thereby that in the absence of their natural protectors they implicitly trusted the Athenians.

πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις] 'they passed upon you before all men three of the most noble commendations.' Comp. c. Phil. ii. p. 135: ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον.

ἀγῶνα μεθ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποι-
ήσασθαι, καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτέρ' ἀξιούν ὑμᾶς
ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι
δ' ἐν πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποι-
ήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. 10
274 ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφά-
νησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ
στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν·
οὕτω σῶφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαρα-
ταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ 15
τὴν χειμερινὴν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ
καὶ θανμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ
προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο
275 ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ
ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο 20
καὶ ζήλον καὶ χαρὰς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότε-
ρον συνέθνε καὶ συνευφραίνεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος
καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἶκοι
276 καθήτο ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρήν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο,

καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ'] 'and by placing in your power what is guarded most jealously with themselves, and indeed with all men, wives and children, they showed they had faith in your self-command.' Dissen omits the δέ after πᾶσι. If retained it must be understood to connect the two parts of the clause, to the latter of which καὶ before παρὰ gives greater emphasis.

δῖς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι] 'and having twice stood in battle array with them.'

τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ] It appears then that in the interval of ten months between the seizure of Elateia, and the battle of Chaeroneia, there were two other battles, one probably fought in the valley of the Cephissus (ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ) along the road between Elateia and Thebes, and another, which Mr. Newman (Class. Mus. i. 160) "makes no doubt was a battle fought during a furious storm." Bp. Thirlwall (vi. 66) also observes 'the battle of the storm' is not quite satisfactory, but any thing is better than 'the winter battle.' In support of this view it may be urged, that if one was described as 'the winter battle,' we should have expected the other to have been called 'the summer

one;' for the interval was sufficient for a battle in both seasons, and a 'winter battle' was just as likely an event as a summer one. Mr. Grote on the other hand (xi. 664) thinks that a μάχη χειμερινή (a winter battle) suits the arrangement of a ten months' interval between Oct. B.C. 339, and August B.C. 338, the date of the battle of Chaeroneia. It should further be remembered that in Attic prose writers χειμερινόν (as in χειμερινὰ τροπαὶ) is 'in the winter time,' and χειμέριον, 'wintry,' as in (Thucyd. iii. 22) νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ. Accordingly A. Schäfer (ii. 529) thinks that the battle was fought in February, when the spring had begun in the plains, though it was still stormy and snowy in the mountains of Phocis. But actual hostilities probably commenced before that time. See Lobeck ad Phryn. § 22.

ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων] 'which called forth eulogies from other men to you, sacrifice and thanksgiving from you to the gods.' C. R. K.

(ζήλου] 'of admiration.' So § 337: ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν. Mr. K. 'enthusiasm.' ἢ λυπούμενος] 'grieving and moaning and sulking over the public successes.'

πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὦν ὡς ἀρίστων 25
αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα
νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς ; 301
εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος,
εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν ; Λέγε
δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

5

277 Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν
τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς
βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι,
αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέισθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν
οἷας τότε ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς 10
ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν
εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν,
ἵν' εἰδῇτε ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ τालαιπωρίαὶ καὶ
τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργά-
σατο.

15

πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ] 'does he not act shockingly or rather impiously, if what he then called the gods to witness to be most excellent, this he now calls upon you to vote other than most excellent, you who have sworn by the gods' (to decide justly)? On this dilemma Lord B. remarks: "The beauty of this passage is very striking. Not merely the exquisite diction—the majesty of the rhythm—the skilful collocation—the picturesque description of Aeschines' dismay and skulking from the public rejoicings; but the argument is to be observed and admired. It is a dilemma, and one which would be quite sufficient for the momentary victory at which alone an orator often aims. It is not closely reasoned; it is not a complete dilemma; a retort is obvious (to use the language of the logicians), and this is always fatal, being the test before which no bad dilemma can stand. Aeschines had only to embrace the second alternative, the second horn, and it never could have transfixed him. 'I did remain at home, not mourning over the success of your measures, but their wickedness; not grudging the people their short-lived joy, but grieved to see them deluded by your arts to their ruin.' This answer was complete. Ne-

vertheless, there are but very few complete dilemmas in the whole course of any argument upon any subject, and the one under consideration is quite good enough to pass with an audience in a speech. Many much less complete are every day used with us both in the senate, in popular assemblies, and even at the bar, and with sufficient success."

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν] 'Well then, we were at that time in the midst of sacrifices to the gods, and the Thebans in the belief that it was to you they owed their preservation, and it had come about that those who seemed likely to need assistance owing to the intrigues of these men (Aeschines and his faction), were themselves sending aid to others, in consequence of following my counsels.' *περιστῆναι* is 'to turn out contrary to expectation.' Comp. τοῦτο καὶ ὑμῖν *περιερίσθηκε*, De Sym. p. 193.

ἵν' εἰδῇτε . . . τί ἀπειργάσατο] 'what was the effect of my perseverance, and journeyings, and labourings, and the many decrees which this man was just carping at.' *διέσυρε*, 'was pulling to pieces.' Comp. Mr. Paley's note on *πέμπει σύρδην* (Aesch. Pers. 54), who quotes Strabo iii. p. 146, to show that *σύρειν* is applied to a river bringing down gold-dust.

- 278 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι
 ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος
 ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι
 ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν
 εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευ- 20
 σεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπελείπετο γὰρ
 αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι
 279 γίγνοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον
 ὑπερήρας τοὺς ἄλλους ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν
 αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι 25
 τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει μοι
 χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόν-
 ναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλιπὼν τις ἂν δεῖ 302
 280 πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ, τυχόν μὲν ἀναι-
 σθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ

Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος] 'that famous Callistratus.' He was the most distinguished orator of his age, and is said to have stimulated Demosthenes to the study of eloquence by his speech on Oropus. Aeschin. F. L. § 131. Plut. Demos. c. 5. Aul. Gell. iii. 13. See also p. 4.

'Αριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος] For Aristophan see p. 437. Cephalus was an orator and statesman who flourished in the time of what was called the 'Anarchy' at Athens (B.C. 403), and was distinguished by his remarkable felicity in never having had a prosecution commenced against him, though he had taken an active part in public affairs (τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν, § 313). By Thrasybulus, without any other title, is most probably meant the statesman and soldier who overthrew the Thirty Tyrants (B.C. 403).

εἰς οὐδέν] 'in any case so as to go through with it.'

ὑπελείπετο . . . ἀναφοράν] 'for each of them would reserve for himself, not only relaxation, but also an excuse for shifting the blame, in case of any thing happening amiss.' So Aesch. F. L. § 111: νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς μὲν κατέλιπον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς ἀναφοράν. The euphemistic εἴ τι γίγνεται corresponds with the Latin 'si quid accidisset,' and the English 'if any thing should happen,' there being a reticence in each case.

οὕτως . . . μέγαν] These words refer to each other, though, for the sake of emphasis, οὕτως is separated from μέγαν and put at the beginning of the sentence. Comp. οὕτω μέχρι πύργου, § 282. So F. L. § 125: ἔστιν οὖν οὕτω τις ἀνθρώπων ἀνόητος ἢ κακοδαίμων;

ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι] 'but that it was a matter of satisfaction if a man (i. e. himself) should meet his fate without neglecting any act of duty.' πράττειν ἂν δεῖ = 'quae necesse est subire,' πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα = 'to succeed extremely well.' Jacobs thus: 'dass man sich gefallen lassen müsse, bei dem Bewusstseyn nichts unterlassen zu haben, das, was sein muss, zu leiden.' Mr. K. thus: 'I considered it left no room or thought for individual security; a man should have been only too happy to perform his duty without neglect.' But there is little point or sentiment in this. Of course if a man performed his duty, he could not have been guilty of any neglect, and ἂν δεῖ ποιήσειεν would have suited such a meaning better than πράξειεν.

ἐπεπείσμην] 'I was persuaded for myself, perhaps foolishly, but nevertheless I was persuaded, that neither would any one else who proposed measures propose better than myself, nor if he tried to carry them out, do so better than myself, nor if he went as ambassador, act as such with more zeal and honesty than myself.'

γράφαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεύσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. 5 διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαντὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

- 281 Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ 10 πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνι, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν.
- Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα. 15

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

- 282 Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὕτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὐτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραφασμένῳ 20 συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλην τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερίδην, εἶπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατ-
- 283 γγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἔστ' ἀνευγεκῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέαι 25 ταῦτ' ἀγραφάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους 303 μηκέτ' ἂν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ'

ἐπαιρόμενος] 'jactare solitus.' The middle voice seems to be used without any variation of meaning for ἐπαίρων.

ἐστεφανούμην] 'wherefore with reason was it proposed that I should be crowned by my countrymen.'

ὁ γραψάμενος Διώνδας] 'Diondas who impeached the motion, did not get the fifth part of the votes' (see note on § 118). This Diondas seems to have been a bitter enemy of Demosthenes, for it was said (X Orat. c. 8, p. 848), that he opposed Aristonicus' motion for decreeing a crown to the orator. See note p. 444.

ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα] 'and which this man did not even impeach.'

καίτοι τότε] See note p. 444.

μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως] 'with better reason.'

τῷ μὲν ἔστ' ἀνευγεκῖν] 'because Ctesiphon may refer,' or 'appeal to them.'

περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων] 'about matters which have been thus dealt with.' Demosthenes alleges that the whole affair was really a 'res judicata;' in technical language he avails himself of the 'exceptio judicati.' He does this on the principle that the matter in dispute, namely, the merits of his policy, had really been adjudicated on, when Diondas prosecuted the parties who proposed to crown him.

αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν] 'then the matter would have been tried on its own merits, before it had been affected by any of

284 αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τότε, ὁ νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν 5 ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προήδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾤθηται τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πε- 285πραγμένοις δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ 10μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὰν νῦν ὕστερον ἤκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέ- 15ροντος ἔσεσθαι.

286 Εἴτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἥς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἦκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω λογίζεσθε, ἂν καθαρεῖς ὦσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ 20287 νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοῖνυν ὥς σαθρὸν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἔστι φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾗ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νυνὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσ-

these prejudications.' Mr. Drake: 'before it acquired any of these precedents.'

ἐκλέξαντα] 'picking out his points.'

μήτε] Schäfer thinks that μήτε and μηδεῖς are used for οὔτε and οὐδεὶς, on account of the 'oratio obliqua' introduced by οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τότε.

μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους] 'and to have appeared to speak to the purpose by interchanging dates, and substituting false reasons for actions instead of the real motives.' "Pertinent haec ad ea quae Aeschines de pace (B.C. 346) facta multis verbis exponit c. Ctes. p. 62." Dissen.

ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι] 'all the arguments would have rested on the simple truth.' So σκοποῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, 'with their eyes upon the truth.'

ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα] So Thucyd. iii. 67: ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παραδείγμα, οὐ λόγων τούτοις ἀγῶνα προδήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔργων.

Εἴτα σοφίζεται] 'then he turns sophistical,' or 'ingenious.' The ingenuity in

question was displayed c. Ctes. § 59:

ὥσπερ δταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζόμεθα ἐπὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ἐρχόμεθα δὲ ποῦ ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται, τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῇ. οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε.

ὥσπερ δ', δταν] 'and that as when any of you go into your accounts fancying you have a surplus, yet still if the amounts (of debtor and creditor) are even (balance each other), and there is no surplus you allow it, so now also ought you to yield to the clear results of the argument.' By καθαρεῖς ψῆφοι it is meant that the figures came out even or clear on both sides of the account, without any difference between the payments and receipts, or debts and credits.

- μένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ 25
 Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπέιθειν ὑμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ τοιαύτης 304
 288 οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἐκατέρου. καὶ μὴν
 ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν,
 ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν
 πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός), ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα 5
 ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν
 ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἥς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ,
 ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς
 289 τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ῥοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους
 ἐκείνους κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν 10
 πόλεμον εἶναι ἐπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς
 Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς
 φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζαντίον, συμ- 15
 290 πολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους. ἄρα
 σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἡ δὲ
 ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνη-

οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους] 'not by putting down figures or counters, for this kind of calculation does not apply to measures.' Mr. Kennedy thinks that the "illustration is taken not from common tradesmen's accounts, but rather from the audit of official accounts of the *Λογισταὶ* at Athens." The passage in Aeschines certainly confirms this view, but I think that *οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματα* is inconsistent with it. The Oxford editor agrees with me. He translates: 'and just as when you settle your accounts thinking there is a balance at your banker's, if the accounts are even, and there is no balance you are satisfied.' In Greek calculation the *ψήφοι* or counters were placed on an abacus or board divided into parallel columns or lines, one of which served for units, the other for tens, hundreds, &c., somewhat as in the present system of notation. Accordingly, ten set in one column (*τιθέναι ψήφους*), would be taken up (*ἀναρῖν*) and by carrying make one in the next column. In a debtor and creditor account, when the counters on both sides were equal, the parties proceeded to clear it, by taking up counter for counter (*ἀντανελεῖν*), till none were

left, and the abaci were emptied by a cancelling process.

λογισταῖς ἅμα] 'as at once scrutineers and witnesses.' Lord B.: 'appealing to you who hear me both as auditors and witnesses,' is objectionable, 'auditors' being somewhat of a 'mot à double entente.'

ὃ πάντες ῥοντο] Some MSS. have *ἔσεσθαι* after *ῥοντο*. Bekker brackets it. *ἐπτακόσια στάδια*] About eighty miles. The Great Eastern steam-ship is about a stadium (600 Greek or 606 English feet) in length from stem to stern.

ἡ δὲ ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα] 'or that we should clear these things off (against our misfortunes), instead of considering how they may be remembered for all time.' Ταῦτα here means the successful results of the policy of Demosthenes, which he maintains ought not to be cancelled and obliterated by the subsequent disasters of Athens, but remain for ever impressed on the tablets of the Athenian memory. He had rendered the state important services, deserving of grateful remembrance, which could not be treated as items of a debtor and creditor account, and be exactly balanced by any 'set-off.' They were not matters of arithmetical computation.

μονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι ; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθῃμι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη 20 Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.

- 291 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα 25 βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν, οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάτ- 305 των καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὀρᾷς ; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἡ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα, 292 ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν 5 ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλεις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆεν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγὼ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων.

The Italian translator renders it thus: 'onvéro parti egli che bisogni spegner queste dalla memoria degli huomini, e non operare come inperpetuo se n' habbiano a recordare?'

καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθῃμι] 'and I do not now add (as another item in the account) that of the cruelty displayed whenever Philip became absolutely master of any state, it has been the lot of others to have had the trial, while you have happily reaped the fruits of the generosity which he assumed towards you, while compassing the rest of his objects.'

τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας] After the battle of Chaeroneia, Philip treated the Athenians with more liberality than might have been expected. According to the fragment of a speech of Demades, he surrendered 2000 captives without ransom, of whom 1000 were Athenian citizens, and honourably buried the bodies of 1000 of their slain. Grote xi. 699. Comp. Polyb. v. 10.

περιβαλλόμενος] lit. 'while throwing round himself.' It is a favourite word with Herodotus, who uses it in the sense of 'securing' or 'appropriating.' See Mr. Blakesley's note, ii. 449.

καλῶς ποιοῦντες] 'happily ;' 'Dei beneficio.' The distinction between this phrase and καλῶς πράττοντες is illustrated adv. Leptin. § 122, thus: ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις

καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα ἔμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε. See also note, p. 34, and § 290 of this speech. ἐξετάζειν] 'to test' or 'criticize.'

παραδείγματα πλάττων] 'inventing similes,' as that of striking the balance by the counters.

ῥήματα . . . μιμούμενος] Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 166) had ridiculed Demosthenes for his phraseology and action, representing him *inter alia* as κυκλῶ περιδινούonta ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ βήματος.

· πάνυ γάρ] 'for of course (ironically) it has been all owing to this (don't you see?) that the affairs of the Greeks have turned out as they have, namely, that I used this word, and not that, and turned my hand hither and not thither.' Cicero, Orat. c. 8, alludes to this passage thus: "Itaque se purgans jocular Demosthenes, negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hoc an illud locutus sit, huc an illuc manum porrexerit."

ἐπ' αὐτῶν . . . ἂν ἐσκόπει] 'keeping to the simple facts he would have considered.' Mr. Drake: 'by the test of my actions alone.'

ἀφορμὰς] 'resources,' as opposed to δυνάμεις, 'forces actually raised.'

τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ] 'and what I subsequently raised for her, after I came forward' (as a politician). With ἐπιστὰς compare ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπ-έστην, § 73.

εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυνεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν 10 ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

- 293 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν 15 εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξελεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ' ἡ ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἐχθρας ἡ 294 φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν 20 τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὁ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλε-

οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος] These islands had renounced the supremacy of Athens in B.C. 358, and at the end of the social war (B.C. 355) their independence was recognized by Athens. About the same time the Corcyraeans also threw off their allegiance, and in the speech against Timocrates, § 230, they are (B.C. 353) represented as enemies of Athens.

χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν] 'a subscription of money to the amount of forty-five talents.' According to Harpocration (s. v.), *σύνταξις* was a euphemistic substitute introduced by Callistratus (B.C. 378) for *φόρος*, the original name for the tribute paid by the confederates of Athens. He states that ἔλεγον τοὺς φόρους *συντάξεις*, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων ὄνομα, Καλλιστράτου οὕτω καλέσαντος. Now the *φόρος* which the Athenians exacted from their subordinate allies at the close of the Persian war, and ostensibly for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against the Persians, was fixed by Aristides at 460 talents a year. This Pericles augmented to 600, and Alcibiades to 1200. The league however, in virtue of which this tribute was paid, was dissolved at the end of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 405. Subsequently, and chiefly in consequence of the iniquitous seizure of Thebes by the Spartans, Athens formed a new confederation (B.C. 377), on terms

of independence and equality for all the confederates, but of course under her own leadership. According to Deinarchus (c. Demos. § 15) and Isocrates (περὶ Ἀντιδ. § 120) it comprised twenty-four states, but Aeschines (F. L. § 73) makes the number seventy-five, of which Thebes was originally one. An inscription has lately been discovered at Athens, reciting the decree of the Athenians for the formation of this confederacy, and the principal obligations and restrictions thereby imposed upon them. Mr. Grote, x. 140, quotes it from Böckh's Appendix to the new edition of his work: "Ueber die Staats-haushaltung der Athener." See also Vol. ii. 3. 17 of the first edition. Diod. xv. 28, 29. Isocr. de Pace, § 37.

ταῦτ' ἦν προεξελεγμένα] 'this was collected beforehand,' i. e. anticipated. Dissen quotes καὶ δασμοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἐκλέγουσιν (Xen. Oecon. iv. 9). So also we have (F. L. § 335) παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέταλλα ἐωνημένων εἰκασιν ἐξέλεξε δραχμάς. οὗτοι] Aeschines and his friends. 'These fellows had contrived that all our neighbours were nearer enmity than friendship.'

ἦρχε . . . αὐτοκράτωρ] Comp. Olynth. i. § 4, p. 22. So Livy ix. 18: "Reges, non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur."

μον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν 25
ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεῖ· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἅ
δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ 306
φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων
κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύ-
θυνος ὧν οὐδενὶ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν,
295 κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος 5
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνας κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός·
αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγὼ,
ἐξ ἴσου προϋτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι
καὶ ἐμοὶ, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περιγένοιτο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ'
ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' 10
296 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ
τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα
Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας,
Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισ-

οὐδ' ὑπὸ . . . κρινόμενος] Omitted by the Codex S.

ἀπλῶς] The adjective ἄπλοος, 'simplex,' is derived by Professor Key from ἄπλοκος, the first part containing ἅμα or 'one,' and the latter the substantive πλοκή (from the verb πλέκ-ω), analogous to 'plica,' a 'flat surface' (comp. 'applicare'), in Latin. The guttural κ disappears between the vowels, just as 'octavus' became ὀγδοστος, ὀγδοος. He supports this view by the German 'einfach,' as if 'fach' were a modification of 'Fläche,' 'any thing flat,' a word connected with 'plica' by a well-known law of change from the classical to the Teutonic languages; and he illustrates the dropping of the 'l' (in 'ein-flach') by 'fugel-man,' from the German 'Flügel-mann.' Again, ἐπίπλοον = 'the omentum,' 'a sort of apron folded over the intestines,' suggests a neuter adjective ἐπίπλοκον, from ἐπι-πλέκ-ω, 'to fold over.' Proc. of Phil. Soc. vi. 128.

ἐγὼ δ' . . . ἀντιτεταγμένος] 'and I who was matched against him.'

αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν] 'for as for this very privilege of addressing the people to begin with, in which alone I participated, you offered it equally to his hirelings and myself.' With αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον comp. (adv. Lept. § 118) αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον. With

προτιθέναι λόγον = 'copiam dicendi facere,' comp. γνώμας προτίθει αἰθῆς Ἀθηναίοις (Thucyd. vi. 14), and φαίνεται γεγραφῶς τοὺς προέδρους ἐπιψηφίσειν τὰς γνώμας, λόγον δὲ μὴ προτιθέναι (Aesch. F. L. § 68).

δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι] "Malim ἦντινα: scilicet τιν' absorptum est ab ἦν." Dobree. Trans.: 'from whatever pretext it happened that each succeeded.' With τύχοι, the infinitive clause τὸ ἕκαστον περιγενέσθαι seems to be understood.

ταῦθ' . . . βεβουλευμένοι] 'in these points you took counsel in the interests of your enemy, and so went home.' Mr. K.: 'your resolutions were passed for the enemy's good.'

ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων] 'under such disadvantages.'

μύριοι . . . ἱππεῖς] Plutarch (in vita, c. 17) adopts this statement about the 15,000 mercenaries, and 2000 horsemen, and Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 97) taunts Demosthenes with boasting that he had raised an allied force of 10,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry—Εἰς περὶ οὓς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἱππεῖς χιλίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις. But this allusion refers to the earlier exertions of Demosthenes (b.c. 343–340) in Peloponnesus, Acarnania, and with Callias in Euboea, before Thebes had joined Athens against Philip (b.c. 338).

χίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν 15
 δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἡδυνήθην
 297 ἐγὼ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ
 πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνῃ, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους
 ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγει,
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλή- 20
 νων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν
 298 τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πόλεις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ
 ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμ-
 βουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο (αἰ-
 σχρὸν γὰρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινού 25
 κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος αὐτῇ διπλάσια τῶν
 ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς
 299 χαρίζει χάριτας τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν 307
 λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὧν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
 παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἶπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας
 καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἡβουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίῃ τὰ
 πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ 5
 τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρή-
 ματα προσθήσων ὑπήρχεν ἔτοιμος.
 300 Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί
 ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου,
 ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο. Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα 10
 Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη; τί

ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων] 'the national forces of each state.'

εἰ δὲ λέγεις . . . δίκαια] 'but if you speak of justice either as regards the Thebans, &c. Demosthenes here answers the argument of Aeschines (c. Ctes. § 143): δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις.

τριήρων] See note on the De Symm. § 35, p. 325.

ἐλαττοῦσθαι] 'injured,' or 'unfairly treated.'

ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ] 'but grateful to heaven that.' So θαυμαστὸν εἰ, 'it is wonderful that.'

εἶτα κενὰς] 'and after all they are but poor favours which you are conferring on these persons while calumniating me.'

εἶπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ] 'if the circumstances had allowed it,' or 'if it had been permitted by them.' Dr. Arnold illustrated this usage of παρὰ by our phrase, 'it was all along of their conduct.' Comp. Dein. c. Demos. § 73: ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, παρὰ τί οἴεσθε τὰς πόλεις τότε μὲν εὖ τότε δὲ φαύλως πράττειν; οὐδὲν εὐρήσετε ἄλλο πλὴν παρὰ τοὺς συμβούλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας.

ἴσα] This word is definite in the first instance, and takes the indicative; in the second it is indefinite, and takes the optative, ἴσα δοίῃ.

ὁ . . . ἀντωνούμενος] 'one that was bidding against us.'

εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ] 'if then while I was refining about these points.' Mr. K.: 'through my hard bargaining.'

ποιεῖν ἂν ἡ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσέβεις ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί ;
 301 οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν ; οὐχ ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι
 μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι ; εἴτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαν-
 τίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν 15
 Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν ; οὐκ
 302 ἂν ταυτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα ; πονη-
 ρὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ καὶ 20
 πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει
 κίναδος τὰνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς
 οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος,
 303 παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἡκεί τῇ
 πατρίδι ; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρελθλυθότων ; ὥσπερ 25
 ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιῶν μὴ 308

εἴτα τοῦ μὲν] Demosthenes here gives greater animation and force to his words, by using the 'oratio directa.' Translate: 'What then, is he become master of the Hellespont?' On the *σιτοπομπία* see Mr. Blakesley's note on Herod. vi. 5, where he states that much of the corn in question was grown in the valley of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), and shipped at the Milesian ports of Olbia and Odessus. The same region in the s. e. of Russia is now a great corn-growing country. Some might come by the Pruth and the Danube from Moldavia and Wallachia.

καὶ πολλὰ γε] 'aye, and many other things too besides these.'

πονηρὸν] 'a wicked thing is a calumniator always, and every way malicious and fault-finding; but this creature is by his very nature too a fox.' Mr. K.: 'a reptile.' Jacobs thus: 'ein boshafte Wesen ist der Sycophant, boshaft immer und überall, misgünstig und schmähsüchtig; aber dieser Wicht hier ist eine Bestie von Natur.'

αὐτοτραγικὸς . . . ῥήτωρ] 'a veritable ape of tragedy, an Oenomaus of the country, a counterfeit orator.' Dissen quotes Aristotle (Ars Poet. c. 27) to show that Callipides, a celebrated tragic actor, was called a *πίθηκος* or 'ape,' ὡς λίαν ὑπερβάλλων in his imitations of character. It may be then that the orator here describes his rival, an old performer in tragedies, as an extravagant actor, who tore a passion to tatters.

ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος] See § 231. There was a play of Sophocles called 'Oenomaus,' with a character of the same name, which it appears Aeschines had been in the habit of acting at the Rural Dionysia in various villages of Attica, as well as in the township of Collytus.

παράσημος ῥήτωρ] 'an orator of a bad stamp.' A metaphor from bad money. Thus Harpocration: Παράσημος ῥήτωρ. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος. Ἐκ μεταφορῆς εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν νομισμάτων, ἃ καλοῦσι παράσημα· ἦτοι ὅτι ὑποχαρᾷται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀργυραμοιβῶν σημεῖω τιμῇ, δὲ τὴν φανulότητα δηλοῖ, ἐπειδὴ παρατετύπεται καὶ παρακεχάραται· ὅτι γὰρ ἐπὶ νομισμάτων λέγεται τὸ παράσημον, δεδήλωκεν δὲ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους. Compare Aristoph. Achar. 517:

ἀλλ' ἀνδράρια μοχθηρὰ, παρακεκομμένα,
 ἔτιμα καὶ παράσημα, καὶ παράξενα.

Also Herod. i. § 66: χρησμῶ κιβδῆλφ πίσυνοι.

ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις] For the construction compare § 293. Aeschines, in a paragraph of his speech against Ctesiphon (§ 226), probably inserted after its delivery, appears to anticipate this comparison thus: Εἴτ' ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μὴδὲν συμβουλεύει, τελευταίαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔννατα, διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἃ ἐπιτρυφεύσας ὑγιὲς ἂν ἐγένετο.

λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύζονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσεί τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα διεξίει “ εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτοσι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν 5 λέγεις ;

- 304 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γανριᾶς ἐφ' ἣ στένειν σε, ὦ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγонуῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτως δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν 10 ἐγὼ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις 15 305 ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἓνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι ; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις ; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, 20 306 οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἥς ἐμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα ; ἰδεῖν τὰ

τὰ νομιζόμενα] ‘the customary solemnities.’ These are clearly τὰ ἑννὰτα, or the ‘novemdialia sacra,’ offered to the deceased on the ninth day after death. Comp. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 77: ἐβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι.

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν] ‘Nor indeed even as for the defeat of Chaeroneia.’

τῶν Θρακῶν] Teres and Cersobleptes.

οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα] Most of the MSS. add πρῶην, ‘recently,’ a word hardly applicable to an event of eight years’ standing. The Codex S omits it, and I agree with Dindorf in rejecting it.

ἐν οἷς] ‘in whatever cases his ambassadors were worsted in arguments, in these he came up with arms, and carried his point.’

εἰς τε μαλακίαν] Thus c. Ctes. § 148, the terms ῥήτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν, in § 156, τὸν ἀνανδρὸν καὶ λελοιπὸν τὴν τάξιν, and in § 77, ὁ δει-

λαιος, are applied to Demosthenes.

πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν] ‘a complete scrutiny.’

ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα] Mr. Grote (xi. 441) in his remarks on the foresight and patriotism of Demosthenes as displayed “throughout all the Olynthiacs and Philippics,” refers to this passage, and observes, “We note his warnings given at this early day, when timely prevention would have been easily practicable, and his superiority to elder politicians like Eubulus and Phokion, in prudent appreciation, in foresight, and in the courage of speaking out unpalatable truths. More than twenty years after this period, when Athens had lost the game and was in her phase of humiliation, Demosthenes (in repelling the charges of those who imputed her misfortunes to his bad advice) measures the real extent to which a political statesman is properly responsible. The first of all things is,—To see events in their beginnings, to discern tendencies

- πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς
 ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ 25
 βραδυτήτας, ὅκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς 309
 πόλεσι πρόσσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἁμαρτήματα,
 ταῦθ' ὥς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστέλλαι, καὶ τούναντίον εἰς
 ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν
 προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς 5
 307 μήποθ' εὖρη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἔλλειψθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις
 ἔροιτο ὄντινούν, τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φίλιππος ὦν κατέπραξε
 διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ
 διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν
 τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὐθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγὼ, ὥστε 10
 οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ
 μὴν τῷ γε μὴ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρί-
 ηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν
 ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ. 15
 308 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμεν εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα
 γράφειν τουτονὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ
 παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη
 λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ
 ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς 20

beforehand, and proclaim them before-
 hand to others; to abridge as much as
 possible the rubs, impediments, jealousies,
 and tardy movements inseparable from
 the march of a free city, and to infuse
 among the citizens harmony, friendly
 feelings, and zeal for the performance of
 their duties." The first Philippic is alone
 sufficient to prove how justly Demosthenes
 lays claim to the merit of having "seen
 events in their beginnings," and given
 timely warning to his countrymen.

πολιτικά] 'inherent in,' or οἰκεία, as
 δύναμις πολιτικῇ is equivalent to a do-
 mestic or national force. Translate:
 'which are found in all states as con-
 stitutional and necessary defects.'

ὥς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστέλλαι] 'to reduce
 as much as possible,' or 'to bring into
 the smallest possible compass.'

οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὖρη] 'no one will ever
 find.' The phrase οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὖρη is

clearly elliptical, and derived from such
 an expression as οὐ φοβοῦμαι μήποτε, 'I
 have no fear of it happening.' Hence
 the idiomatic form in the text.

οὔτε κύριος] 'I had neither the con-
 trol nor the direction.'

ὁ λόγος . . . πρὸς ἐμέ] 'the question
 does not concern me,' or 'no responsi-
 bility attaches to me.'

καὶ μὴν τῷ γε μή] 'and at any rate in-
 asmuch as I have not been bribed.'

ὁ ὠνούμενος] 'a bidder,' literally, 'one
 who wishes to purchase.' Compare ἀντ-
 ωνούμενος § 199 above, and Herod. i.
 68: ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν
 αὐλήν, and c. 69: ἐπέψαντες οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδεις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο. Κροῖ-
 σος δέ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτήνην.

Ἄ . . . παρεσχόμεν] 'As to the grounds
 then which I myself gave the defendant
 to justify such a motion as his about me.'
 ἐν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐμβεβηκώς] 'when in

- 309 καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἥνικ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαι τι
 θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ
 σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ
 πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φύλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν
 φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν 25
 ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάν- 310
 των ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάν-
 των οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας,
 εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό
 γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι 5
 (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους
 κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια
 Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ
 Μελάντου μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ'
 ἐμοῦ); ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, 10
 δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην.
 311 δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμο-
 κότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν
 οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπειψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος

the very midst of its perils and alarms.' Literally, 'walking in them.'

ἥνικ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαι] 'when it would not have been wonderful if the people had felt some ill-will against me.'

περὶ σωτηρίας] In illustration of this Dissen quotes Lycur. c. Leocr. § 44: Καίτοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἦτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχετο ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, ὅτε ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ νέφ' τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεμειλόντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς, οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαρακώσεως, οὐδὲς δ' ἦν ἄργος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

αἰρούμενος σιτώνην] Attica, a rocky mountainous country, did not grow corn enough for its population (§ 109, p. 446). The deficiency was made up by importations, and the officer employed by the state to purchase the necessary supplies for resale to the citizens was called *σιτώνης*. Manifestly his duties were very important, and it would seem that Demosthenes was subjected to an accusation for his discharge of them. *Σιτώνης* δὲ

γενόμενος, καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς ἀφείθη. X Orat. p. 845. Böckh, Pol. Econ. i. 1. 15.

τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους] Immediately after the battle of Chaeroneia. See *Introd.* p. 394.

Σωσικλέους] Sosicles and Melantus are both unknown persons. Philocrates was not the same person as the orator of that name, who proposed the peace embassy to Philip, and, when subsequently condemned to death, withdrew into exile. The latter was known as Ἀγνοῦσιος, the former as Ἐλευσίνιος, from their respective townships. Diondas is mentioned above, § 281.

ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις] 'on all these occasions I say.' *Τοίνυν* recovers and continues the sense.

δικαίως· τοῦτο γάρ] sc. ἐμὲ δικαίως σωθῆναι. 'For this is both true, and to the honour of the judges who decided according to their oaths.'

οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς] 'well then in the matters for which informations were laid against me.' On *εἰσαγγελία*, see § 16, p. 408.

- τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε 15
 τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον,
 ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπέδεικνύμην ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς
 εὐθύνas ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα
 312 πεπράχθαι μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόν-
 των τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμέ- 20
 νοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα
 τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστὰς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν ;
 313 Ναὶ, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ μηδεμίαν
 γραφὴν φυγεῖν. καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον 25
 ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν, 311
 ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως ; καίτοι πρὸς
 γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν
 εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ'
 ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι 5
 τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.
 314 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς
 τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν
 ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προσφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι ἦν γὰρ ὁ 10
 βέλτιστα-πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ
 οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ

τὰς γραφὰς] scil. τῶν παρανόμων.
 ἐπεσημαίνεσθε] 'put your seal to,' or
 'countersigned,' i. e. ratified.
 προσωμολογεῖτε] 'you further certi-
 fied.'

τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου] 'that was a glorious
 boast of Cephalus,' Aeschines c. Ctes.
 § 195, says of him: ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις
 ἐφιλοτιμείτο, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων
 γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα, οὐδεμίαν πώποτε
 γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλὸς οἶμαι
 σεμνυνόμενος.

καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε] Porson, *Advers.*
 p. 33, observes, that after νῆ Δία, μὰ Δία,
 and similar phrases, γε is not used "nisi
 alio verbo interposito" as here, εὐδαιμόν.
 But Dissen states (though I cannot verify
 his reference) that Dindorf (*Praef. ad*
Demos. p. v) produces examples from
 Demosthenes and Xenophon of such com-

binations as νῆ Δία γε.

ἐν ἐγκλήματι] 'be any the more justly
 open to reproach.'

οὐδεμίαν γὰρ] 'for he never laid or
 prosecuted any indictment against me.'

μηδὲν εἶναι] As Schäfer observes, μηδὲν
 is used, not οὐδέν, to express the admission
 of Aeschines.

τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην] 'his wrongheaded-
 ness and his spitefulness.'

ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα] 'for when a man
 who believes that he is in the greatest
 prosperity, and fancies that he has the
 best fortune, still does not know whether
 it will continue such,' &c.

τῆς ἐσπέρας] "Quamquam quis est
 tam stultus, quamvis sit adolescens, cui sit
 exploratum se ad vesperum esse victu-
 rum?" Cicero de Senec. c. 19.

- 315 ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἐτέρῳ ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος
 πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρήται
 τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε 15
 ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς
 316 τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως
 τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν
 Δωδωναῖον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον μαντευόμενον,
 τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν 20
 καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν
 317 κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπεύραται ; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέ-
 σθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰθηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ
 πρῶοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, τούτων αὐτῶν
 ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι 25
 τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὥς ἡβουλόμεθ' 312
 ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλ-
 λον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεκληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν
 δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς
 318 ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτως 5
 περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὥς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ,
 νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς
 κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ
 φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἐνι τοῦτο
 γενέσθαι ;

10

ὅσῳ . . . ἀνθρωπινώτερον] 'with how much more truth and humanity.' *Μακρίσκη*, τὴν . . . ἀγαθὴν] Similarly (Phil. i. § 15): εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει ἢ περ ἂν βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα.

τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον] "Omittant S. Q.: in margine ponit k." Bekker. Dindorf omits the words, but καὶ before τὸν Δία seems to require them.

ἡ νῦν ἐπέχει] 'which now prevails.' An allusion to the conquests of Alexander. The word ἐπέχει is used very differently by Herod. i. 80 thus: τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπέχεε ἐλλάμψεσθαι, where, as Mr. Blakesley observes, the words τὸν νῦν are to be understood.

τὸ τῶν οἰθηθέντων] 'that we should be in a better position even than those very Greeks who fancied that if they abandoned us they would continue in pros-

perity, this I deem a proof' &c.

τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι] 'but in that we have met with disasters, and all things have not turned out to us as we wished, I think the city has only participated in our proper share of the fate of other men.' For τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, 'the portion which fell to our lot,' comp. Herod. iv. 115: ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. With τίθημι, 'I reckon,' by putting down a counter, comp. προστίθημι, § 290.

ἐν τοῖς . . . νομίζω] 'it is in personal matters that I think it right to examine it.'

ἐγὼ μὲν . . . ἀξιῶ] 'of this opinion then am I.'

κυριωτέραν] 'paramount over.'

τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην] 'the small and mean.' Observe the continuity of idea implied by the single article with two predicates.

- 319 Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, Αἰσχί-
νη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ σκόπει, καὶ εὖρης τὴν
ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκό-
πει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καὶ μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν
ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν 15
προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις
τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ
χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λό-
γους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν
δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρῆσομαι. 20
- 320 Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι
φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκουσα διδασκαλεία, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή
τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχροὺς ποιήσονται δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ
παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν,
εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας 25
ἀπολείπεσθαι; ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον
εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοι-
αῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ 313
ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν· πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ
μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην,
322 ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ,
καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερόν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, 5
φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ'

ψυχρότητα] 'puerility,' or 'absurdity.'
So ψυχρὰ λέγειν, 'absurda loqui,' Xen.
Symp. vi. 7, quoted by Schäfer. Mr. K.
translates it, 'bad taste.'

οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων] 'which I will han-
dle in the most temperate way I can, so
far as the case will allow.' 'Nach Maas-
gabe des vorhandenen Stoffes.'

χορηγεῖν] 'to act as choragus,' which
no one could do without great expense.
He was the representative of his tribe in
providing every thing necessary for the
mise en scène, maintenance, instruction,
and dresses of the different choruses en-
gaged in the dramatic representations at
the great Dionysian festivals, so that the
credit of his tribe, as well as his own, was
at stake in the performance of his duties.
Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Choragus.

τριηραρχεῖν] 'to act as trierarch.'
After the law of Demosthenes on the

subject (B.C. 340—330), the trierarchy
was the most expensive of the liturgies at
Athens. See p. 334.

εἰσφέρειν] With regard to the Εἰσ-
φορά, it was an extraordinary tax on pro-
perty frequently raised after B.C. 428, by
a Resolution of the people, when the ordi-
nary revenues of the state were insufficient
for a crisis. To this, orphans and wards
and minors were liable as well as adults,
in respect of and in proportion to their
property. Dict. of Antiq. s. v.

μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας] 'no act of self-
sacrifice.'

οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ] 'so that not even
you my enemies attempt to say that the
politics which I adopted were not ho-
nourable at any rate.'

συμβεβίωκα . . . ἕτερόν εἰπεῖν] The
hexameter may be observed.

σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ] 'but do you the

ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύνων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποία τιμὴ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογ- 10
 323 γίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνγνωσκες καὶ τἄλλα συν-
 εσκευαροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ 15
 τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν “ ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε

man of dignity and despiser of other men' &c.

πρὸς ταύτην] 'in comparison of this of mine.'

τὸ μέλαν τρίβων] 'rubbing,' i. e. preparing the ink, by rubbing the ingredients.

τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι . . . συνεσκευαροῦ] 'you used to read aloud the mystic books to your mother when performing her rites of initiation, and to help her in her other impostures.' Demosthenes seems to be speaking of the Sabazia or nocturnal worship of the god Sabazius, otherwise Sabadius, a Phrygian divinity, the son of Rheia, or Cybele, who in later times was identified with a Dionysus Sabazius (Aristoph. Aves, 875). From what is said in the text, the observances do not appear to have been of a reputable character, or respectably attended, and it was clearly considered as a reproach to Aeschines and his mother that she had acted as high priestess, and he as her assistant in them. Diod. iv. 4.

νεβρίζων] Harpocration (s. v.) says: οἱ μὲν ὥς τοῦ τελοῦντος νεβρίδα ἐνημμένου ἢ καὶ τοὺς τελουμένους διαζωννύντος νεβρίσιν. As for κρατηρίζων, it is variously explained. In Bekker, Anecd. i. 274, and Photius, we find: κρατηρίζων ἦτοι τὸν οἶνον ἐν κρατῆρι κιρνῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ κρατήρων ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις σπένδων. Translate then, 'wrapping in fawn skins, and drenching with wine.'

ἀπομάττων] 'covering them with clay and bran, and then rubbing all off,' i. e. 'scouring them with clay and bran, and making them rise after the purification.' "Scilicet, sedebant humi qui se expiandos praebant sicut poenitentes et lugentes." Dissen. This I think a much simpler explanation than that in Harpocration

(s. v.), which I cannot altogether understand. But if his text is correct, it would appear that there was a story of Dionysus having been maltreated by the Titans with their faces whitened or blackened, and accordingly some supposed that the bran and clay were used for a mimic representation of the feat.

ἔφυγον κακόν] 'I've 'scaped the bad and found a better,' was a proverbial expression, which, according to Suidas (s. v.), was adopted at the marriage ceremony in Athens, and put into the mouth of any persons who had escaped from any calamity, or experienced any change for the better. Here it expresses the anticipation which the young novice entertained, really or professedly, from his initiation into these mysteries. In some of the mystical ceremonies at Athens, probably the Eleusinian, the same phrase was used to denote the change from a savage to a civilized life, as effected through the interposition of the gods Demeter and Dionysus. The practice is thus stated by Apostolius ix. 37 (Taylor): ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον. ἐπὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν κρείττονα οἰωνιζομένων, ὅτε τὴν ἀγρίαν καὶ παλαιὰν διαίταν ἔφυγον, εὖρον δὲ τὴν ἡμερὴν τροφήν, τοῦτο ἔλεγον. It was also used in the solemnization of marriages at Athens, to express the happiness of the change from single to married life. For as Suidas (s. v.) tells us: ἔθος ἦν Ἀθηναῖσιν ἀμφιβαλῆ (with both parents alive) παῖδα ἐν γάμοις στέφεισθαι ἀκάνθας μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν φέροντα καὶ λίκνον πλήρες ἄρτων καὶ λέγειν τὸ προκείμενον, αἰνισσόμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττονι μεταβολῇ. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δρυῶν καὶ ἀκανθῶν στέμμα, κακὸν ἔλεγον. Again the phrase is by some

τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύξειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους 20 ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγμένων καὶ κιστο-

referred to the hopes of a future and happier existence, disclosed in the mysteries of Demeter, as hinted at by Isocrates (Panegy. § 28): Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη, τῆς Κόρης ἀρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης, . . . καὶ δούσης δωρεὰς διττὰς, τοὺς τε καρποὺς, οἱ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἵτιοι γεγένησιν, καὶ τὴν τελετὴν, ἥς οἱ μετέχοντες περὶ τε τῆς βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπατος αἰῶνος ἡδίστους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. Cicero (de Leg. ii. 14) alludes to the same subject thus: "Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tuae peperisse atque in vita hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculi ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus: Initiaque, ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus: neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi." More to the same purpose may be found in Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses.

τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ] 'decorated with fennel and white poplar.' Harpocration (s. v.) describes this poplar as the growth of the infernal regions thus: οἱ τὰ Βακχικὰ τελοῦμενοι τῇ λεύκῃ στέφονται, διὰ τὸ χθόνιον εἶναι τὸ φυτὸν, χθόνιον δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον· τὴν δὲ λεύκην πεφυκέναι φασὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἀχέροντι, ὅθεν καὶ ἀχερωῖδα καλεῖσθαι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ. Iliad xiii. 389. This representation of Dionysus as a Θεὸς χθόνιος, is one of the many forms of the diversified traditions about him, and may, as has been suggested (Dict. of Biog.), have arisen from the amalgamation of Phrygian and Lydian rites with those of ancient Hellas.

ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων] 'squeezing the big-cheeked snakes.' Like, if not the same as, the 'puff-adder'; they were so called from their large puffy cheeks, and were considered to be harmless. Aristophanes (Plutus 690) says, κᾶτα σπιρίξας ἐγὼ ὁδᾶξ ἐλαβόμην, ὡς πάρεας ὦν ὕφης. Lucan ix. 721, thus describes this serpent: "Et

contentus iter cauda sulcare Pareas."

εὐοῖ σαβοῖ] Compare the 'Evoe, parce Liber,' of Horace. Σαβοῖ may be considered as the Phrygian vocative of Sabos, or Sabazius (Cic. de Leg. ii. 15), one of the many surnames of Dionysus: Εὐοῖ σαβοῖ is described by a Scholiast as Βακχικόν τι ἐπίφθημα κατὰ τὴν Φρυγῶν διάλεκτον.

ἐπορχούμενος ὑῆς ἄττης] 'dancing to the song, Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes.' Disson supposes that Ὑῆς was a Phrygian surname of Attes or Atys, first the favourite, and then the priest of Cybele, and that the mystical song about him contained a refrain Ὑῆς Ἀττης, Ἀττης Ὑῆς, like 'Hymen, o Hymenae,' so that the song itself to which Aeschines danced was described by these words. Some however of the Greek grammarians, as Suidas, represent Ὑῆς and Ἀττης as surnames of Dionysus, and explain them fancifully enough. Thus in Bek. Anecd. i. 207, we find, under Ἀττης Ὑῆς· Ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑῆν μὲν εἶναι τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει αὐτοῦ ὑετοῦ· ὅσε γὰρ ἀμβροσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ Ζεύς. Ἀττης δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Διόνυσος ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐκ Τιτάνων εἰς αὐτὸν ἄττης καὶ φθορᾶς. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιθετα Διονύσου. So also in the Etym. Magn.: Ἀττης· ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπιθετικῶς ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τῶν Τιτάνων εἰς αὐτὸν ἄττης καὶ φθορᾶς. We may conclude that nothing is really known on the subject.

ἔξαρχος] 'leader of the choir,' or 'praecentor.'

προηγμένων] 'leader in the dance.'

κιστοφόρος] The κίστη or cista was a small chest or box carried in the processions of Dionysus and Demeter, containing the sacred symbols and implements connected with their worship. A coin called κιστοφόρος from the κίστη upon it, circulated in Asia Minor about the time of its conquest by the Romans, B.C. 190, and later in the province Asia. Livy xxxix. 7. Cicero ad Attic. ii. 6, and pro Domo, c. 20. The MSS. however generally read κιστοφόρος, the ivy being sacred to Dionysus.

φόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ ποιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσ- 25
 αγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἐνθρυπτα καὶ 314
 στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἔφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς
 325 αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς
 τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπως δῆποτε, ἔω γὰρ τοῦτό γε,
 ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν ἐνεγράφησ, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν.5
 ἔργων, γραμματεῦν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ'
 ἀπὸ ἀλλαγῆς ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς
 αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προ-

λικνοφόρος] The λίκνος or 'mystica vannus Iacchi,' was properly a basket into which the corn and chaff were thrown after thrashing, and then flung against the wind. (Virgil, *Geor.* iii. 134.) Hence it was carried in the processions of Dionysus, whose rites had a continual reference to the occupations of rural life, and sometimes as a receptacle for the instruments of sacrifice and offerings, the bearers being called λικνοφόροι. But, according to Servius (*Georg.* i. 166), the 'mystica vannus' had a symbolic meaning, and was carried in the Dionysiac processions, "Quod Liberi patris sacra ad purgationem animae pertinebant, et sic homines ejus mysteriis purgabantur, sicut vannis frumenta purgantur." If so, the idea which the Latin fathers of the Christian church first expressed by the word 'tribulatio' was not so original as has been thought. See Trench's *Study of Words*, p. 8, and his quotation of George Wither. On the other hand it has been remarked that "winnowing machines were once opposed by some of the more rigid sects of Dissenters in Scotland on the ground that 'winds were raised by God alone, and it was irreligious in man to attempt to raise wind by efforts of his own.'" Westminster Review, xxix. p. 137.

ἐνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς] 'sweet-meats and twists.' On ἐνθρυπτα Dissen observes: "Cum θρύπτειν coqui dicerentur panem, quem in vinum aut jus conciderent, sunt ἐνθρυπτα passim haec intrita e crustulis; sed nunc de placenta agitur, puta similis generis. Fuit opus pistorum vino admixto coctum." Ulpian says: ἐνθρυπτα ψαμοὶ ἦσαν οἶνω βεβεγμένοι, οὓς ἐπόλουν εἰς σκάφην ἄρτους διαθρύψαντες καὶ φακὴν ἐπισκεδάσαντες. According to this, they were a sort of 'tipsy-cakes.'

νεήλατα] Harpoc. (s. v.) observes: κατ' ἑλλειψιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ νεήλατα ἔλφιστα,

τὰ νεωστὶ ἀληθευμένα, ἃ δὴ μέλιτι ἀναδεύοντες, ἀσταφίδας τε καὶ χλωροὺς ἐρεβίνθους ἐπεμβαλόντες, τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ τελοῦσιν ἐνεμον, ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτὰ, οἱ μὲν ἄμβροσιαν, οἱ δὲ μακαρίαν. These cakes then were made of barley-meal fresh ground, and given to those who celebrated the rites of Dionysus. The word ἐλατήρ however was a general name for pastry flattened by the hand or a rolling-pin, so that νεήλατα may simply mean fresh cakes. Comp. Arist. *Equit.* 1181:

Ἡ Γοργολόφα σ' ἐκέλευε τούτου φαγεῖν
 Ἐλατήρος, ἵνα τὰς ναῦς ἐλαύνωμεν καλῶς.

Mr. Drake translates the passage from ἔξαρχος τοῦ νεήλατα thus: 'Leader of the Chorus, master of the ceremonies, casket-bearer, fan-bearer, with these and such like names you were greeted by all the crones in the place; and for pay, you received sweet-meats, and twists, and cakes of fresh flour.'

ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας] Admission into a 'demos,' or 'township,' i. e. enrolment amongst its members or δημόται, was necessary before any individual could enter upon his rights as an Athenian citizen.

ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν] 'when however you did get enrolled.' This use of οὖν after a parenthesis to recall the attention is very frequent, and the repetition of the remark is clearly intended to impress upon the hearers the difficulty which Aeschines experienced in his attempts to get on the 'Burgess List,' owing to his father and mother not being of pure Athenian blood. γραμματεῦν] In the F. L. § 222, Aeschines is described as ὑπογραμματεῦν here. τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις, = 'petty-magistrates.'

οὐδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων] 'you did not dishonour any of your antecedents.'

- 326 ὑπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν
τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, 10
Σιμύλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς
καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὁπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν
χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς
ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ
ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ 15
327 τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων
κινδύνων ὥς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖς ὦν τὴν
πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου
βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν,
ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυ- 20
χούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔξης δεδιὼς καὶ
τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῇσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῇ
328 συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς
ὦν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀπο-
θανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων 25

τοῖς βαρυστόνοις] 'to those actors nicknamed the Lugubrious.' "Sic dicit, opinor, quod in partibus suis agendis inopere et contra naturam ὑπερπαθόντες spectatoribus risum moverent." Schäfer.

σῦκα καὶ βότρυς] The rural Dionysia in which Aeschines acted were celebrated about vintage time, and hence it has been supposed that Demosthenes here charges his rival with robbing orchards, as a strolling player, and getting in that way more than by his acting. Συλλέγων however does not mean 'stealing,' but 'picking up,' and points to a more appropriate explanation. The meaning clearly is, that Aeschines and his company acted so ill, that they were pelted on the stage, with figs, grapes, and olives, which they were glad to pick up and put into store till they had got as many as a fruiterer would buy from other people's gardens to stock his shop with. The result was, says Demosthenes, that they got more in this way than from the plays (or dramatic contests, ἀγῶνες) in which they acted at the risk of their lives.

ἀπὸ τούτων] After these words some MSS. insert τραύματα, which I agree with Dindorf in rejecting, as it is not wanted, and is not found in the Codex S. It is very likely a gloss, and not a good one.

ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος] 'an implacable

and unceasing war,' where there is no mention of a treaty, and no suspension of hostilities, on the appearance of a herald with a flag of truce.

ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ] This was of course meant to blunt the edge of the charge of cowardice made against Demosthenes for his conduct at Chaeroneia, 'relicta non bene parmula.' Probably it would raise a laugh, and so far answer its purpose. Otherwise it is not a very brilliant specimen of sarcasm, though it accords well enough with the personalities and gross abuse of the context.

πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου] 'I will proceed to the actual charges against your character.'

ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῇ] 'for the crimes of which your conscience accused you, though all have seen how bold you were during the misfortunes of the rest.' C. R. K. ὦψαι is a rare form for ὥφθης.

χιλίων πολιτῶν] Referring to Chaeroneia, Diodorus (xvi. 80) observes: τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἤλωσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων.

ἐθάρρησε] It is not impossible that Demosthenes intended this as an indirect but intelligible reply to Aeschines' remarks on his appearance in public shortly after the loss of his daughter (ἐβδόμην

δίκαιός ἐστιν ; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ
 παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅς' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχροῖς 315
 τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδίη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερώς λέγειν, ἀλλ'
 ὅσα μὴδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

- 329 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἁλλήλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι βεβιωμένα,
 πρῶως καὶ μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ε-
 ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἐλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμ-
 ματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων· ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐχόρευες,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησιάζον.
 ἐτριταγωνίστηκες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριτ-
 330 τον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς 10
 πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀδικεῖν ἀνω-
 μολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κιν-
 δυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι
 μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γ', οὐχ 15
 ὁρᾷς ; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης κατηγόρεῖς.
- 331 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν λελει-
 τούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἃς παρὰνάνγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι
 τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἡμέραν τετελευτηκυίας), to show his satisfaction at the news of Philip's death. Aesch. c. Ctes. § 77. Comp. Cicero, Tusc. iii. 26.

οὐ γὰρ ὅς' ἔν] 'I do not think it right to let slip from my mouth every thing disgraceful and infamous which I can prove to apply to him.'

ἐδίδασκες] 'you taught reading, and I went to school; you performed initiations, I received them; you danced in the Chorus, I furnished it; you were assembly-clerk, I was a speaker; you acted third parts, I was a spectator.'

ἐξέπιπτες] 'you were hissed off the stage and I hissed you. For the enemy has all your policy been—mine, for my country.' It may be heterodox to say so, but all this antithesis seems to me studied and unnatural, and not at all consistent with the honest indignation which Demosthenes affects. But no doubt it would be very effective as oratory. With ἐξέπιπτες compare F. L. § 389. Mr. Kennedy quotes from Milton's Apology for Smectymnus (i. 221, Symmons' edit.), an

imitation of this passage. Speaking (says Mr. K.) of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he proceeds thus: "There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I disliked; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed."

σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ] 'whereas it is your fortune to appear a calumniator, and you are on your trial as to whether you are to go on doing this any longer, or to be stopped at once.'

ἀγαθῇ γ'] 'good indeed—don't you see?—is the fortune in which having passed your life,' &c. Comp. § 291, p. 520.

παρ' ἃς] 'and as a contrast to them, pray do you too read the speeches which you used to murder.' 'As a parallel to which pr'ythee (μοι) read the speeches which you used to murder.' Mr. Drake,

ἤκω λιπὼν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας

20

καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ, ἔπειτα οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριτ-
γωνιστήν.

25

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

MARTYRIAI.

- 332 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς
ιδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ
τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ 316
παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὐτ' εἴ
τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὐτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας
συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως
333 ὑπέιληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εἶ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνήσθαι 5
πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ
δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον
ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ιδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομινῆσκειν καὶ
λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω
τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπεί- 10
λημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.
- 334 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ιδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ
τούτου τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίπ-

ἤκω λιπὼν] This (with λιπὼν for νεκρῶν) is the first line of the opening speech of the shade of Polydorus in the Hecuba of Euripides, a character which it would seem that Aeschines had acted.

κακαγγελεῖν] The author of this line is not known.

κακὸν κακῶς] 'like a wretch as you are, may the gods, if so it might be, and if not all these Athenians, bring you to ruin, vile as you are as a citizen, and vile as a third-rate actor.'

κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος] 'accessible and kind.'

συνεξέδωκα] 'nor if I have helped to portion the daughters of any persons in marriage.'

εἰ δέ] 'if the one is to act as a worthy

and the other as not a mean-spirited man.'

τὸ δὲ . . . ὑπομινῆσκειν] Compare Terence, Andria i. 1. 16: "Isthaec commemoratio quasi exprobratio est immemoris benefici." So Cicero de Amicit. c. 20: "Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet in quem collata sunt non commemorare qui contulit."

οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι] 'nor shall any thing induce me to do so, but whatever the opinion that has been formed about me in these matters, I am quite satisfied.'

ὅστις ἀθῶος] 'who has come off unscathed from the power of Philip.'

που πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, 15
 ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι
 τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάν-
 335 των αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων.
 ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ
 πεπόνθασιν, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ 20
 ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὥς
 ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων
 336 χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἷαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ
 τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον
 αἰτιά, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' 25
 ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασιν, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ 317
 μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν περὶ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ
 337 αἰτιάσθαι. εἰ δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις
 αἰεὶ δὲ ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλιν προϋτίθει σκοπεῖν, 5
 πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί
 (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου
 καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν
 ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς 10
 τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὢν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίῳ ;
 παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
 338 διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδικεῖ τις
 ἐκῶν ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις

πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ] Observe the connecting καί.

πόσῳ δικαιότερον] 'how much more right and true is it to think the cause of all this was, as it would seem, the common fortune of all, and a certain overpowering and lamentable current of events.' Some translate φορὰν πραγμάτων, a 'crop of troubles,' as φορὰν προδοτῶν, a 'crop of traitors,' § 74.

τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ] clearly means 'me whose political career was at home amongst my own citizens.'

αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν] The MSS. S. k. s. omit ὢν, which I agree with Bekker and others in retaining.

ἐν κοινῷ] 'if the state publicly pro-

pounded for discussion the course fit to be pursued.' Lord B.

οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ'] 'for assuredly it was not from affection that you resigned to me the expectations and admiration and honours.' With ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων, 'to retire from the field in favour of me,' compare εἰκεν τιπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, 'to make way for any one.' Also Aesch. c. Ctes. § 165: παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος.

πῶς οὐκ . . . δεινὰ ποιεῖς] 'how can you deny that you act unjustly and shamefully?' Or more briefly, 'do you not?'

διωρισμένα . . . τοιαῦτα] 'I see established amongst all men some such distinctions and principles as these.'

- ἄκων· συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις 15
οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν
δούς οὐ κατάρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδο-
·ρεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται
339 ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ἤθεσι 20
διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τούτου ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας
ἀνθρώπους ὁμότητι καὶ συκοφαντία, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς
ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
- 340 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ μετ'
εὐνοίας· πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ 25
τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπα- 318
τήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σόφιστήν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ'
ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ
περὶ ἄλλου καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς
ἀκούοντας ὀκνεομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα 5
λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γινώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ
341 πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. καὶ-
κεῖνο δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι
ἐγωγ' ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ
πλείστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς 10
ἐκαστον ἐχρητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. εἰ δ'

οὐτ' . . . ἐξαμαρτάνων] 'has any one without either criminality or error, devoting himself to what seemed for the general good, failed in common with all?' There is a similar distinction between ἀτυχήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, and ἀδικήματα in Aristotle (Rhetor. i. c. 13): ἐστι δ' ἀτυχήματα μὲν ὅσα παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ μοχθηρίας, ἀμαρτήματα δὲ ὅσα μὴ παράλογα καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ πονηρίας, ἀδικήματα δὲ ὅσα μήτε παράλογα ἀπὸ πονηρίας τ' ἐστίν. With the sentiments in the text compare also Cicero, pro Milo. c. 7: "perinde quasi exitus rerum, non hominum consilia legibus vindicantur."

φανήσεται . . . τοίνυν] 'and not only will these principles be found in the enactments of the law, but even nature herself has thus laid them down in her unwritten laws, and in the moral constitutions of men.' Comp. Sophocles, Antig. v. 452:

οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσούτον φόβον τὰ σὰ

κηρύγμαθ', ὅστ' ἐγραπτα κάσφαλῃ θεῶν νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν.

A good definition of ἀγράφοι νόμοι is given in Xenophon, Memorab. iv. 4. 19: ἀγράφοις δὲ τινες οἰσθα, ἔφη, ὧ ἱππία, νόμοις; τοὺς γ' ἐν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώρα κατὰ ταῦτα νομιζομένους. ('Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.')

ὡς ἐὰν πρότερος] 'as though when a man is the first to say about another what applies to himself, this is true as a matter of course.' The clause καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα is connected with ὡς, but independent of the rest of the sentence, and technically called an 'accusativus pendens.'

ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα] 'that as to my cleverness—(but let this pass)—be it so.'

οὕτως ὁ λέγων] 'accordingly has the speaker the credit of wisdom (or the contrary).' Mr. K. thus: 'according to your reception and favour it is that the wisdom of a speaker is esteemed.' Comp. F. L.

- οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν
 εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
 αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τούναν-
 τιον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις 15
 342 ἐλύπησέ τι τούτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ
 γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ᾧ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρήται.
 οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἐχθραν οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν
 τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν
 κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, 20
 οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ
 ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ
 343 μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν
 πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι
 κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ 25
 τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις ταῦτα γὰρ γενναῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολί-
 344 του. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίῳ, προσθήσω 319
 δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μὴθ'
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μὴθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου
 κατηγορίαν ἤκειν συνσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσούτους λό-
 γους ἀνηλώκεναι ἰδίας ἐχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας 5
 ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς
 ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἔασαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἤκειν καὶ πᾶσαν
 345 ἔχει κακίαν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων
 ἐπίδειξιν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦ-

§ 392: αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπι-
 εικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν
 τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκούοντων ἀντιστῇ,
 διακόπτεται.

ἐξεταζομένην] 'exhibited' or 'exerted
 in.' Comp. c. Timocr. § 7: ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ
 γραφαῖς δημοσίαις ἐξετάζομαι.

ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις] 'but also against any
 one who may have vexed him at all, or in
 any way offended him.' *

τὸν καλὸν ἀγαθόν] 'the man of honour
 and the patriot.'

τοὺς... εἰσεληλυθότας] 'those who have
 entered the court as judges on behalf of
 the public interests.' Mr. K.: 'impanel-
 led in the public service.' Lord B.: 'who
 are called to discharge a public duty.'

αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν] 'to secure himself the
 indulgence of,' or simply 'to gratify.'

ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ] Scil. τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ ὁ
 ἀγών. 'When the people have to deal.'

μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος] Translate: 'But
 that without ever having thought right to
 get satisfaction from me, on account of
 any public, nay I will add, or even on ac-
 count of any private wrong either on the
 state's behalf or his own, he should now
 come forward having got up an accusation
 against my being crowned and honoured.'
 πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν] 'involves everything
 that is bad.' Lord B. here observes:
 "This once more pressed, because after
 the brilliant declamation that precedes, it
 was sure to be doubly effective."

φωνασκίας] The two orators were not
 bad hands at personalities, and here De-
 mosthenes retorts on Aeschines for one
 against himself. For it is well known

τον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν 10
 τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη,
 τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόπος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα προαι-
 ρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν
 346 οὗσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος
 ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προοράται τινα 15
 κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν
 ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ συμφέρονθ'
 εἰλόμην τουτοισι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποιήμαι.
 317 ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην 20
 πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις
 τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνού-
 μενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὥς
 348 πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ
 μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; 25
 οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μείζον ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα
 κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ 320
 349 τοῖνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἰτα σὺ φθέγγει καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ
 τουτωνὶ πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν
 αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας
 ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ μεμνησθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν 5

that Demosthenes had a poor shrill voice, and Aeschines a fine one. So in F. L. § 167, Aeschines speaks of his rival straining that shrill sharp voice of his, ἐντεινόμενος ταύτην τὴν ὀξείαν καὶ ἀνόσιον φωνήν. Again there is a similar remark, c. Ctes. § 210: περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ, ποῦ καταφύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κτλ. Here then Demosthenes retorts that Aeschines had determined upon this contest, from a wish to make a display of oratory and vocal practice, and not to get satisfaction for a wrong.

ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ] 'in loyalty.'

οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ] sc. ἀγκύρας. 'Does not ride upon the same anchor,' or as we say, 'sail in the same boat.' The metaphor is so common and simple that we may dispense with illustrations and parallel passages.

οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας] 'neither has he consequently the same expectation

of security.'

ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ] 'but do you see? I have (the same hopes): for always have I chosen the same objects as my countrymen, and no exclusive or private interests have I made for myself.' But this can only apply to the interval of six years between the peace of B.C. 346 and the battle of Chaeroneia.*

μετὰ τὴν μάχην] Of Chaeroneia.

ἐπορεύου] 'wished to go.' See Grote xi. 699. Plutarch, Phocion, c. 10.

ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν] 'refusing this office.'

καταρᾶται] Some MSS. have καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, the addition being merely an explanation. At the opening of each assembly it was customary for the crier or herald to imprecate curses on the enemies of the state. Dict. Ant. s. v. Ἐκκλησία.

οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις] 'which you used to make in your harangues to the people.'

τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ
καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην
350 ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ. ὥς δ'
ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐ-
θέως ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φίλιαν, καὶ ξενίαν εἶναι 10
σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ
ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ
τῷ Γλαυκοθέᾳ τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώρι-
351 μος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ
τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω 15
φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μη-
νυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσι γεγωνὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνει-
δίξεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

352 Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ
προεῖλετο καὶ κατάρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἡμνημόνησεν. 20
σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς
τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σέ ἐχειροτόνησε
προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι

καταρώμενος] 'imprecating curses on yourself and protesting.'

ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος] 'substituting these words for your position as a hireling.'

τῆς τυμπανιστρίας] The tambourine player in the rites of the Sabazian Dionysus. The drum was especially used by the θιάσοι or bands of women, in the ceremonies of Dionysus and Cybele as practised in Phrygia. Mr. Kennedy quotes Eurip. Bac. 58:

αἶρεσθε τὰ πειχρά· ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν
τύμπανα, ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὐρή-
ματα.

μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις] "Here is the same leading topic once more introduced; but introduced after new topics and fresh illustrations. The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same points are a distinguishing feature of Demosthenes, and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox's great eloquence. The ancient, however, was incomparably more felicitous in this than the modern, for in the latter it often arose from carelessness, from ill-arranged discourse, from want of giving due attention, and from having once or twice attempted the topic and forgotten it, or perhaps from having

failed to produce the desired effect. Now in Demosthenes this is never the case: the early allusions to the subject of the repetition are always perfect in themselves, and would sufficiently have enforced the topic, had they stood alone. But new matter afterwards handled gave the topic new force and fresh illustration, by presenting the point in a new light." Lord Brougham.

Πολλὰ . . . μεγάλα] 'Many and honourable and great are the enterprises which the state has resolved upon and succeeded in.'

σημεῖον δέ] That is, of the grateful remembrance of the state. After this phrase and τεκμήριον δέ, the particle γάρ introduces the next sentence.

Δημάδην] This Demades was an orator of no principle, described by Plutarch (Phocion, 1) as the ναυάγιον τῆς πόλεως. He was of humble origin, having been a 'remex,' as stated by Quintilian ii. 17. 12. But he was a person of consummate ability in extempore speaking, so much so that Quintilian (xii. 8. 10) names him with Pericles, while others say that he was a match for Demosthenes himself. (Plut. Demos. 8, 10.) He was a notorious partizan of Macedon. Cicero (Ora-

πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν
οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους 25
ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὃ Ζεὺ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορούντων 321
ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον
353 ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ
φράσω σοι κἀγώ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἤδεσαν οὔτοι, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν
εὖνοϊαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ 5
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων
ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὡμο-
λογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρό-
* νουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τότ'
354 ἡγήσαντο. αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι· εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμ- 10
βάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκεί-
νων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον
γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ'
ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

tor 26, Brutus 9) and Quintilian state that he left no written orations behind him. Antipater compared him in his old age to a victim after sacrifice, 'all tongue and belly': γλῶσσα καὶ κοιλία μόνον ἀπολέλειπται. Plutarch, Phoc. i.

[Ἡγήμονα] This Hegemon was another Athenian orator, and a partizan of Philip, as Pythocles was also. Both of them were put to death with Phocion (Plutarch, vit. c. 35) B.C. 317, i. e. five years after the death of Alexander the Great. Pythocles had originally been on good terms with Demosthenes till he visited Philip. (F. L. § 249.) From the expression ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ τὰς γνάθους φυσῶν (F. L. § 361), it would seem that he was like Ajax μακρὰ βίβας, or a very stately personage. See Harpocration, ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ, and Grote xii. 479; also A. Schäfer, "Demosthenes und seine Zeit," ii. 295.

ἔτ' ἄμεινον] 'all the better,' i. e. 'all the more.' So καλῶς is used in the same sense for 'valde' or 'prorsus.' Oedip. Rex v. 1008: καλῶς εἰ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τί δρᾷς. εὐθενούντων] The derivation of this word is uncertain, and it is differently written εὐθενεῖν and εὐθηνεῖν. In Aeschylus, Eumen. vv. 863, 904 (Paley's edit.) the metre requires εὐθενεῖν, and the grammarian Thomas Magister says: εὐθενεῖν κάλλιον ἢ εὐθηνεῖν. However, in Aristotle, Rhetoric i. 5. 3, εὐθηνία

(κτημάτων καὶ σωμάτων) occurs, and several MSS. have εὐθηνούντων here. See Lobeck ad Phrynichum, pp. 465—467.

ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν] 'those accordingly who in the common misfortunes found a security for their designs.' Mr. Drake thus: 'those who took advantage of the public misfortunes to declare their real sentiments with impunity.' Jacobs: 'sie glaubten also, dass die welche ihre Gesinnungen bei dem gemeinsamen Unglück, als sie es ohne Gefahr thun konnten, ausgesprochen hatten, schon längst ihre Feinde gewesen, jetzt aber auch dafür erkannt wurden.'

εἶτα καὶ] Observe the position of καὶ with προσήκειν. 'In the next place they conceived it fitting also.'

ὁμωρόφιον] From ὅμο and ροφ, the root of β-ροφ-ος, a 'roof,' a word which exemplifies the law by which in the Greek language a vowel is sometimes prefixed to what is an initial consonant in other languages, e. g. in ο-νοματ = Lat. 'nomin,' Germ. 'Namen' (as in 'namenlos'), ο-δοντ = 'dent' = 'Zahn' = 'tooth,' and ἀ-φρός = 'froth.' Translate: 'should have sat under the same roof or at the same table.'

ἐκεῖ] 'and that a man should not in the court of Philip revel and sing the song of triumph.' Demosthenes seems to be speaking here of the Macedonian rejoicings after the defeat of the Phocians. Comp. F. L. § 141, where he says of

συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' 15
 ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύνειν ὑποκρινόμενον
 355 τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο δ'
 ἑώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἑμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὐ. διὰ
 ταῦτ' ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν
 δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελ- 20
 φοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως
 πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδαιπνον ὡς παρ'
 οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τὰλλ' εἴωθε γίνε-
 356 σθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἑμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ
 ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκείος ἢν ἑμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν 25
 οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρῳ ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι 322
 μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μήποτ' ὦφελον
 τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλείστον μετεῖχεν.
 357 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεῖλετο
 ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἢ εἰδῆς, Αἰσχύνῃ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ 5
 τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρὸν.
 Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

358

Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο

ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκεδάσαν.

10 •

Aeschines: εἰς τὰ πινυκία τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθουν, εἰστιάτο ἐλθὼν καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τεύχεσι καὶ χώρα καὶ ὕπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν εὐχετο ἐκείνος, καὶ συνεσσεφانوῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζε Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοκτησίας προῦπινεν.

καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος] 'Nor did the people indeed act thus, and the relatives of the slain in another way.' Or, 'nor while the people felt thus, did the fathers and brothers of the deceased, who were chosen by the people to perform their obsequies, feel differently.'

ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ] The idiomatic ὡς at first strikes one as unmeaning. But it certainly has an intensive, or, as Mr. Shilleto calls it, an 'epitatic' effect. Translate: 'when they had to make the funeral banquet with the nearest connexion of the slain, as is customary in other cases.' Dobree quotes in illustration as follows: "Supra p. 309 2. ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον. c. Meid. 585, 3, et c.

Phil. iii. 124, 9. ὡς ἐκ πλείστον. c. Aristocr. 654, 11. ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτου. Plato, Theaet. p. 170. ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτων. Thucyd. i. 63. ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον. ii. 34. ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ δμῖλου." πλείστον μετεῖχεν] Mr. K. compares Soph. Oedip. Rex v. 62:

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμῶν ἄλγος εἰς ἓν ἔρχεται μόνον καθ' αὐτὸν, κοῦδὲν ἄλλον, ἢ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ πόλιν τε κάμει καὶ σ' ὁμοῦ στένει.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ] The author of this epigram is unknown, and according to Pausanias i. 29. 4, the bones of the persons here celebrated were buried on the road leading to the Academy (κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κείμεναι τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν), i. e. in the outer Cerameicus.

ὕβριν ἀπεσκεδάσαν] This is rather a bad specimen of epitaphial untruthfulness. The Athenians at Chaeroneia certainly did not 'scatter abroad the violence of their adversaries,' whatever they might have done in some previous and less important engagements.

μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δέϊματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' Ἀἰδὴν κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβὴν,
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 δουλοσύνης στυγεράν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
 γαῖα δὲ πατρίς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων
 σῶματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις.
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορβοῦν,
 ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.

15

359 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὡς τὸ μηδὲν
 ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορβοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμ- 20
 βούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορβοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε
 δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἔμοι περὶ
 τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἂ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ
 τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

δέϊματος] Instead of this word Valckenaer proposes, and Dindorf, Dissen, and Westermann adopt, λήματος, an alteration which I was at first disposed to admit into the text. But on second thoughts I retain the old reading, for (1) it is found in all the MSS., and (2) I think that βραβὴν or βραβῆ, the umpire or arbiter, must have two antagonists to decide between. An approach to sense is then made by separating οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχὰς ἀλλ' from the rest of the sentence, and translating thus: 'In their contest—they did not save their lives, but—of courage and timidity they made Hades the impartial umpire,' i. e. 'death decided who were brave, and remained on the battlefield to die, and thus distinguished them from the cowardly who fled from it to save their lives.' Perhaps this construction may be made more intelligible by supposing that the author originally intended to write μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δέϊματος Ἀἰδὴν κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβὴν, and then varied it, by inserting οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχὰς, which required the addition of ἀλλὰ. Dissen compares a similar hyperbaton in Xen. Hell. vii. 3. 7: ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην — οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ — ἐτιμωρήσασθε. Some who read λήματος translate it, 'fighting a contest prompted by valour and an ardent spirit.' For βραβὴν in the MSS., as from βράβης, Dindorf and others read βραβῆ.

σῶματα] The bones, for the bodies were probably burnt on the field.

ἔπορευ] Sc. ὁ θεός. Comp. Herod. i. 91: τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ. Lord Brougham gives the following version of the epigram by the late Thomas Campbell:

"These were the brave, unknowing how to yield,
 Who, terrible in valour, kept the field
 Against the foe; and higher than life's breath
 Prizing their honour, met the doom of death,
 Our common doom—that Greece unyoked might stand,
 Nor shuddering crouch beneath a tyrant's hand.
 Such was the will of Jove; and now they rest
 Peaceful enfolded in their country's breast.
 The immortal gods alone are ever great,
 And erring mortals must submit to Fate."

Mr. K. gives a version of his own more true to the original, and in other respects not inferior to Campbell's. His last two lines are:

"Gods never lack success nor strive in vain,
 But man must suffer what the fates ordain."

ἂ σοὶ . . . τρέψειαν] 'what I pray the gods to turn upon the head of you and yours.'

- 360 . Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορη- 25
κότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφυσμένου, ἐν μάλιστα ἑθαύμασα πάν-
των, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ
ὡς ἂν εἵνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ'
ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπά- 323
ρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ὤτετο μὲν
ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ
ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιστοῦσιν οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς
361 ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα 5
φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ'
ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτα λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς,
καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων
μέρει τετάχθαι. ὁ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἰ φανερός, ἐμὲ
πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν 10
τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως
362 ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο
δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἡνᾶντιώσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ
συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ 15
ταῦτα φῆσαιμι (ἀδικοῖν γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ
οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν
ἔνεκα ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων
καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.
- 363 Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῶν σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα κατ- 20
ηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφυσμένου ; ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιπ-

λαρυγγίζων] Lit. : 'straining his wind-pipe.' Harpocration wrote: Λαρυγγίζειν τὸ πλατύνειν τὴν φωνήν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν φθέγγεσθαι; ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδεύειν περιεργότερον τῷ λάρυγγι χρῆσθαι, οὕτως ἐλέγετο. Translate : 'vociferating he evidently imagined he was accusing me.'

δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ] 'he was exhibiting a proof against himself.' Dis-sen compares c. Meid. § 232 : μὴ τοίνυν αὐτοὶ καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δείγμα τοιοῦτον ἐξελέγκητε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἄρα ὑμεῖς.

φάσκοντα] 'who loudly asserts.' 'Dicitantem.'

καὶ μὴ . . . τῶν κοινῶν] 'and not in the public principles which he adopts to range

himself on the side of our enemies.'

οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς] 'though it was not from my policy or principles.'

δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς] 'that it was through me you opposed the domination preparing against the Greeks,' or 'that my influence caused you to oppose.'

οὐκ ἂν . . . διέβαλλεν] 'he would not have damaged and defamed the greatest of your glories.'

πολλῶν σχετλιώτερα] 'when he has uttered other charges and lies far worse against me.'

φιλιππισμόν] "This cant word was like our Jacobinism, and also Gallican and Anti-Gallican." Lord B. Translate : 'For the man that accuses me of Philip-

πισμὸν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι;
καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεοὺς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀλη-
θείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι
λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν 25
εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἀναθέειν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη 324
364 τῶν πόλεων εὖροιτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ, ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ
Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλάκις προλε-
γόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ
βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας· τὰ κοινῇ συμ- 5
φέροντα προῖεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας· ἕκαστοι πολίτας
ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν,
365 Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος, Κινέας, Θρασυδαῖος, Ἀρκάδας Κερ-
κιδᾶς, Ἱερώνυμος, Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργεῖους Μύρτις, Τελέ-
δαμος, Μνασέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος, Ἀρίσ- 10
ταιχος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες
Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος, Ἐπι-
χάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρατος, Μεγαρέας
Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περίλαος, Θυβαῖους Τιμόλας, Θεο-
γείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ἰππαρχος, Κλείταρχος, Σω- 15

pizing, what is there which he would not say?'

εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας] 'and yet if one had to consider by the simple truth (i. e. on the basis of truth), putting away lying and malicious speaking.'

τῆς . . . αἰσχροκερδείας] 'for the sake of their own base lucre.'

τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας] Dissen translates this, 'quos capere poterant, qui se decipi paterentur.' But I agree with Westermann that it means 'suos quisque.' 'Specially deceiving their respective citizens.' For an apparent imitation of this passage see Cicero, Verres, Act. II. lib. iv. c. 26: "Nulla domus in Sicilia locupletis fuit nisi iste non texitrum instituerit. Mulier est Segestana, perdives et nobilis, Lamia nomine: per triennium isti, domo plena telarum, stragulam vestem confecit, nihil nisi conchylio tinctum. Attalus, homo pecuniosus, Neti; Lyso Lilybaei; Critolaus Aetnae; Syracusis Aeschrio, Cleomenes, Theomnastus; Helori Archonidas. Dies me citius defecerit quam nomina."

Θρασυδαῖος] Dissen and Dindorf prefer this reading of the Codex S. to Θρασύλαος. Theopompus (Athen. vi. 55) described Θρασυδαῖον τὸν Θετταλὸν as μικρὸν μὲν ὄντα τὴν γνώμην, κόλακα δὲ μέγιστον.

Δημάρατος] This person accompanied Alexander to the East. Plut. Alex. ix. 37. Arrian. Anab. i. 15, 6.

Σωσίστρατος] Polybius (xvii. 13, p. 1424, ed. Casaub.) blames Demosthenes for the reckless and indiscriminate imputations which he casts on these persons (πικρότατον ὕειδος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰκὴ καὶ ἀκρίτως προσέριψε), who, according to himself, were not all deserving of them. As Dissen observes, we should have known more on the subject, if the history of Theopompus, in which many of them were mentioned, had come down to us, though it should be remarked that Polybius (viii. p. 721) accuses this historian of grossly calumniating Philip and his friends, and says, apparently with good reason, ταύτην δὲ τὴν πικρίαν καὶ ἄθυσογλωσσίαν τοῦ συγγραφέως τίς οὐκ

- 366 σίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προ-
δοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὥνπερ
οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλά-
στορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοὶ πατρίδας, τὴν 20
ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δὲ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δε-
σπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλήσιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγα-
θῶν ἦσαν καὶ κάρωνες, ἀνατετραφότες. 25
- 367 Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχυρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συ-
στάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προ- 325

ἀν ἀποδοκιμάσειεν; He defends the persons here named on the ground that they only availed themselves of the aid of Philip for the benefit of their respective countries, not for their own aggrandizement. This (he says) was especially true of the statesmen of Arcadia and Messenia, who called in Philip against the Lacedaemonians to protect, not to oppress their own countrymen, and who ought not to have been called traitors, if, in adopting this policy, they did not consider the interests of Athens. "But Demosthenes (he adds), measuring every thing by the interests of his own country, and thinking that all the Greeks ought to look up to the Athenians or else be stigmatized as traitors, appears to me to be mistaken and wide of the truth." That these remarks are reasonable and just there can be little doubt. There was a struggle for supremacy between Athens and Philip, and though Demosthenes was patriotic, honest, and far-sighted as an Athenian citizen, it does not follow that other Greek statesmen were traitors, merely because they declined to co-operate with him. Unless we suppose them to have been bribed or otherwise corrupted, all would depend upon the position of their respective countries, and if these were unwarrantably oppressed by any neighbouring state, without other hope of relief, their citizens were justified in 'calling in the stranger.' The dissension which prevailed even at Athens, her vacillation and indecision, and the uncertainty of efficient aid from her, might further be urged in vindication of such a policy. Her unwillingness to aid Megalopolis

against Lacedaemon was a case in point. See p. 366. ἐπιλείψει] Thus Hebrews xi. 32: ἐπιλείψει με διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος. Comp. Aeschyl. Pers. v. 430.

ἀλάστορες] An ἀλάστωρ is properly an evil genius or scourge, avenging wrong deeds which cannot be forgotten. Trans.: 'Foul and fawning and fiend-like.' Comp. Persae v. 356: φανεῖς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.

τὰς . . . πατρίδας] 'who have crippled their fatherlands.' C. R. K. With this strong phrase compare 'interfectores patriae,' in the speech intitled 'Quum Senatuigratias egit' (ii. 4), which, Mr. Long thinks, is wrongly attributed to Cicero. But we find 'parricidae patriae' in the speech 'pro Plancio,' c. 29. Compare Erskine's speech for the lunatic, Hatfield, who shot at George III.: "An attack upon the king is considered to be parricide against the State: and the jury and the witnesses, and even the judges are the children."

προπεπωκότες] 'who have drunk away,' or with Lord B. and Mr. K. 'toasted away.' Comp. note on Olyn. iii. § 26, p. 61. Also F. L. § 152: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν θυσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ δέλπῳ πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπεύμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλὰ, ὅσον αἰχμάλωτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσὰ προῖπινεν αὐτοῖς.

καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν] 'that freedom and independence of any master which with the Greeks of former days were the marks and standards of every thing good.'

Ταύτης τοίνυν] 'Of this conspiracy then and of this villainy so base and so notorious, or rather of this betrayal—if we would not

δοσίας, εἰ δὲ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ
 τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν
 ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς
 368 ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δὲ σοι λέγω ὅτι 5
 τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι διαφθαρέντων
 ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίπ-
 που, νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλαν-
 θρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπὶς οὔτε
 φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα 10
 δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι,
 369 οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τοντοισί, ὁμοίως. ὑμῖν
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβού-
 λευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς
 ψυχῆς τὰ πάντα μοι πέπρακται, καὶ μεγίστων δὲ πραγ- 15
 μάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα ταῦτα
 ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι—διὰ ταῦτα ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι.
 370 τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν
 ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ
 οὗ; πόρρω μέντοι πού τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τί- 20

trifle with the matter—of the freedom of the Greeks, has both this state through my policy been innocent in the judgment of all men, and I in the judgment of you.'

ἐγὼ δὲ σοι λέγω] "There are few finer passages, even in Demosthenes, than this. The rapidity and force are astonishing; its effect in the noble language of the original must have been prodigious; but it would have wonderful power in any tongue, and before any audience, from the multitude up to the senate." Lord B.

οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα] 'nor in all the advice which I have ever given to my hearers, have I ever, like you, advised with a bias (or, turn) to my gain, as one would act with the scales.' Dobree suspects ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ to have been inserted from the De Pace, § 12, p. 122: ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκης. All that can be affirmed is that the same idea occurs in both passages. With ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ comp. ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἱατρός, § 303, and with ῥέπων, κακῶν ῥέπουσαν εἰς τὰ μᾶσσονα, Aeschyl. Persae 442.

τὰ πάντα μοι πέπρακται] Dindorf with the Codex S. omits these words, which cer-

tainly do not add to the force of the passage. προστάς] 'having presided over.'

διὰ ταῦτα] 'on this account is it, that I claim to be honoured.' Observe the emphatic position of διὰ ταῦτα.

ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες] 'which you sneered at as mine.' Observe the forcible juxtaposition of the pronouns σύ μου, though μου depends on τειχισμὸν. Demosthenes here alludes to the following remarks of Aeschines, c. Ctes. § 237: 'Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀναλογισάμην ἐναντίον ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας ἐυεργεσίας ἀξιῶ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποίησεν, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη, καλῶς ἐτάφρυνε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργασθαι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἰτίον μεῖζον κατηγορίαν ἔχει. Aeschines asserts that the merit of repairing the fortifications was more than counterbalanced by the folly and guilt which had rendered them necessary.

πόρρω μέντοι πού] 'far however do I consider them below the acts of my public administration. Not by stones was it that I fortified the city, no nor by brickwork,

- θεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἑμαντοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἑμὸν τειχισμόν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵπ-
 371 πους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυννομένους· ταῦτα προῦ- 25
 βαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λο-
 γισμῷ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν
 κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθη 326
 ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς
 παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ
 δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ· τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς
 καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ. 5
- 372 Τί χρῆν τὸν εὖνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης
 προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
 πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβά-
 λέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιω-
 τίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους 10
 ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν
 373 ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προῖδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν
 σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα

nor is it upon these deeds of mine that I pride myself the most.' Lord B. has an enthusiastic note here. He observes: "The fame of this noble passage is great and universal. It is of a beauty and force made for all times and all places." The idea expressed by οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα is found in a fragment of an ode of Alcaeus, and is reproduced in Sir W. Jones's Ode,

"What constitutes a State?

Not high-raised battlements or labour'd mound,

Thick wall or moated gate;

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned,

* * * *

No—men, high-minded men."

τόπους] Euboea, Boeotia, Megaris.

λιμένας] e.g. of Euboea.

ναῦς] Probably from Euboea, Corcyra, and Leucadia, §§ 288—296.

ἀμυννομένους] 'men to defend them.'

But if τούτων were used, it would of course mean the Athenians present.

τοῖς λογισμοῖς] Literally, 'calcula-

tions' or 'estimates,' but 'combinations' expresses the meaning better.

οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοί] And yet according to Diodorus (xvi. 88) the Athenians after the battle of Chaeroneia condemned their own general, Lysicles, to death, on the accusation of Lysicles who charged him with being ὑπόμνημα αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὀνείδους τῇ πατρίδι.

αἱ δυνάμεις] This use of δυνάμεις for 'copiae' or 'forces' is not common in ordinary Greek. It is not unfrequent in Diodorus, as (xi. c. 1)† Μαρδόνιος ἐπεθύμει μεγάλων δυνάμεων ἀφηγήσασθαι. Many other instances of it may be found in the same author.

Τί χρῆν . . . ποιεῖν] 'What ought a loyal citizen to have done? Should he not on the seaboard have made Euboea cover Attica, and on the mainland Boeotia, and on the side facing Peloponnesus, the states which border upon it?' viz. those of Megara, Corinth, and Achaëa.

παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν] 'along a coast every where friendly.'

τῶν ὑπαρχόντων] 'and have secured

καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεία καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει 15
 πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εὐβοίαν ; καὶ τῶν
 μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας
 374 ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι ; ταῦτα
 τοῖνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς
 ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 20
 ναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὐ-
 ρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου
 καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν,
 375 οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ 25
 στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν
 κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτα ἅμα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως 327
 ἀνέτρεψε, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἦν ἐγὼ παρ'
 ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἰς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλλη-
 376 νίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα μόνον
 Θετταλία καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτ' ἀφρονοῦντα ἔσχεν 5
 ἐμοὶ, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω
 τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες
 ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν
 εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ᾗκου πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων
 καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις 10
 377 ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις
 ἐλάττωσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον,

some of the states already ours by despatching expeditions to them.'

Προκόννησον] Proconnesus, now Marmara, was an island in the Propontis or sea of Marmara, and a colony from Miletus.

ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε] 'and to have supplied the state with those things wherein it was deficient,' or more forcibly, and 'wherever the city was deficient, there to have supplied the deficiency.'

πολιτεύμασιν] 'my public measures.' καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν] 'and that no opportunity was in any case missed, or unobserved, or betrayed.'

ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς . . . ἦκεν] Compare F. L. § 34: ὅσα τῶν Φωκίων σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τὴν

πρεσβείαν ἦκε.

τύχης ἰσχὺς] Fortune is a great power with Demosthenes. Comp. §§ 271. 378.

ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης]. 'or inefficiency of generals or the baseness of you who betrayed the cities or all these together went on damaging our cause until they ruined all.' Observe the imperfect ἐλυμαίνετο of a continuous series of events, and ἀνέτρεψε the aorist of one isolated effect. As Mr. Drake remarks, the former takes the dative here, because it implies attacks *upon* or *against*, whereas in c. 312 (ἐλυμήνω τὸν νόμον) it means to spoil and nullify.

εὐλαβούμενος] 'through fear of giving offence.'

λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

15

- 378 Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν, ὡς Γῆ καὶ Θεοὶ, μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, 20 ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, 379 οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν 25 καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων προελόμενον βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδία τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. 328 380 ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) 5 φυλάττει ὀπηνίκ' ἔσσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἦ.

τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . ψηφίσματα] 'the number of the forces sent out in pursuance of my decrees.' These words are not found in the Codex S. of Bekker, and accordingly he brackets them. Dindorf and Disson print them as here.

ὃν κατορθουμένων] 'in the event of the success of which indeed,—O earth and heavens,—beyond a doubt we might have been pre-eminently great, and that with justice also, but though they have turned out unsuccessfully, there is at any rate the result of a good reputation, and the fact that nobody blames the state and its policy.' Here ὑπῆρχεν is for ὑπῆρχεν ἂν. For ὡς ἑτέρως, 'adversely,' compare note on ἐπὶ θάτερα (de Pace, § 12, p. 122). After κατορθουμένων I read with Bekker ὡς Γῆ καὶ Θεοί, but these words do not occur in the manuscripts S. Y., and Dindorf omits them.

οὐ μὰ Δί'] '(thus should a patriot act),

and not, by Zeus, not I say, deserting the interests of the state, and hiring himself to its adversaries, watch over the opportunities of its foes instead of his country's, and malign the man who undertakes to recommend and propose measures worthy of the state.' Mr. K. translates: 'study the enemy's advantage instead of his country's.'

προελόμενον] This word is not found in several of the MSS., and it is by no means indispensable. Westermann omits it.

ὑπουλον] 'insidious,' 'hollow.' Literally of an internal sore, covered or healed over, but rankling and festering underneath. In fact 'to heal' is a pure Anglo-Saxon word (hellen), meaning 'to cover over.' Thus in the Weald of Kent a house is said to be 'healed' instead of roofed over. Comp. Soph. Oedip. Rex 1383: κάλλος κακῶν ὑπουλον, and Thucyd. viii. 64: ὑπουλον αὐτονομίαν.

παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι
 381 δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τὰνθρώπινα). εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ'
 ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς ῥήματα καὶ 10
 λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστὶ, ὄνησιν μὲν
 οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενὸς, συμφορὰν
 382 δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι
 ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἶπερ ἐκ
 ψυχῆς·δικαίας ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα 15
 προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ
 πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημά-
 των, ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις,
 383 τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ
 ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ 20
 παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κά-
 γαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγωνῶς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ
 δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος,
 οὐχ ὀποστοσοῦν, οὐκουν ἐπὶ γε οἷς ἡ πατὴρ ἠϋξάνετο.
 384 τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ 25
 βοήθεια ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία, τίς 329

ἄλλο τι δύσκολον] 'any thing else un-
 toward.'

ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη] 'he suddenly
 springs up a speaker, rising after his rest
 like a gale.' The aorist is here used of
 a sudden event.

συνείρει τούτους] 'he strings these to-
 gether audibly and without bating breath.'
 Dissen compares Dion. Chrysost. Orat.
 xxxiii. ; καὶ πάνν χαίρετε ἀπνευστὶ ξυνεί-
 ροντες τοσοῦτον ὅχλον ῥημάτων.

τῷ τυχόντι] 'to some one or other of
 his fellow-citizens.'

ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν] 'the establish-
 ment of a mart,' i.e. for Athenian mer-
 chandise and commerce.

τούτων γὰρ . . . ἐξέτασις] 'for in for-
 mer times there was a demand for all
 those things.' This meaning is suggested
 by the passage (§ 393), οὐκέτι συμβούλων
 . . . ἀλλὰ τῶν καλακεύειν ἑτέρους βουλο-
 μένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, and Mr. K. observes
 that ἐξέτασις is "strictly applicable to a
 search or muster, where the names of
 persons are called over—the things needed
 or missing are inquired for." But the

original meaning is, I think, rather 'test-
 ing and proving,' and it will be observed,
 that in the passage quoted ἐξέτασις is ap-
 plied not to things but to persons, agree-
 ably to its general usage, as in § 391. Ac-
 cordingly the text may possibly mean, 'in
 former times men were proved and tested
 in all these points.' So Jacobs translates:
 'alle diese Gegenstände dienten in frü-
 herer Zeit zur Prüfung;' and Pabst:
 'durch alles dieses konnte man in den
 frühern Zeiten sich erproben.'

πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις] 'many opportuni-
 ties of showing himself.'

οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος] This passage
 is thought to be an imitation of an oracle
 addressed to the Megarians, and quoted in
 the Scholia to Theocritus, xiv. 48:
 ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὐτε τρίτοι οὐτε τέ-
 ταρτοι οὐτε δωδέκατοι, οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὐτ'
 ἐν ἀριθμῷ. The ordinal ὀπο-στός may be
 compared with χιλιοστός &c.

οὐκουν ἐπὶ γε οἷς] 'at any rate not in
 any case where the state was gaining
 strength.'

διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμωτέρα γέγονε; τί τῶν οἰκείων
 ἡ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ
 σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπι-
 σκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος 5
 εἶ; τίς ἦ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ
 385 βοήθεια χρημάτων παρὰ σοῦ; οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μὴδὲν
 τούτων, εὖνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία· ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάν-
 των ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγγαντ' ἐπὶ
 τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδουσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον 10
 Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀργύριον,
 οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδὲν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν,

τί τῶν . . . διὰ σέ] 'what of domestic, or Hellenic, or foreign affairs over which you presided has been improved through you?'

ποῖαι τριήρεις:] This question is probably suggested by what is related of the orator Lysurgus, viz., that χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς ὕπλα μὲν πολλὰ καὶ βελῶν μυριάδας πέντε ἀν-
 ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὴν ἀκροπόλιν. This happened a little before the delivery of this speech, probably in B.C. 335, when the Athenians were preparing for war against Alexander. Vit. X. Orat. p. 852, quoted by Dissen.

τίς ἦ τοῖς εὐπόροις:] 'what financial relief for the state and the public have you given to the wealthy or the needy?' The poor were benefited by the alterations which Demosthenes effected in the regulations for the trierarchy; the rich by improvements in the administration of the revenues.

ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ] Demosthenes makes Aeschines rejoin, 'But, my good fellow (take the will for the deed), if I did none of these things, I certainly showed loyalty and zeal.' Bekker makes this an interrogative clause: improperly, as I think. As for ὦ τᾶν or ὦ τάν, the derivation was a matter of dispute, even among the old grammarians. Bekker, Anec. p. 569. Buttman (Ausführ. Gr. i. p. 224) considers τάν as an old form of τύ or τύνη, and ὦ τάν as the vocative of the second person. Hermann, on the contrary, (Soph. Philoct. 1373) observes: "Non dubium videtur, conflatum esse istam vocem ex ὦ et ἐτάν. Nam quod Buttmanno placet, τάν antiquam quandam formam pronominis τύ fuisse, sive etiam ex τῆνος esse ortam, id non solum ana-

logia omni destitutum est, sed repugnantem etiam habet significationem vocabuli, quae ubique convenit cum ὦ λῶσσε, numquam cum ὦ οὔτος, aut ὦ σύ, licet utroque modo explicuerint veteres quidam lexicographi." Nevertheless, though the passage in the Philoctetes (ὦ τᾶν διδάσκου μὴ θρασύνεσθαι κακοῖς) supports Hermann's view, the phrase in the text here (if not elsewhere in Demosthenes) is quite consistent with Buttman's explanation. The ν ἐφελευστικόν is not accounted for on Hermann's supposition. Comp. pp. 33 and 163, and Donaldson's Cratylus, p. 162, ed. 1.

ἐπεδίδουσαν] 'gave donations for the preservation of the state.' Some suppose this to have happened directly after the battle of Chaeroneia, B.C. 338; others in B.C. 335, when the Thebans rose against Alexander, and called upon the Athenians for aid. But from Deinarchus c. Dem. § 81, we should infer it was in B.C. 338—337, for the orator thus observes: μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ—οὐδὲν φροντίσας τῆς τότε παρούσης ἀπορίας, ἤνυχ' οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπεδίδουσαν εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν σωτηρίαν.

Ἀριστόνικος] This Aristonicus was probably the person mentioned in § 103 as having proposed the crowning of Demosthenes on a former occasion. For some cause or other he had incurred a fine to the state, and the further penalty of ἀτιμία or loss of civil rights from non-payment. To effect his restoration (εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν) his friends had raised a subscription, τὸ συνειλεγμένον. An orator named Aristonicus (ὁ Μαραθώνιος) was one of the persons put to death by Antipater. Plut. Demos. c. 28.

- πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ
 κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλείονων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον
 δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν 15
 386 ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ
 λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω,
 παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ
 ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν
 ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύει. 20
 ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἥνικ' ἂν εἰπεῖν
 κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημο-
 νικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.
 387 Εἵτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμ-
 νησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ᾧ 25
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοίαν
 ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετά- 330
 388 ζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς

διτάλαντον.δ' εἶχες ἔρανον] 'and received two talents as a gift, clubbed together by the leaders of the Symmoriae.'

ἐφ' οἷς . . . νόμον] 'for the damage you did to the law of the Trierarchy.' It would seem from this, that some alterations of a prejudicial character were made in the bill as originally proposed by Demosthenes, and that they were owing to the interested opposition of his rival. I agree with Grote (xi. 645) in this opinion rather than with Böckh (*Attische Seewesen*, p. 183, and *Polit. Econ. Ath.* iv. 14) in his idea, that Demosthenes here speaks of an injury done to the law after its enactment.

ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ] 'but that I may not by going through subject after subject exclude or debar myself from the matter in hand.'

φυλάττων] 'but from your care that no act of yours might be in opposition to those for whom you always act in your public life.'

σὺ νεανίας] 'spirited' like a young man. Comp. note p. 65. See also, *λαμπρὸν οὐδὲ νεανικόν*. c. Meid. § 170.

τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης] 'a tragic Theocrines.' According to Harpocration (s.v.) this Theocrines was notorious for his calumnies, as proved by a speech against him, written either by Demosthenes or

Deinarchus. Assuming then, that he was a common informer, who affected commiseration, and tried the pathetic in his trade, the point would be that Aeschines slandered his countrymen while pretending to commiserate the misfortunes of neighbouring states: e. g. of Thebes and Phocis. So Dissen observes: "Tragicum sycophantem dicit Aeschinem Demosthenes, h. e. patheticas querelas simulate fundentem calumniandi causa." Another, and perhaps a simpler interpretation is, that Aeschines after having been a tragedian, turned a common slanderer or informer, like Theocrines. Lord B. here observes: "the whole passage is magnificent, the ideas are powerful, and the diction perfect. A grand effect is ever produced in oratory by closing a passage with such accumulation of weighty and telling expressions condensed and powerful. It is a resource of the art far too little drawn upon in our times."

τὴν . . . εὐνοίαν . . . παρ' ὑμῶν] 'having taken advantage of the good-will which you (παρ' ὑμῶν) bear the dead.' This refers to the peroration of Aeschines in the speech against Ctesiphon, of which Lord B. says, "it would be one of the greatest of all the remains of ancient eloquence but for the terribly lame conclusion of the last few words."

- γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστί
 τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς δὲ τεθνεώτας οὐδὲ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ 5
 φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἑμαντοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ
 θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταῦτά σοι
 389 προηρημένων καὶ ζώντων. κακῆϊνο σκοπέι. πότερον κάλ-
 λιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, 10
 οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλικίας, τὰς
 ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προ-
 πηλακισμόν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράτ-
 τουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι;
 390 καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία 15
 καὶ προαίρεσις, ἃν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινου-
 μένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτά βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ
 σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον
 γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες, οἱ διέστυρον μὲν τοὺς
 ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσ- 20
 391 κανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτ' οὖν ποιοῦντες σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ὥς
 οὐδὲν ὁμοίους εἶμι ἐκείνους ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ
 δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ

ὅτι τοῖς μὲν (ῶσι πᾶσιν) 'that against all living men there is a certain lurking of envy, greater or less, whereas the dead are not hated any longer, not even by their enemies.' This idea is variously expressed by many writers. Thus the author of the speech against Sallust, c. ii. 8, says: "Quare noli mihi antiquos viros objectare. Neque me cum iis conferre decet, P. C., qui jam decesserunt omnique odio carent et invidia, sed cum iis qui mecum una in republica versati sunt." So also Thucyd. ii. c. 45: φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγώνιστ' εὐνοία τετρίμηται. Again in Horace (iii. 24):

"Virtutem incolumem odimus

Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi."

οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις] 'surpassingly great as they are, indeed no one can say how great.'

τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν . . . ἔγειν] 'to subject to ingratitude and contempt those that are

done for this present age.' Lord B. thus: 'consider again—whether it is more honourable and more for the interests of the country, that because of the services rendered by our predecessors, prodigious though they be beyond all power of expression, we should show ingratitude and detraction towards those of the present day.' Mr. K. thus: 'whether, &c. . . those of the present generation should be unrequited and spurned.'

κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες] After τινες some MSS. add τοὺς χρόνους, but they are not found in the Codex S., and so Bekker brackets, and Dindorf with Dissen excludes them.

οἱ διέστυρον] Mr. Shilleto (F. L. p. 185) thinks that 'slurring over' suits διασύρειν, in all passages in which it occurs. Here it clearly means 'to pull to pieces,' 'to detract' or 'slander.'

βάσκανον πρᾶγμα] 'malignant,' 'ill-natured,' 'spiteful.'

ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός;] Aeschines had

μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὃ χρηστὲ·
 ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε, καὶ τοὺς καθ' 25
 αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τὰλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητὰς, τοὺς χοροὺς, 331
 392 τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Κα-
 ρυστίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων. ἀθλητῶν
 ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο, 5
 ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς
 νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλει τῶν
 393 ἀπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ
 βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῇν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
 εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων 10
 ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ
 πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ,
 394 πλὴν εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μῆποτ'

two brothers, Philochares the elder, and Aphobetus the younger (Apollon. in vita Aesch.), of whom the former had been a general, and is probably meant here. Demosthenes mentions both (F. L. § 262), and Aeschines also (F. L. § 158), who speaks of Aphobetus as πεπρεσβευκὼς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα.

ὁ Φιλάμμων] According to Harpocration and Eustathius (ad Il. 23. 686) this Philammon was an Athenian boxer, frequently victorious in combats with his antagonists. Of Glaucus of Carystus in Euboea a good story is told by Pausanias, vi. 10. He lived about B.C. 670.

καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με] 'and do you now look at me by the side of orators of the present day.' Aeschines (c. Ctes. 190), apparently by anticipation, but probably in an edition of his speech published after its delivery, attempts to answer these observations thus: Καὶ τοὶ πυνθάνομαι γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιῶ, παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπιάσι στεφανωθῆναι, νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαῖν ἐκείνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγωνιστάς· ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἐνεκα στεφανοῦνται. οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι] 'not one do I de-

cline.' So two of the best codices, S. and Y., and most recent editors instead of οὐδενὶ ἐξίσταμαι, as in most MSS. and in Bekker. Either reading is admissible here, the rule of construction as laid down by Mr. Drake being that ἐξίσταμαι takes a dative where εἶκω, and an accusative where φεύγω might be used. Comp. Soph. Ajax v. 82:

φρονοῦντα γὰρ νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην ὄκνῳ,
 and v. 672:

ἐξίσταται δὲ νυκτὸς αἰανὴς κύκλος
 τῇ λευκοπῶλφ φέγγος ἡμέρα φλέγειν.

Also adv. Zen. § 36: τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξέστηκα.

ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει] 'of whom, when the state had the opportunity of choosing the best policy, and rivalry in patriotism was open to all, I appeared to give the best counsel.'

πλὴν εἰ τούτοις] 'except if it were necessary to insult your fellow-citizens.' Herodotus (vi. 9) uses ἐπηρεάζειν for 'threatening': τὰδε σφί λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες τάπερ σφέας κατέξει.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . συνέβη] 'but when such things happened, as would to heaven never had, and no longer was it a question of (or, was there a call for) counselors for the state, but of (or, for) men ready to obey orders and take pay against their country.'

ᾧφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς
 ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 15
 μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἕτερον βουλομένων
 ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει
 καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής,
 395 ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ᾧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ 20
 (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον
 εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξούσιαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ
 πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ
 καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία,
 τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' 25
 396 ἔμοι μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς. ὁράτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαι-
 τούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπεί-

τηνικαῦτα σύ] 'then you and each of these were at your posts, and grand and fine horse-keepers.' ἐν τάξει, 'in array,' is a military phrase. Mr. K. translates, 'then all of you were in occupation, grand people with splendid equipages.' In a rocky country with a poor soil like Attica, horse-keeping was a sign of wealth. In fact it was so expensive in Athens that in the time of Aristophanes (*Nubes*, in init.) it was a ready road to ruin for moderate incomes. Comp. Böckh, *Pol. Econ.* i. c. 14.

δύο δ' . . . ἔχειν δεῖ] 'and these two qualities should the well-disposed citizen possess; for speaking in this general way about myself, is it least offensive for me to say so.' Lord B. thus: 'two qualities every citizen of ordinary worth ought to possess.' But μέτριον generally means 'well-regulated,' and φύσει μέτριον seems here to mean, a 'well-regulated,' and 'well-balanced disposition.' So Aristotle defines ἀρετή to be a μεσότης, while σώφρων and μέτριος frequently go together.

ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις] 'in authority indeed he should maintain the policy of what is noble and pre-eminent for the state, and at all times and in every action—loyalty.' Mr. K. thus: 'in authority his constant aim should be the dignity and pre-eminence of the commonwealth: in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal.' Dissen observes: "Sunt ἐξουσίαι opportuna momenta," an interpretation

suggested by the meaning of 'opportunity,' which ἐξουσία sometimes bears in the singular, though I am not aware of any instance of it in the plural. On the contrary, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, 'men in power,' occurs in *Aristot. Ethic.* i. 3. 3: διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις δημοισπαθεῖν Σαρδαναπάλλω.

ἐξαιτούμενος] According to Libanius (iv. p. 240—322), Philip after the battle of Chaeroneia, formally demanded the surrender of Demosthenes, but I am not aware of this fact being recorded by any other writer. However this may be, it is well known that the surrender of Demosthenes and several other Athenian orators was demanded by Alexander immediately after his destruction of Thebes, on its revolt against Macedon, occasioned by the false report of his death, and the instigations of Demosthenes. *Plut. vit. Dem.* c. 23. *Phocion* c. 17. *Arrian* i. 10. *Grote* xii. 60.

οὐκ . . . ἐπαγόντων] When Alexander, soon after his accession (B.C. 336), marched with a large army into Southern Greece as far as Thebes, the Athenians in great alarm sent Demosthenes on an embassy to deprecate his vengeance, but as Plutarch (c. 23) tells us, (though confounding the events of different years,) the Orator took fright on the journey and returned to Athens, without going further than Mount Cithaeron. Subsequently to this, as appears from Aeschines (c. *Ctes.* § 161), though he does not say in conse-

λούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τού- 332
 τους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ
 προδεδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς
 ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς
 τιμὰς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος 5
 397 θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν
 τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ
 τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγ-
 γελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκείσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἶωμαι,
 τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων 10
 καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὔτοι, οἱ τὴν
 μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες,
 ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχη-
 σάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταύτ' ἐπαινοῦσι
 καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμενεῖ φασὶ δεῖν τηρεῖν. 15
 398 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν,
 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας
 ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς
 καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ

quence of it, an attempt was made to bring Demosthenes to trial before the Amphictyonic Council, possibly on the plea of his having supported the Amphissians against Philip, when acting as the Amphictyonic general on behalf of the Delphian god. Aeschines (l. c.) tells his story thus: ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτὴς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεὶς, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἦκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὗτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὗτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρῆσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. Καί, τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰδάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ. Diod. xvii. 4. Thirlwall vi. 106, c. 47.

οὐκ . . . ἐπαγγελλομένων] 'neither when they used threats, nor when they made offers.' He alludes to the partizans of Macedonia in Athens and elsewhere.

τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς] 'for from the very first, straightforward and honest was the course of policy which I chose.'

εὐαγγελιζόμενος] 'congratulating those who I expect will report it to the Macedonians.'

τῶν . . . ἀγαθῶν] 'while it is with a

shudder and a sigh, and with head cast down that I hear of the successes of the state.'

ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι] 'and look abroad, and praise the prosperity which the foreigner has obtained during the calamities of Greece, and say that an endeavour ought to be made to render that prosperity lasting throughout all time.' Lord Brougham's Critic in the Times.

Μὴ δῆτ'] 'Never, I pray indeed, all ye powers of heaven, may any of you grant this, but if by any means possible, put even into these men a better mind.'

τοὺτους . . . ποιήσατε] 'destroy them by themselves alone, with utter and quick destruction by land and by sea,' i. e. 'wherever they might be.' This is certainly a powerful and comprehensive imprecation, the terms of which are thus explained by the Scholiast in Bekker: Ἐξώλης, ὁ ἕως ἀπωλείας· προώλης δὲ, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ θανεῖν αὐτὸν φθαρεῖς. The formula itself was a common one. Thus F. L. § 190: ἐξώλης ἀπολομένη καὶ προώλης, and Arist. Nub. 1136: πᾶς ἀπολεῖν μέ φησι καὶ ξολεῖν.

ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν 20
τῶν ἐπηρητημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς] 'and to us who are spared vouchsafe to grant the speediest deliverance from our impending terrors, and unshaken security.' Lord B. The order of Demosthenes, 'and security unshaken,' would perhaps have been better, and 'protection that will never fail,' which may be compared with 'quietness and assurance for ever' in Isaiah, is nearer the meaning. But it is impossible to preserve in English the harmony of construction and happiness of expression which characterize the original. In his last note Lord Brougham thus expresses himself: "Hard as is the translator's task before and throughout, but more especially as he approaches his release from an almost impossible attempt, at the very end of all it becomes yet more hopeless. . . . The music of the closing passage is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm." His Lordship's version is, 'Let not, O gracious God, let not such conduct receive any measure of sanction from thee! Rather plant even in these men a better spirit and better feelings! But if they are wholly incurable, then pursue them, yea themselves by themselves, to utter and untimely perdition, by land and by sea; and to us who are spared, vouchsafe to grant the speediest rescue from our impending alarms, and an unshaken security.' Mr. Kennedy thinks that *σωτηρίαν* indicates the idea of divine protection, or safety derived from the gods, and translates thus: 'Never, O ye gods, may those wishes be confirmed by you! If possible, inspire even in these men a better sense and feeling! But if they are indeed incurable, destroy them by themselves; exterminate them on land and sea; and for the rest of us, grant that we may speedily be released from our present fears, and enjoy a lasting deliverance.' Both are something like Leland's: 'Hear me, ye immortal gods; and let not these

their desires be ratified in heaven! Infuse a better spirit into these men! Inspire even their minds with purer sentiments! —This is my first prayer.—Or, if their natures are not to be reformed, on them, on them only discharge your vengeance! Pursue them both by land and sea! Pursue them even to destruction! But to us display your goodness, in a speedy deliverance from impending evils, and all the blessings of protection and tranquillity.' Jacobs thus: 'Möchte doch, o all' ihr Götter! keiner von Euch dieses billigen, sondern Ihr vor allen Dingen auch diesen hier einen bessern Sinn und besseres Gemüth verleihen; wenn sie aber unheilbar sind, sie allein für sich dem Verderben überliefern, uns, den Uebrigen aber die schnellste Befreiung von den obschwebenden Besorgnissen und unerschütterte Wohlfahrt gewähren.' Mr. Kennedy compares the peroration of the first oration of Cicero against Catiline, and if the reader wishes to contrast the grand and comprehensive imprecations of the ancient orators with the elaborate maledictions of a Christian Church, he may peruse the anathema 'selon les formules consacrées,' as given in Duruy, *Histoire de France*, i. 115, or in the homelier English of 'Tristram Shandy,' ii. 4 (ed. 1783): "Qu'il soit maudit vivant et mourant, dans la veille et dans le sommeil, dans le travail et dans le repos; qu'il soit maudit dans toutes les forces et les organes de son corps: qu'il soit maudit dans toute la charpente de ses membres, et que du sommet de la tête à la plante des pieds il n'y ait pas sur lui la moindre place qui reste sainte," &c., was a part of the terrible imprecation, and the rest was equally minute, and just as revolting. The Latin original of Sterne was the composition of Ernulf, consecrated Bishop of Rochester A.D. 1115, and is preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter. It is printed in Hearne's 'Textus Roffensis,' p. 55.

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ERRATA.

Page 256, *instead of* for the Orations read for which the Orations
 „ 312, 8 lines from foot, for Pharnabazus read Artabazus
 „ 382, for B.C. 355 read B.C. 335
 „ 391, for Dionys. read c. Dionys.
 „ 524 b, for § 293 read § 273.

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¹ Comp. Milton, Tractate on Education, ii. 393:—

"They would not if entrusted with fair and hopeful armies suffer them to *shed* away from them like sick feathers."

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—, identified by Pliny with 'arinca,' *ibid.*

—, meaning of in the Septuagint, 189 b.

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—, 'in comparison of,' 199 b.

—, 'at the time of,' 408 b.

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